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UNDER THE DUTCH

FROM CONTEMPORARY RECORDS

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES

AND A

GEOGRAPHY OF THE ISLAND

BY

REV. WM. CAMPBELL, F.R.G.S.

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN MISSION

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TO
A. W. BAIN, ESQ.
CONSUL FOR THE NETHERLANDS
AT TAIWAN

P R E F A C E

FORMOSA came into considerable notice when ceded to Japan in 1895, and since that time the new Authorities have made great progress in developing its resources, while competent observers now admit the strategic importance of the Island in view of those serious questions which are beginning to loom up in the Far East.

We are almost exclusively indebted to the Dutch for particulars regarding the early condition of Formosa. It formed one of their East Indian colonies from 1624 till 1661, and during that period they not only carried on a very profitable trade, but made successful efforts in educating and Christianising the natives ; one missionary alone having established a number of schools and received over five thousand adults into the membership of the Reformed Church.

Manchu invaders were then overrunning China, and the Chinese Chieftian Koxinga came much to the front in opposing them, but his power was completely broken at Amoy, where he had to save his life by flight. He embarked his remaining forces on an immense flotilla of war-junks, crossed the channel, expelled the Dutch from *Castel Zeelandia* after nine months' siege, and then proclaimed himself Sovereign Ruler of the Island.

Those events give rise to inquiry about some matters which are of special interest at present ; because missionaries of the Presbyterian Churches of England and Canada are now working throughout the Chinese towns and villages of Western Formosa,

Formosa, and the Japanese are about to open up that mountainous eastern region in which the aboriginal inhabitants have remained isolated since the time of the Dutch occupation. It may therefore still serve some useful purpose to know more about the management of this early colony, the missionary work referred to, and that very protracted siege which the Dutch sustained in their stronghold at Tayouan.

In order to bring such knowledge within reach, it was open either to use early records as the basis of an independent narrative; or, by means of simple translation, to place English readers themselves as near the sources of information as possible: which latter method is the one followed here, even although it has involved no small amount of prolixity and repetition.

The *First Part* is made up of selections from the *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* of François Valentyn, who is often quoted as the main authority on the subject. All his notes on the Topography, Trade, and Religion of the Island have been reproduced here; and to these have been added the best Account of the Inhabitants which has come down to us, that reported by van Rechteren from Rev. George Candidius, the pioneer missionary of 1624.

The *Second Part* is somewhat voluminous, but this diffuseness could not be avoided in stating all that should be known about a Christian crusade among heathen people which took place long before the modern missionary work of the Church was entered upon. With the view of collecting materials for it, the writer visited Holland twice, and received much courtesy from officials connected with several of the University Libraries and Public Offices. The late Mr. J. A. Grothe of Utrecht was especially kind in giving free use of his then newly-issued *Archief voor de Geschiedenis der Oude Hollandsche Zending*; and a translation of his entire collection of contemporary letters and decisions of Church and Civil Courts relating to Mission work
in

in Formosa will be found in the following pages. English versions of the Catechisms and a Sermon by Rev. R. Junius have also been included, to show what kind of teaching the native converts received, and because controversial references are made to them in several of the preceding letters. Students will thus be able to form some fairly correct estimate as to the leading actors in this Christian propaganda of the seventeenth century, as to their methods of work, the extent of their labours, and the apparently complete effacement of their Mission whenever Koxinga appeared upon the scene. No doubt, it has often been remarked that failure to supply a vernacular version of the Bible to Formosa was sufficient of itself to account for the sudden collapse which took place; but the following records show that theories of this kind present only a very partial aspect of the case, and that mere possession of Christian books by converts from heathenism still leaves room for the Apostolic inquiry, 'Understandest thou what thou readest?' In short, this fragment of Church History teaches us that it is a very questionable missionary policy to persist in purely aggressive efforts without making adequate provision for meeting the spiritual wants of those who have already broken with idolatry. So far as the manward side of Mission work is concerned, there is no cheap, superficial, and rapid method of enabling masses of converts to stand the test of insidious temptation or fiery persecution.

The *Third Part* narrates the events which led up to, and culminated in, the nine months' siege of Castle Zeelandia. It is taken from the only separate volume which was published on the subject, *'t Verwaerloosde Formosa* of A.D. 1675. All readers of the story will probably have their sympathies awakened towards Frederick Coyett, the last Dutch Governor of Formosa; an honourable, brave, but ill-used man, whose character should yet be vindicated by one of his own scholarly fellow-countrymen.

Several

Several papers in the *Appendix* also throw side-lights on the early history of Formosa. Section A, referring to the Spaniards, is a translation from Fr. Juan Ferrando's *Historia de las PP. Dominicos en las Islas Philipinas y en sus Misiones del Japon, China, Tung-kin y Formosa*; the Notes on Early English Trade at Formosa were copied at the India Office through kind permission of F. C. Danvers, Esq.; and the English version of Father de Mailla's Narrative first appeared in the *Shanghai Celestial Empire*.

Although larger than any that has yet been published, the *Bibliography* at the close is submitted with some diffidence. It is not an exhaustive one, because these sheets had to be seen through the press during a brief furlough which was much occupied with other duties, and the writer could not venture to make use of his considerable collection of Chinese and Japanese works on Formosa without the assistance of a native teacher. The titles of books and articles are all noted only once (under the names of their respective authors arranged alphabetically in capital letters); but examination should also be made under the few headings which are printed in Clarendon type, *e.g.* British Consular Reports, Charts and Maps, Chinese Customs' Reports, *Formulier des Christendoms*, Medical Reports, Parliamentary Papers, and Peking Gazette Notices. It seemed unnecessary to burden the pages with many cross-references, or to give an account of every reprint and translation of any book or paper. Thus, a fairly complete working List is all that is offered here; in the hope, however, that it may prove fully more serviceable than Möllendorff's *Manual*, or even the Formosa part of Professor Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*.

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PART FIRST

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FORMOSA

PART FIRST

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF FORMOSA

1. *Notes on the Topography.—This large island was called by the natives themselves, Pak-an or Pak-ande; by the Chinese, Tai Liu-khiu (that is, Great Lu-Chu, there being also a Little Lu-chu); by the Portuguese or Castilians, *ilha Formosa*, on account of its pleasant and attractive appearance, and by the Netherlands, island of Formosa.

From north to south, it is forty *Dutch miles long, and fourteen or fifteen miles broad from east to west; having its southern extremity forty miles, and its northern, seventeen miles, distant from the province of Fokien, to which it now belongs.

Formosa lies within the Tropic of Cancer, and extends from $120^{\circ} 7\frac{1}{2}'$ to $122^{\circ} \frac{1}{4}'$ east longitude, and from $21^{\circ} 54\frac{3}{4}'$ to $25^{\circ} 18\frac{1}{2}'$ north latitude, being about forty miles long on the east side, and fifty on the west. At the northern end, it is eight miles broad, only four miles at the south, and eighteen or nineteen in the middle part; its whole circumference amounting to between one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty miles. Some, however, state that it is only three degrees long.

Here and there Formosa is very mountainous, but not without beautiful plains and large meadows interspersed, especially along the sea-coast, from which one has a free and pleasant view; while no island could be found more convenient for trade; with China to the west, Japan to the north, and the Philippines to the south.

To give as full a description of the island as possible, we shall begin at its south-east corner. A reef extends from it towards the south for about a mile and a half, and northward towards the coast; the southern half of this reef being a good half-mile in width, and the other becoming gradually narrower towards its northern end.

Along the eastern side of the island, towards the north-east, and about a mile from the south-east, corner, lies the island of Little Tobago; one mile further north, a village called Matafar, and a mile beyond that, the island of

* Asterisked clauses and words throughout the text are commented upon in the 'Explanatory Notes' which form E of the Appendix.

Great Tobago. Three miles in a north-easterly direction (this part of the coast trending in that way) there is seen, about four miles from the shore, the small island of Moaritus. Five miles north-east of it is the village of Alangar, and two miles further, Natsibay and Laruhali.

Continuing about eight miles in the same direction, you reach a broad cape, called Penimbos, which extends three and a half miles towards the east, and is about half a mile wide. A little to the south of this are two small islands lying east-south-east—the furthest, three and a half miles from shore—called Seagull island. Directly south of the cape, a river is found; and to the north of it, six miles off, there is a bay, which is fully a mile wide from north to south and a mile deep from east to west, stretching mostly east by north or east-north-east.

Half a mile from this, to the north-east and near the shore, we have the small island of Lesser Doatri; while three miles distant can be seen the island of Sapiat, which is about three miles long from north to south, and barely half a mile broad. The small triangular island of Denuai is a little further on, this name being also given to a bay situated between the two islands.

One mile from the northern cape of Sapiat are the river and town of Doero; and proceeding another mile in the same direction, you reach the bay of St. Laurence; to the east of which, seven or eight miles off the coast, and lying north-by-east, are three small islands about a mile apart from each other, called Dos, Reys, and Magos. Of these islands, the middle one is the largest—being three miles long and one broad—and the most north-easterly the smallest.

One mile north-east of the beautiful bay of St. Laurence is the sharply projecting promontory of Caydan; a mile north from this, Tranquidan; and still another mile further on, the broad headland of St. Jacob. The small island of Gaelay is here seen a mile from shore towards the east; and after three miles more, one reaches the north-east cape.

After passing the north-east cape, about two miles towards the north-west cape, two small islands are found close together, lying south-east and north-west of each other. A little further towards the north-west cape, the island of Kelang (also called Quelang) stands out a mile from the shore towards the north-east, while between it and the coast there is yet another, but somewhat larger, island, one mile broad and seven and a half miles long. It lies at the mouth of a large river, near two towns, the names of which are unknown.

A couple of miles beyond, two small capes appear, with a little bay between, and the rock Tellada in the neighbourhood; while three miles further on is the north-west cape called Cape Camatiao, which is a mile and a half broad from east to west, two miles long from north to south, and covered with thick shrubs. After this, and immediately on passing round towards the west, you come upon the town of Tamkay, and two others called Medoldarea and Sabragoga. A little distance from these is the bay of Casidor with its heavy reef, in the middle of which a small river is seen.

Eleven miles to the south-west there is a small cape, from which a narrow

reef runs along the shore for about six miles, with two small bays near the middle a mile and a half from each other, and also having a narrow reef—one mile long and the eighth of a mile broad—projecting very sharply into the sea to the south-west. This latter is called Fisherman's reef, and on the shore opposite it there are many sand downs. From the Fisherman's, a narrow reef runs along the shore for two or three miles to where there is another but wider reef, and to the south of the bay of Casidor there is a broad cape; two miles further on bringing you to the town of Geruys.

Two or three miles to the south of Fisherman's reef, there is a large reef along the shore—in some parts a mile, in others a mile and a half, in width—which extends as far as the large river Tafarian, about six miles along the coast. Four or five miles south-east of Fisherman's reef, several large forests are seen.

On the river Tafarian there is a town of the same name; and south of it there are six small islands close together, with a reef round them, and another narrow island, of the shape of a long, crooked pruning knife, two miles in length from north to south.

The river Tafarian divides into three branches, of which one rises in the south-east, another in the south, and the third in the north-east. They unite about five miles from the shore, and the river falls into the sea close to the six islands. Two or three miles up this river, towards the east and north, there is a thick forest.

South of the Tafarian river, a heavy reef extends for nearly five miles along the coast, to the river Mattajar; near which it is only a mile broad, although it gradually becomes broader for three or four miles, and then runs, with a point a mile broad, towards the west. After this, it narrows on the shoreward side, but broadens up again up to two, three, and four, miles in the distance.

The river Mattajar debouches against Fisherman's shoal, immediately west of the island of the same name, forming a channel between that and the shore, and extending three miles to the west and one to the north; while it is over against the large reef just referred to and close to the shore, that the small island called Fisherman's island, is situated, there being two more islands one or two miles further on, to the north.

A mile west of Fisherman's island there are six islands close together, north of the channel, and the eighth of a mile from the southern shore of Fisherman's cape. A little more to the west is the long Fisherman's island, a mile long from north to south, but very narrow. A mile to the north-west there is another island, a mile long from east to west and three in circumference, called the Fisherman's shoal; while a little further west there is still another, which has no name. This latter island is rugged on both sides, but especially on the west, and is about two miles in circumference.

Half a mile to the south-west of Fisherman's island is seen an island about a mile long, lying north-east and south-west, and also the island of Wankam. The channel here is called Wankam channel. To the north-west of Wankam island there lies another small island, and to the south two more, lying south

and north of each other, and close together near the adjacent reef. Moreover, these two islands lie close to the shore, and surrounded by a small reef, each of them being one or two miles in circumference.

The Fisherman's cape on the mainland runs with four broken points towards the south-west. On the third of these points, somewhat inland, we have the town of Farmers'-barn, and a mile southwards, Murderer's river. To the north of this is a small bay, with one of the two islands just mentioned close inshore. The other island, to the south, is somewhat further from the shore, and lies opposite the river Hamba, where there is a town of the same name.

Continuing a little to the south, we come upon the small river Toahimpau, which runs into a channel, having the southernmost of the islands close to the shore, on the one side; and on the other, a very long and narrow island, which extends a mile and a half north-east and south-west. Near this latter island there is another like it, somewhat crooked, like a snake, which lies north and south. All these islands are situated on a reef from two to three miles long, which commences about half a mile from the shore, and runs south-west from the river Toahimpau. From east to west it is a mile and a half wide; and beyond that island which resembles a snake, it extends to a sharp point for another mile towards the south-west.

On this reef, towards the north, there are three other islands lying east and west of each other, about half a mile apart. The middle one is a mile and a half long from north to south. On the south-east side of this reef are three more islands, lying close together, north-east and south-west of each other. That furthest to the south-west is called Whalebone island.

While these outermost islands on the reef form a semicircle extending two or two and a half miles from the shore to the west, the circle is continued further towards the south-east by a small island on the reef, lying east by north and west by south, and after that by another island as long and as narrow as the third of those mentioned above. This last curves, first towards the south, and then towards the south-east. It is called Zeeburg, and is situated on the reef, which runs along the whole east side of the island, half a mile in breadth. On its western side, the reef extends only half the length of the island from the north-west corner, terminating in a narrow point, about a quarter of a mile long, and running towards the south-west.

Southwards from the island of Zeeburg lies another similar island, called Tayouan, which is very narrow, a mile and a half long, and lying nearly north and south. This island runs very nearly against a narrow cape to the north of a river, and has a small reef round it, except on the north. On it are situated the village and fort of Zeelandia.

Between this island and the island of Zeeburg there is the entrance to a very large bay, about three good miles wide, and some two miles deep from west to east.

If we now return and proceed along the Formosa mainland from the Murderer's river towards the south, we come upon the southernmost of the small islands which lie close inshore; and a little past the small river

Toahimpau, a large channel which runs into the sea south of that small island. This channel extends along the broad reef on which the six small islands besides the Whalebone island are situated; while immediately outside of it two other small islands are seen. The channel is formed by four or five small rivers which flow into the sea there.

From the southernmost of the little islands to the town and river of Soulang the coast extends for about two miles towards the east, indented in the shape of a half-moon. To the north of Soulang there is a thick forest.

South of the river Soulang a sharp cape is seen, with a small reef alongside the large bay which lies almost immediately before the island of Zeeburg, and partly before the island of Tayouan. In the middle of the bay is found another small river, the Dorealam, flowing from a lake which lies north and south two miles inland. There is a little town near this lake.

Three and a half miles south of the river Soulang, another river flows in a north-easterly direction, called the river Sakam, from a town of that name, situated about a mile north of it beside two other towns. Somewhat north of this latter river, there is still another called the Salt river; at the mouth of which, and stretching several miles inland, some dense forests come into view.

At the river Sakam the coast-line takes a sharp trend westward, and a good deal south from the point thus formed, lies Fisherman's island, which is a mile long, half a mile broad at its northern end, and gradually becomes narrower towards the south. There are also five small islands in a large bay here, which is about a mile broad, and two miles long from north to south. The cape at the south of this bay turns towards the north, leaving a channel between it and Fisherman's island, and has the appearance of a triangle; while the northern cape shows itself immediately behind the island.

Continuing southward from this point there is a little bay—very narrow at the entrance, but wider inside, with a small reef along its northern shore—which provides a roadstead for coasting junks. The coast then forms a broad cape, running about half a mile towards the south-west, called Tankoya, after a town of that name. Immediately to the south of this cape, which is the eighth of a mile broad, there is yet another bay, two miles in circumference, with a broad reef to seaward; and Traders' island, close to the shore. It, too, has a narrow entrance; south of which, and right opposite the southern end of the bay—extending far to the north-west—stands Monkey hill.

The coast-line then runs towards the south-east for three miles; and about a mile from the middle of this strip of land lies Golden Lion island or Lamey, three-quarters of a mile long from north-east to south-west, and barely half a mile wide. Near it are the island of Golamto and another of which the name is unknown.

Fully three miles south-east of Ape's hill there is another small, narrow bay, with a reef on either side. It has a narrow entrance, and is somewhat broader towards the middle, with several creeks towards the north-west and south-east.

The cape south-east of this bay is very broad. There we have the river of Dolatok, called after a town of that name; while a little further on in the same direction we come to the town of Pangsoya and river of the same name. The coast then runs for four miles towards the south-east with a long deep bend, which stretches round to the south-west corner of Formosa, forming a broad and somewhat prominent cape, immediately beyond which the southern island on the south-west side shows itself beyond the shore.

For ten miles inland from this part of the west coast the land appears low and level, but on towards its eastern side Formosa is seen to be very mountainous and covered with excessively thick forests, except for about a mile from the eastern shore, where the country again becomes level.

David *Wright, a Scotsman who was a resident some years after the time of Rev. G. *Candidius, has stated that Formosa is not under the jurisdiction of one single governor, but stands divided into eleven shires or provinces, besides many less known lordships in the mountain region.

He goes on to say that the *first* of these provinces, lying northward, is under the control of the Hollanders, and includes the townships of Sinkan, Tavakan, Bakloan, Soulang, Mattau, Tevorang, Favorlang, Takkais, Tornap, Terenip, and Assok.

The *second* province is called the Bay of Kabelang by the Hollanders, and contains seventy-two towns and villages; all of them governed by their own peculiar laws, and living in amity with each other. As the Hollanders were never able to subdue the province, they made peace with the inhabitants, and not only traded with them in several kinds of merchandise, but sold their sons and daughters to them as slaves; usually obtaining ten rix-dollars for every youth about thirteen years of age.

The *third* dominion belongs to the king of Middag, and lies against the north-east of Tayouan, southward of the river Patientia. This prince has seventeen towns that obey him, the largest being called Middag, which is also his chief seat and place of residence. Sada, Boedor, Deredonesel, and Goema, are four other of his eminent towns, the last-named being a handsome place, and situated on a plain five miles from Patientia, whereas the others are built on hills. The king of Middag had formerly twenty-seven towns under his jurisdiction, but ten of them threw off his yoke. He keeps up no great state, and has only one or two attendants accompanying him when going abroad. He would never suffer any Christians to dwell in his dominions, allowing them only to travel through it. About seven leagues to the northward of Middag and four from the sea, lies Mount Gedult, so called from its steep and difficult ascents. Rising up from the adjacent plains, this bramble-covered mountain appears smooth and square like a table, as if it were a work of art, not of nature. Moreover, the river which glides along its foot on the southern side has so strong a current that the stoutest of the natives (who are very able-bodied) dare not attempt the fording of it alone; between twenty and thirty persons requiring to hold fast together in the effort to cross. It is on this account that the Spaniards have ironically called it Rio Patientia, the Patient River,

because the passage of that rapid stream calls for great labour and also for patience.

The *fourth* jurisdiction is that of Pimaba, including eight towns and several villages, the most important of which is Pimaba, where the Governor resides, and whose inhabitants are stout-hearted and war-like, more expert in the use of weapons than all the other Formosans. The king himself is also regarded as a brave person, has always a body-guard, and is constantly quarrelling and fighting with his neighbours. He was formerly in friendship with the Hollanders, and proud to serve under them as sergeant of a company.

The *fifth* province is Sapat, lying quite on the other side of Formosa. It has ten towns, and their Governor is in league with the Chief and people of Pimaba.

The *sixth* is called Takabolder, with eighteen towns and a number of villages. In Takabolder there is an exceedingly high mountain which may be seen from Tayouan.

The *seventh* lordship is that of Cardeman, governed by a woman, who, for her kind reception of the Christians, was called 'The Good Woman' by the Hollanders. She controls five villages. When the Hollanders arrived, she supplied them with provisions, having great authority over her subjects; and, being a widow at the time, was married to one of the princes of the country.

The *eighth* territory has twelve villages connected with it, the principal of which are Deredou, Arrazo, Porraven, Barraba, Warrawarra, Tamatanna, and Cubeca.

The *ninth* is called Tokodekal, and has seven towns, with seven villages; the most important of which is Tokodekal, where the Governor has his residence.

The *tenth*, named Pukkal, consists of only one handsome city, which maintains a continual war against the seven villages of Tokodekal; as also against Percuzi and Pergunu; these two towns forming the *eleventh* of the Formosan provinces or dominions.

Both Formosa and the adjacent little island of Tayouan suffer terribly from earthquakes. On 14 December 1654 there happened a mighty one which, with short intermissions, continued for seven weeks. Indeed, some have been so unusually violent that the valleys, mountains, and houses moved like a ship on the waves, as if the whole of the land were about to sink altogether.

It also rains here very much, the only time when one can safely travel being in December and January. The fairest weather occurs during these two months, the heaviest rain in July and August. There are two monsoons; the one the northern, and the other the southern, monsoon; the first beginning in October and ending in March, and the second commencing in May and holding on till September, which latter month the Hollanders call 'The Inconstant Month,' because of its frequent changes of weather.

During 1655, abundance of locusts spread themselves over the islands of Formosa and Tayouan. Their first appearance was in Tayouan, where they fell down from the sky like a great fall of snow, and covered all the

ground. After two or three days they directed their way to Sakam, the village on Formosa opposite Tayouan, and multiplied in such numbers that no place was free from them. The people of Sakam tried to destroy them, and in four or five days the bodies of those they collected weighed thirty thousand *piculs*; but it proved in vain and efforts were given up, for the locust continued to increase until all the sugar-cane and rice crops were utterly destroyed.

It may be added here that the island of Tayouan lies off the south-west coast of Formosa, its extreme north point being distant about a league, and its southernmost within a bow's shot, of the land. From the south end people are able to wade over the narrow channel which separates it from Formosa, while across from its northern end there is a depth of about thirteen feet at low water.

Tayouan spreads south-east and north-west, being two and a half leagues in length, and a quarter of a league in breadth. It is an expanse of barren sand, producing only pineapples and other wild trees, yet here resided over ten thousand Chinese traders, not to speak of the aborigines.

On a sandhill towards the north, the Hollanders in 1632 built Fort, or Castle, Zeelandia, which is surrounded with a double wall, one investing the other, and the outer being fortified with bulwarks and redoubts; while under the Castle westward lies another Fort which is square, and guarded at two points by the sea.

A bow's shot distance from Zeelandia stands the main defence of the Castle, a strong outwork called Utrecht, which is built up sixteen feet high with stone, and protected with several palisades. Eastward from this lies the town of Tayouan, which was built and so named by the Hollanders, and adjacent is the harbour of Lokhau or straits of Tayouan.

On the other side of the Castle, can be seen a rising sandbank called Baxemboy, near which are a few scattered villages.

We conclude this section with a few words about the Pescadores, or Fishermen islands, seeing that reference must be made to them in the sequel. They are situated about seven miles to the west of the island of Formosa, in about $20^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude.

The largest of the group is called the island of Phekno. It is almost triangular, having one angle to the north-east, one to the south-west—from which another small point runs out towards the south-west—and the third to the east, the whole island being about eight or ten miles in circumference. In the middle of it a castle is seen, while at the eastern corner there is a town with another Chinese castle.

Towards the north of Phekno, we have the island of Pehoe, which is a mile long from north-west to south-east, but very narrow, and situated very close to the north-east point of Phekno. It lies against a broad reef on the south-west side; and to the west-north-west of it, there is another small island on the same reef, which extends for a mile towards the north-west. There are three more small islands at the end of this reef.

A large number of other islands are seen towards the north, south, east, and

west of those two large islands of Pehoe and Phekno ; but the real Fishermen's island, after which all the others are named, lies a good mile west of Pehoe. On its western side, it has a beautiful bay called Fishermen's bay.

2. *Account of the Inhabitants.—This island of Formosa, to which it hath pleased our Lord God to send me [Candidius] to preach the Gospel of Christ, is situated twenty-two degrees north of the line. It has a circumference of a hundred and thirty Dutch miles, contains many villages, and is exceedingly populous. The inhabitants do not speak one, but several languages, and they have neither king, governor, nor chief. They do not live at peace with each other ; one village being continually at war with another village.

The country is intersected by many beautiful rivers, containing abundance of fish, and is full of deer, wild swine, wild goats, hares and rabbits, with woodcocks, partridges, doves, and other kinds of fowl. The island contains also animals of the larger kind, such as cows and horses, the former having very thick horns with several branches. The flesh of these animals is considered very delicious. They are found in great numbers in the mountains, and are called by the natives *olavang*. There are also tigers, and other beasts of prey called *tinney*, which are of the same form as the bear, but somewhat larger, and whose skins are much valued.

The land is exceedingly rich and fertile, though very little cultivated. The trees generally grow wild, some producing fruit of which the natives are very fond, but which Europeans would not touch. Ginger and cinnamon are also found. Moreover, it is said that the land contains gold and silver mines, the report being that the Chinese have visited them and have sent some of the ore to Japan on trial. I have not myself seen those mines, nor has the attention of the Dutch as yet been drawn to them.

After these general remarks, I shall now describe those places in Formosa which I well know, and with whose language, manners, and customs, I am well acquainted. They are eight in number : Sinkan, Mattau, Soulang, Bakloan, Taffakan, Tifulukan, Teopan and Tefurang. The inhabitants of these places have the same manners, customs and religion, and speak the same language. Their position also is much the same, stretching from the shore towards the mountains, all of them being within one day's journey from headquarters at Fort Zeelandia. The most remote village is Tefurang, which lies between the mountains. To visit this place, and return again to the Fort, three days are required. The inhabitants are very barbarous and savage, the men being generally very tall and exceedingly robust, in fact almost giants. Their colour is between black and brown, like most Indians, but not so black as the Caffirs. In summer they go about perfectly nude, without any feeling of shame. On the contrary, the women are very small and short, but very fat and strong, their colour being between brown and yellow. They wear some clothes, and possess a certain degree of shame except when they wash themselves, which they do twice a day with warm water. At such times, if a man passes by and sees them, they do not mind it very much, if at all.

On the whole, the people of Formosa are very friendly, faithful and good-natured. They are also very hospitable to foreigners, offering them food and drink in their kindest manner and according to their means; but too many Europeans may not come among them, nor will they allow any liberties to be taken or any incivility to be shown. They are not at all prone to steal, but will rather restore to the possessor anything they find which does not belong to them—the village of Soulang forming a marked exception to this rule, as the people there are well known to be thieves and robbers.

Further, the Formosans are very faithful to their friends and allies. They are not at all treacherous, but would rather die or suffer discomfort themselves than bring suffering upon others by treachery. They have also a good understanding and an excellent memory, so that they can easily comprehend and remember anything. It must be added, too, that they are great beggars, and I may safely say that throughout the whole East Indies their effrontery in this respect could not be surpassed. Yet, though so ready to covet and so impudent in demanding what they desire, they can easily be pacified with a trifle.

The people occupy themselves principally in cultivating their fields and sowing rice; but, though they possess such abundance of excellent and fertile land that those seven villages could easily support an additional hundred thousand souls, they do not cultivate any more than is absolutely necessary; indeed, the yearly produce is sometimes barely sufficient for their wants. The women, who are complete drudges, do most of the farming work; and, since neither horses, cows, nor ploughs are used, all the work has to be slowly done by means of pickaxes. Moreover, whenever the rice appears aboveground, much labour is needed for the process of transplanting, as the young shoots stand very thick in some places and not in others. Again, when the rice becomes ripe, they do not use sickles to cut it down or scythes to mow it, but have a certain kind of instrument in the form of a knife, with which they cut off each stalk separately at about a handbreadth from the ear.

After the rice has been cut they carry it to their dwellings without thrashing it or taking the husks off, and every day they pound just so much as may be required. At night, two or three bundles are hung over the fire to dry; and, next morning, the women rise two hours before daylight, pound the rice, and prepare the quantity required for the day. Thus they continue to do day after day and year after year, never preparing more than is daily needed.

Three kinds of fruit are cultivated—of which the first is called *ptingh*, the second *quach*, and the third *taraun*, which is very much like our millet—besides two kinds of vegetable somewhat resembling our Dutch beans, with three kinds of bulb which they use instead of bread, so that if bread, rice, or other fruits were wanting, they could subsist entirely upon these bulbs. The island also produces ginger, sugar-cane and melons, but the people plant just sufficient for their own wants. Bananas, cocoa-nuts and pinang are found in great abundance, with some other kinds of fruit which are not of great

importance, and the names of which I am unable to pronounce in our language. This is all that their fields and gardens produce for sustaining their bodies.

The people in this south-western part of Formosa have neither wines nor other spirituous liquors extracted from the trunks of trees as in other parts of India; but they have an exceedingly strong and deliciously flavoured beverage of their own, which has the same effect as Spanish and Rhine wine in intoxicating a person. The women prepare this beverage in the following manner: They take a quantity of rice, which, after simmering for some time, is kneaded into a dough. They then chew rice flour and spit it into a pot or jar until a pint of liquid is obtained. This is mixed with the dough just mentioned, in order to be used as leaven, after it has become as fine as the baker's dough of which we bake our bread. The dough having been thus prepared, is afterwards put into a large jar, water is poured over it, and it is allowed to stand for about two months, fermenting like new cider in a cask; by the end of which time it becomes a beautiful, strong, and delicious beverage. As the strength of the liquor increases the longer it is allowed to stand, it is sometimes kept five, ten, twenty, and even thirty years, before being touched; it reaching the highest degree of perfection at the end of this longer period. When the beverage does come to be used it seems to consist of two parts, that at the top being as clear as the purest water from a fountain, while the part at the bottom of the vessel is as thick as pulp. This thick part is usually supped with a spoon; when used as a beverage, it must be mixed with water. When the people go to their fields, they always take with them some of this mash in a jar or piece of bamboo, and a quantity of water; this forming their food and drink for the whole day. The top part they take only in very small quantities to strengthen and cheer them, not to quench their thirst. It may be added that the greater part of the rice crop every year is used in preparing this beverage.

When the women are not at work in the fields they go out in their *sampan to catch crabs and shrimps, or to collect oysters. Next to rice, they consider fish to be their nicest and most important kind of food. The fish caught are salted, with the scales and entrails; and, after having been preserved for some time, they are eaten with all the filth included. It is difficult to distinguish the fish when taken out of the jars on account of the worms and mites, but in this condition the people consider them more palatable and more delicious than ever.

While the women work, the men go about doing nothing, especially the strong young men from seventeen to twenty-four years of age. The older men—those from forty to sixty—are generally in the fields with their wives day and night. There, small huts are built, in which they rest and sleep, and for about two months at a time they do not appear in the village unless some festivity or other is going on. The younger men seldom assist their wives in the fields; their principal occupations being hunting and fighting.

In hunting they have three ways of securing their game: snares, assegais or spears, and bows and arrows. They have two methods of using snares. One way is to set them in the woods, or in places which the wild swine and

deer are known to frequent in great numbers, and then to surround the deer and drive them towards the snares, which are made of cane or bamboo. The other method is to set the snares either in narrow paths or in the open fields. A bamboo is fixed very deeply and firmly into the ground, and then bent down and secured by means of a small bit of wood. The snare is afterwards tied to it and slightly covered over with earth. When the deer, which are roaming about the fields by hundreds, sometimes by thousands, now touch the snare, the bamboo springs back to its upright position and the animal is caught by the leg. The native then approaches and kills it with a spear. In this way many thousands are caught every year.

When they hunt with spears, the men of a whole village—sometimes of two or three villages—go out together, each person carrying two or three spears. They have also their dogs to start the game. On reaching the appointed field, they form in a circle, a mile or half a mile in circumference, and then each man moves forward towards the centre. The game which may have been enclosed has very little chance of escape: an animal once struck by a spear being usually secured.

The spear used is made with a bamboo shaft about six feet long, to which, by means of a long cord, a small bell is attached. This cord is also fastened to the head, which has three or four barbed hooks. When an animal is struck, the head of the spear sticks fast; while the shaft, which is not firmly attached to the iron, falls out, and the animal dragging it along by the cord, is either entangled in the bushes or bleeds to death. The bell betrays to the hunter the direction in which the deer has fled, and in this way very many are caught. Many are also slaughtered with bows and arrows. One, two, or three men go into a field where deer are, and simply run after them—for they can run nearly as fast as the deer—discharging one arrow after another till their game is mortally wounded.

The flesh of the animals killed is bartered for wood, articles of dress, and other things, to the Chinese. The natives seldom keep a carcass for themselves, but they keep the entrails, which they eat with all the filth attached. Should they have too great a quantity, they salt it, but without taking any trouble to cleanse it first. This they consider a savoury kind of food. They will eat a piece of raw flesh cut from the body of a newly killed deer, the blood trickling from their mouths. The young of the deer—found within the body—they devour, skin and hair.

When war is declared against a village, due notice is given that the peace is broken. Twenty or thirty men, or as many as feel inclined, then set out, sometimes in a sampan. On reaching their destination they wait till nightfall, that they may not be seen or betrayed. In war, they are very treacherous; treachery and war meaning, with them, much the same thing. At the fit moment they stealthily creep into the fields, and first find whether any persons are asleep in their huts; for, as already mentioned, the greater part of the elderly natives sleep in their fields. Any one they find, young or old, man or woman, they instantly kill, and cut off their heads, hands and feet. Some-

times they take the whole body along with them, cutting it into as many pieces as there are warriors; each being desirous to have a part, so that on returning home he may boast of his prowess to the extent demanded by the occasion or the danger that has been run. But, if the enemy turns on them and they are obliged to flee, they take the head only; if in danger of being intercepted, they take the hair only, and then make off as best they can. Should they find no one in the fields—as sometimes happens—they enter the village. Waiting for a favourable opportunity, they surprise one of the houses, kill every one they find within, and hastily cutting off the heads, arms and feet, retreat with all possible speed to escape an attack. Sometimes they have only time to cut off the hair of the slain; for they can scarcely surprise a house without disturbing one of the inmates, whose cries of alarm being instantly heard throughout the village, the inhabitants arm themselves in the twinkling of an eye and repair to the spot. Sometimes the treacherous assailants succeed in killing a person, but have to take to their heels without getting possession of either head or hair. Sometimes they only kill their enemies; sometimes they can effect nothing if the night is dark and the people hide themselves in their dwellings; and sometimes they themselves are surprised and even killed.

A method of warfare practised at other times is to make a great noise and entice the enemy to follow them to where their sampans are lying, whereupon a hand-to-hand fight ensues, in which much valour is shown. If they are overpowered, or if some are killed or wounded, they take to flight. The death of one of them is considered as serious a matter as the rout of a whole army would be in Europe.

Their weapons consist of shields, swords and spears. The spears are not of the kind with which they kill the deer, as they have no barbs, cords, or bells, and the head is firmly attached to the shaft. Their shields are very long and broad, so that they can easily conceal themselves behind them; their swords are very short and broad. Japanese hatchets with bows and arrows are also sometimes made use of.

At times a whole village attacks another in open warfare. In their wars, they have no captains or chiefs, but any one who has got possession of many heads, or who is considered to have cut off a head; in short, any one who feels inclined for fighting, can easily get ten or twenty men to regard him as their nominal chief and to follow him in waging war or in pretending to do so.

Again, the natives are exceedingly cunning and full of stratagems. When they go out with five or six sampans, that is, with fifty or sixty men, the greater part of the warriors generally disembark at night and lie in ambush on one side of the village they are about to attack. The remainder, landing early next morning, approach the village from another point, their task being to provoke the inhabitants and make as much noise as possible. The villagers, taking the latter party for the whole force of the enemy, advance to the attack, leaving the village unprotected. Those in ambush now make their appearance suddenly, killing all who come in their way. Having taken two or three

heads, they hastily retreat to their sampans, where the others join them, and they now fancy they have gained a great victory. Villages that lie too far inland are often attacked in this way. A few men appear before such a village and make a great noise. The inhabitants come out, and a regular hand-to-hand fight ensues. The attacking party fight till they are overpowered, and then take to flight. In the meantime the rest, who have been placed in ambush, suddenly make their appearance on all sides, and the villagers find themselves attacked both in front and behind.

Another method of warfare, when they wish to surprise a house by night in a hostile village, is to lay traps everywhere in the roads leading to it, so that their pursuing enemies may be caught in them, the assailants taking care to keep a safe road open for themselves. These traps are made of some kind of cane or other with very sharp points, and are not like the traps we use, being about half a yard in length and not placed quite perpendicularly in the ground, but somewhat inclined in the direction whence the enemies are expected to come; who, when in pursuit—in a state of perfect nudity, and running as fast as deer—strike their shins against these traps, and receive so frightful wounds that they are obliged to desist. Nor do the natives hesitate to surprise their enemies by feigning friendship and then openly attacking them, as has happened in my time.

There is a certain island about three miles from Formosa, called Tugin in the native language [*i.e.* Lamey or Lambay]. We called it the Golden Lion island; because it was there that the captain of the ship *Golden Lion* was murdered with all his crew, when attempting to take in some provisions. The inhabitants of Tugin are constantly at war with the people of our island, and do not permit men of any other nation to land. Now and then the Chinese visit the place for the purpose of trading. Those visitors do not land, however, but remain in their junks, and the inhabitants row out and hand to them the things they wish to sell with the right hand and receive the price of them with the left. Indeed, they are exceedingly careful about the exchanges on both sides, neither party trusting the other.

Lately, some sixty inhabitants of Soulang village, belonging to us, sailed with some Chinese to the Golden Lion island. They were dressed like Chinese, and pretended to have gone for the purpose of bartering. On one of the natives approaching the junk and handing up what he wished to sell, he was suddenly seized by the arm, dragged into the ship, and cut into many pieces. Thereupon, they returned home, and fancied they had obtained a great victory. Such is their manner of carrying on war.

When they succeed in cutting off an enemy's head; or, failing that, get some of the hair, or merely seize a spear, and return home, great feasts are held, they sing and shout, in short the whole village becomes jubilant. First they take the head and carry it about the village—a great triumph for the man who has taken the head—singing hymns and songs in honour of their gods or idols, to whom they consider themselves indebted for the victory. To whatever dwelling the party goes in the village, they are received with accla-

mations and heartily welcomed, and the very best kind of beverage is presented to them. They then proceed with the head to the idol house—for every fifteen or sixteen families have such a house—and boil it in a pot till all the flesh falls off, whereupon it is put in the sun to dry, and the very best kind of their strong liquor is poured over it. On these occasions a great number of pigs are slaughtered in honour of their gods, and grand festivities follow. The celebration of victories like this generally lasts a whole fortnight without any interruption. The same festivities are indulged in when they have succeeded in getting some hair, or only a spear, of their enemies.

These heads, arms, legs, or other parts of a body are held in high esteem, and valued by them as much as we value gold, silver, pearls or other precious stones. When a house is on fire they will save these relics first and leave other things to perish. The man who has obtained a head is much honoured and respected: during the first fortnight nobody daring to address such a hero. This is the way they act towards their fallen enemies.

These villages have no general chief who rules over them, but each village is independent. Nor has any village its own head-man who governs it; although it may have a nominal council, consisting of twelve men of good repute. Every two years the councillors lay down their office, and others are chosen in their stead. Councillors must be about forty years of age, and all of them of the same age. Although they know nothing of the number of years, and no one really knows how long he has lived, still they do remember on what day, and in what year and month, they were born. When councillors have been in office two years, each causes the hair on both sides of his forehead to be plucked out, which is a sign that he has fulfilled his term and is no longer in office. Then, other councillors of the same age are chosen.

The dignity and power of the councillors, however, is not so great that their laws must be obeyed or their commands listened to; but whenever a difficulty arises they meet, and deliberate about the best way of solving it. Having come to a decision they call all the people of the village together to one of the palaver or idol houses, the question is propounded, and for half an hour they discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the matter. When one speaker is tired, another takes his place, and they thus endeavour, by dint of many words, to persuade the people to accept their proposal. Perfect order is maintained; for, while an orator is speaking, no one would think of interrupting him, though there were a thousand hearers. At their eloquence I have been thoroughly astonished, for I actually believe Demosthenes himself could not have been more eloquent or have had a greater selection of words at his command. The councillors having finished speaking, the people deliberate about the proposal among themselves; and they may accept what the councillors propose or not, as they think fit. There is no compulsion; every one judging for himself of the advantages or disadvantages of the proposal.

It is also part of a councillor's office to see that the commands of their priestesses are duly obeyed, and to prevent everything that they fancy may provoke the anger of their gods. Whenever anything has occurred which

they think may incense their gods, or when a private interest is at stake, these twelve persons are considered competent to judge concerning the matter, and they have the power to inflict certain punishments. These punishments never take the form of imprisonment, chains, or any other corporal punishment; but of fines, it may be of some piece of clothing, a deer skin, or a jar of their strong drink, according to the offence.

At certain times of the year the natives go about for three months in a state of perfect nudity. They declare that, if they did not go about then without any covering whatever, their gods would not send them any rain, and consequently there would be no rice harvest. If any councillor meets a man transgressing this law, he has the power to take away whatever clothing the culprit may have on, and also to inflict a fine of two small garments, or two deerskins. For this reason, these councillors go and sit by the side of the roads in the morning and at night, when the people are either going to or returning from their fields, in order to see who among them may be wearing any clothing, in which case they take away the garment and fine the offender. That this is so, I have myself seen, on my journey from Sinkan to Mattau. On one occasion there I met some inhabitants of the latter place returning from their fields. One of them who had some raiment on, seeing a councillor in the distance sitting by the roadside, asked me to take care of it till we had passed the councillor, as otherwise he would be punished. At the man's request I did so, and on coming near the councillor I showed him the garment, saying it belonged to one of the persons who were with me. He would willingly have used force to obtain possession of it, and insisted upon my saying who the owner was; but I refused to answer this question and went my way; and, when entering the village, I returned his property to the native, who declared that I had done him real service.

There are also times when they may wear a garment, but it may not be made of silk. If by chance the councillors meet any one wearing a garment made of silk, they force the transgressor to hand it over to them and a fine is inflicted. When, on certain festival days, the women deck themselves out and make a great show, if one of them seems to have on more garments than is necessary, or to have vainly decked herself out in an extravagant way, she is likewise punished by the councillors; who, in presence of all the people, cut the clothes into pieces, pretending that this is done to prevent the women from showing themselves off in too splendid attire.

Further, there is a period when these councillors must desist from fulfilling certain offices or duties. For example, during the time that the rice is half ripe or not yet quite full grown, they may not become intoxicated, nor touch sugar, *pietang*, or any kind of fat. I asked them the reason of this, and they told me that, if they became drunk or ate any of these things, the deer would get into their rice-fields and destroy them, and that if they did not keep this law strictly, the people would look down upon them with contempt. Let, then, these remarks suffice as regards their mode of government.

Theft, murder, manslaughter, and adultery, are not punished by law;

every one revenging himself when he fancies he has been wronged. Thus, when some one steals a thing, and the theft becomes publicly and notoriously known, the person who has been robbed takes some friends with him, and they enter the house of the thief and take as many things as they can lay hold of, or compel the offender to make some kind of compromise. If, however, the thief does not consent to this mode of procedure, the owner of the stolen article makes use of his sword, and calls all his people and friends together to wage war against the offender. A somewhat similar course is followed when a man is found to have been unduly intimate with the wife of another. The aggrieved husband goes to the house of the offender and takes two or three pigs from the stable: this is the punishment for adultery. When a person is murdered, the friends of the murderer and of the murdered meet, and the matter is compounded for by the payment of a number of skins; and when the injured parties are satisfied, the murderer is allowed to return.

Although there is in reality no distinction of rank among these people, and therefore no superiors and inferiors, no servant, no master—and consequently no words for master and servant in their language,—yet, according to their peculiar customs, they treat one another with much respect and courtesy. They consider age to be the great mark of distinction; and show more respect for it than on account of any one's mere social position, power, or riches. Thus, when two persons meet on the road or in the street, the younger will invariably go a little out of the way for the elder, and turn his back towards him till he has passed; and even when younger persons meet on the road and speak on matters of business, they will take great care to turn their backs to an older person till he has entirely passed by. When an older man bids a younger one do anything for him, the latter will not have the courage to refuse to do it, although he should require to go two, three, or four miles to execute the commission. In company the younger will never venture to speak while the older ones are doing so. At their public meals, or when they meet to drink, they invariably serve the more aged persons first; age alone being considered. They show their respect for each other in this way.

Let us now see what their marriage and funeral customs are. As regards marriage, no man is allowed to marry just as he pleases. The men must have attained to the age of twenty or twenty-one before they can marry; for, although this people do not keep any account of years, they thoroughly remember who is older and who is younger. Those who are born in the same month, or in the same half or whole year, are considered to have been born at the same time, and to be of the same age. In their language this is called *saat cassiuwang*. On reaching this age they may marry; but those who are *cassiuwang*, or too young, may not marry. This they remember and never fail to observe.

From their youth till about their fifteenth or seventeenth year they may not let their hair grow longer than just to cover their ears. They also practise the art of shaving as we do, but they have neither scissors nor razors. Instead of using a pair of scissors they employ a *parring*; they lay their hair

upon a piece of wood and cut it off with a *parring*. The hairs of the beard they do not cut off with a razor, but pluck them out with a copper or iron instrument. For this purpose they sometimes take a thread made of bamboo, double it up, fix the hair in it, and then, with a sudden jerk, pull the hair out. They have a great dislike to beards, for which reason they in the same way remove the hair on the face as well as on other parts of the body. From their seventeenth year, they allow their hair to grow as long as they like, just as the Chinese do. When their hair is long they begin to woo. Thus much as regards the men.

As regards the women, they are allowed to marry as early as they are thought fit to do so. The women let their hair grow, and do not cut it.

The following is the way in which they enter upon marriage or go a-courting. When a young man feels a regard for a young woman, the first thing he does is to send his mother, sister, cousin, or any other female friend, to the house where the object of his affection resides, sending at the same time the gifts which he has destined for her as his wife. His messenger asks the father, mother, or friends to give the young woman in marriage to the youth, and displays the things she has brought as a dowry. If the father, mother, or other friends are satisfied with the proposal, the goods remain in the house and the marriage is considered as settled; no other ceremonies being required. There is no wedding either, but the young man may pass the following night with the woman he has chosen.

The value of the goods forming the dowry varies considerably, one giving more than another, every one according to his means. The richest give seven to eight petticoats, as many dresses, three or four hundred armlets and bracelets made of bamboo, and ten or twelve rings for the fingers. These rings are made of metal or of the horn of the deer, and each is as large as an egg of which the top and bottom are cut off, being so broad that they entirely cover a joint of the finger. By way of ornament, they wear on each finger such a ring, which is kept in its place by means of a little red cord made of dog's hair. When they have these rings on, their fingers (according to the size of the ring) stand as far apart as possible, sometimes causing the wearer much pain. This gives the hand anything but a beautiful appearance; but, according to their ideas, it is something very elegant.

The presents also include four or five girdles of very coarse linen, ten or twelve small dog's hair garments which they call *etharao*, twenty to thirty *cangans* or Chinese garments—the price of one being three-eighths of a *real* of eight Dutch shillings—a large tuft of dog's hair called in their language *ayam mamang* and highly prized by them, a straw and dog's hair ornament for the head, like a bishop's mitre and beautifully wrought, with four or five pairs of stockings made of deerskins, not tanned, but taken from the rough skin so as to be bound to the legs by means of thongs. A collection of the above-named articles is the most that the rich would give, and the price of the whole would be valued by a Dutch trader at about forty *reals*.

Others who are not so rich will give three or four bracelets or armlets of

bamboo, two or three petticoats and as many little garments, altogether amounting to the value of two, or at the most three, *reals*. The middling classes give somewhat more, as much as they think proper and can afford.

All these articles having been handed over and approved of, the young man may pass the following night with the woman he has chosen. It is not the custom, however, for the wife to take up her abode in the house of her husband. The woman remains in her own house, eating, drinking, and sleeping there; and the husband remains in his house. At night the husband enters the house of his wife, but not openly; as he has to steal in like a thief at night. Neither may he approach the fire or the candles; he is expected to lie down on the couch immediately and without speaking a word. If he wishes to have some tobacco or anything else he may not ask for it; but the custom is that he shall give a slight cough, whereupon the wife approaches him and gives him what he requires, and then returns to her own folk. When they have retired, she lies down beside her husband on the couch, but next morning before daybreak he is expected to rise, and to disappear as mysteriously as he came the evening before, without saying one word; in fact, he must very much act like a cat sneaking out of a hencoop. Nor is the husband allowed to enter the house during the daytime.

Their couches are not provided with pillows and mattresses or straw beds. Instead of a straw bed they have a deerskin, and instead of pillows they put pieces of wood under their heads. The couches are made of bamboo, on which is placed a board, and on the board a deerskin. Sometimes they simply lie on the floor with a deerskin underneath them.

The women possess their own fields with the women-folk of their own generation. These they cultivate for their own support. They always live together, and eat and drink in the same house. The husband follows the same rule; he and his folk possessing their own fields, and he remaining in his own house with his own kindred. The wife does not garner for the husband, nor the husband for the wife: each house provides for itself. During the day the men work in their fields; and the women work in their fields at night. Husband and wife very seldom meet, unless they wish to do so in secret, in a place unknown to others, and in the presence of other people they seldom address each other. It does, however, sometimes happen that the husband enters the house of his wife during the day; but then all the other women must be absent. Before venturing to visit his wife he must send some one to tell her that her husband is standing without and begs permission to enter. If the woman comes out, it is a sign that he may enter, and he is permitted to follow her within-doors; but if she is not inclined to come out, poor John may go his way again.

If children are born to them, they mostly remain with their mother in her house; but when they reach the age of twenty-three, they take up their abode with their father. In the first years of marriage the wife has no children; for, according to the laws and customs of this people, a woman is not allowed to bear children till she is thirty-five, thirty-six, or thirty-seven, years of age;

for, when she is with child, the fruit of her womb is destroyed. This is brought about in the following way : They call one of their priestesses, and, on her arrival, the woman lies down on a couch or on the floor, and is then pushed, pinched, and roughly handled till abortion follows, which occasions more pain than if the child had been brought living into the world. It is not for lack of maternal love among these women that this system is followed, but because their priestesses teach them so to act. It would be considered a great shame, a great sin, if women bore any children before the age mentioned above, and thus the fruit of their wombs is generally destroyed. They themselves have often confessed to me that they have been with child fifteen or sixteen times and had practised abortion each time. One woman told me that she was with child the seventeenth time, but would now be allowed to bring her child into the world and to be born in the natural way ; so that it is only when women are about thirty-seven to thirty-eight years of age and are with child that they allow their children to see the light of day without practising the sin of abortion.

When the husbands reach the age of fifty, they leave their gods, their dwellings, and their kith and kin to take up their permanent abode with their wives, who, of course, are now stricken in years. But they are seldom at home ; the greater part of their time being spent in the fields, where they build a hut to sleep in at night. This, then, is the nature of their married life.

It is not a law, however, that the husband must remain with his wife to the end of her days without leaving her or separating from her. If he no longer feels any pleasure in her or any inclination for her, he may leave her and marry another ; but if he cannot bring forward any other reason than disinclination, he must leave the things which he had given her on asking her in marriage in the woman's possession. If there are other reasons, however, if, for instance, the woman has committed adultery, or followed other men, or has struck her husband, or committed any other misdemeanour, then the husband is entitled to all the things that he had given her ; which law applies not only to the men, but to the women also. Thus it often happens that as many women are repudiated and others taken in their stead by one man as there are months in a year.

It is the custom for a man to marry only one woman, and not two or three at the same time. There are some who have two wives, but this is very seldom the case, and it is not considered a proper or right thing. And yet, the men are great whoremongers : for, although they have their own wives, they neglect no opportunity of committing adultery. It is, however, a rule that the wife of the husband and the husband of the wife should remain in ignorance of it. Another of their customs is that no one can marry into his own family, not even to the fourth generation.

Contrary to our custom, it is also considered exceedingly uncivil, and somewhat of an affront, to ask a relative of any woman, in the presence of others, how she does, or if she is ugly or beautiful, or to say, by way of joke,

that you would like to marry or woo her. Such expressions seem to be painful to them, and to cause them great embarrassment.

We have heard it stated that married men live in houses of their own, but sleep in those of their wives; but the rule is for unmarried men, and men who, though married, do not sleep with their wives, to have separate places in the village appointed them where they pass the night. Every group of twelve or fourteen houses has its own separate dormitory; and these dormitories being supplied with sleeping-berths, which are occupied at night by the men, and even by children till they have reached four years of age; each one sleeping in the dormitory to which he belongs.

The Formosans possess large and beautiful houses. I may safely say that I have seen none finer and more beautifully built in all India. The floors are made of bamboo; and each house has four doors, facing east, west, north, and south. Sometimes they have eight doors, two facing in each direction. All houses are built on eminences. They generally consist of clay, and are about a man's height from the ground.

The ornaments with which they usually deck their houses within and without are the heads of stags and boars. Their own finer apparel is obtained from the Chinese, to whom they sell or barter their rice and the flesh and skins of deer. These skins they use instead of gold and silver, which metals they do not possess. They have also pickaxes for delving the ground, with the spears, swords, and bows and arrows which are used in hunting and in warfare. But their best and most highly prized ornaments are the skulls, hair, and bones of the foes they have slain.

The vessels which they use in preparing and serving up food are made of wood, like the troughs for swine; their drinking-vessels are earthen pots or pieces of bamboo; while the vessels kept for cooking are earthen pots or jugs. Their food, with the exception of rice, is excessively filthy and stinking; although their beverages are good, wholesome, and nice; but only to people who are not very fastidious.

The Formosans have neither days of rest nor holidays, every day being the same with them. However, they do keep some festive days. On these occasions they assemble in great numbers and disport themselves merrily, each party in its own village meeting-house. There they dance, jump about, and display the most singular performances. The women appear decked out, according to their fashion, in their best and finest apparel, which I would willingly describe and express in Dutch, but I cannot, and my time may be much better employed. The most precious of their garments are made of dogs' hair; for as we in our country have sheep of whose wool we make cloth, so they have dogs, whose hair is every year plucked out and made up into small bundles before being dyed. With this hair they ornament their clothes, much as we do ours with gold or silver galloons, lace, or costly braid.

The natives do not, as we do, bury their dead according to the general custom of the world; nor do they burn their corpses like the Malabarese and the Gentoas on the coast of Coromandel. After performing many ceremonies

in honour of the deceased, which generally takes place two days after his death, they bind the corpse hand and foot and place it on a kind of stage or platform made of bamboo split into small pieces. This stage, which is about two Dutch ells high, is built within their houses. Then a fire is kindled beside the corpse, but not under it, so that it may be thoroughly dried. Many funeral ceremonies are then performed; such as the slaughtering of pigs, each man according to his means, and passing the time in eating and drinking without measure. Many villagers come to see the corpse, for as soon as any one dies, a drum, made from a part of a hollow tree, is beaten before the house, whereupon the people come running to the place, because they know that a person has died. The women, also, bring jars filled with strong liquor, and after having taken most copious draughts of it, they begin to dance before the house of the dead man. Their way of dancing is most singular. They have large troughs cut out of immense trees, so as to resemble East Indian chests, but somewhat longer and broader. These they turn upside down and dance upon them; producing, of course, a most hideous noise. On every trough stand two rows of women back to back, each row consisting of four or five women. They do not leap or jump or run; but, gently moving hands and feet, they dance round the surface of the inverted trough. When one party grows tired, another takes its place. Generally this dancing continues for two hours, and it may be considered their usual method of solemnising funeral rites.

In the meantime the corpse is left to dry for nine days, but every day it is washed and cleansed. On the ninth day it is removed from the platform, the survivors wrap it in a mat, and another platform is raised within the house. This platform is surrounded with many garments, thus forming a kind of pavilion, the corpse is placed upon it, and the people again celebrate a feast in honour of the dead. The body thus remains lying during the space of three years; after which period the skeleton is removed and buried in the house, an occasion which is also followed by many festivities. The above, then, is a short description of how they act with their dead.

Another custom may be mentioned here which is found in only one of these seven villages I have referred to. Whenever a person is very ill and suffers acute pain, they put a cord round his neck and pull him up as if they were going to strangle or hang him, and then let him suddenly fall; their object being to deliver the sufferer from his pains and to hasten his death.

Let us now see what the native religion is, a religion which I am sent out here to change by introducing the Christian faith. Although there are no books to be found on this island, although there is not one single individual who can read or write a single letter (if we except the Chinese immigrants, who can write as well as we can but have quite another kind of language and religion), yet they have a form of religion which is orally handed down from one generation to another.

They know nothing whatever about the creation of the world; nor that it will one day be destroyed. They fancy that our world has existed from all eternity, and that it will continue to exist for ever.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, however, is known amongst them, whence the following custom arises. When a person dies they build for him on an elevation a small and light hut, surround it with all kinds of foliage, profusely adorn it, and place upon it four flags, one on each corner. Within the hut they put a large bowl of water, and a small bamboo ladle beside it with which to take the water out; for they believe that the deceased daily visits the hut in order to bathe and wash himself. This custom as regards the dead is very strictly observed, but not one person in a hundred has any idea what reason there is for it. They only imagine that so it ought to be because it is the custom; nor do they think any more of the departed. Very aged persons, however, who have communicated the foregoing to me, are well acquainted with the meaning of this national custom.

They are also acquainted with the doctrine that the soul, after death, meets with either punishment or reward. The aged amongst them are particularly familiar with this idea. They say that when a person has conducted himself badly in this life, he will, after his death, have to suffer many torments in a broad canal or river of dirt and filth; but that those who have led a good life will pass that canal (or river), and will find again a pleasant and delightful life thereafter. According to their belief, an exceedingly narrow bridge, made of bamboo, leads across that river, over which the souls of the deceased must pass before they can reach the *Campum Eliseum*, or Land of Promise. Moreover, those who have led a bad life, and who attempt to cross that bridge, will find it suddenly turning round; and, instead of entering the Land of Promise, they will fall into the filthy stream, there to suffer great torment and pain. But very few among the natives know anything about this doctrine, there being, I believe, but one among a hundred who is the least acquainted with the idea.

As regards the sins for which they think men will have to suffer pain, they are not the sins mentioned in our ten commandments, nor any sins forbidden according to the Law of God, but sins which they themselves invent or imagine, sins to which no real importance may be attached. For instance, at certain seasons of the year they may only appear in perfect nudity, again at certain times they must wear clothes, but not of silk, they may not bear children before their thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh year, at certain seasons of the year they may not fetch oysters, and they must attend to the singing of birds before beginning a matter of unusual importance. There are many other similar things which they must or must not do, which it would require too much time to mention here. Later on we hope to do so, however, and to give some further particulars about those singular beliefs and practices.

But there are some things forbidden to us as sinful, which they too consider unlawful, such as lying, stealing, and murder. And although they really have no *juramentum*, they have, like ourselves, a certain form of oath. This is taken by the contending parties breaking a small piece of straw and rigidly keeping the promise thus made. On the other hand, drunkenness is not considered to be a sin; for they are very fond of drinking, women as well as men; looking upon drunkenness as being but harmless joviality. Nor do they regard

fornication and adultery as sins, if committed in secret; for they are a very lewd and licentious people. It would, however, be somewhat difficult for a Dutchman to persuade them to commit unchastity. They declare—when I have rebuked them for fornication—that their gods find pleasure in it. Hence, when parents know that their children commit fornication, provided it be not done in public, they laugh about it and do not forbid it. As has been already mentioned, a man may not marry before he is about twenty-one, but fornication with them is a very trifling affair.

The natives know nothing of the resurrection of the body; nor do they acknowledge only one God, but many, on whom they call and to whom they bring sacrifices. Two of these are their principal gods. One is called *Tamagisanhach*, who is supposed to live in the South. They think that he is the one who creates men, and who makes them good-looking and beautiful. His wife lives in the East, and is called *Taxankpada*. When thunder is heard in an easterly direction, the natives suppose that the goddess is speaking with her husband and reprimanding him for not sending rain; whereupon he listens and sends the rain. It is this goddess and her husband that are principally served, and to whom most sacrifices are brought,—chiefly by the women. There is also another god, who lives in the North, and whose name is *Sariafingh*; but they think he is not of much consequence. Their god *Tamagisanhach* creates man beautiful, but this god makes him ugly, full of poemarks and similar defects. Therefore, they call upon him and pray him not to do them any harm, and implore also the other god *Tamagisanhach* to protect them against *Sariafingh*; for he is the principal god and has most power. They have two other gods on whom they call when going out to wage war; one is called *Talafula*, the other *Tapaliap*. These two are most worshipped and served by the men. They have a great number of other gods besides—too many to mention here—on whom they call and whom they serve.

All other nations that I have ever known have male priests, popes, or teachers, who instruct the people and are the priests of their gods; but this nation has only priestesses, whom they call *Inibs*. The public service these *Inibs* perform in a religious capacity is twofold; calling upon their gods and bringing sacrifices to them, which sacrifices are chiefly offered in their temples, and consist of slaughtered pigs, cooked rice, pinang, and a great quantity of their beverage, as also the heads of stags and swine.

After offering sacrifice, one or two of the priestesses generally arise and call upon the gods in a long sermon or address. While so doing, these prophetesses roll their eyes, fall down upon the ground, and scream most hideously; then their gods appear to them. The priestesses lie like corpses upon the ground, and cannot be raised from it, even by five or six persons. When at last they recover consciousness, they tremble and shiver as if in extreme distress, which is a sign that the gods upon whom they called have really made their appearance. In the meantime the people who surround them do nothing but cry and weep. I have been witness of this ceremony, but have never seen any of their gods nor been able to find out what the prophetesses had seen. After

this ceremony has lasted an hour, the prophetesses climb on the roof of the temple, stand each on a corner, and again make long speeches or orations to their gods. At last they take off their garments, and appear to their gods in their nakedness, strike their naked bodies with their hands, cause water to be brought, and wash their entire bodies, now perfectly naked, in presence of all the people; but the greater part of the bystanders are women; who, however, are so intoxicated that they can hardly stand. Never have I seen their gods or any apparitions appear. This service or ceremony is public, and takes place in their temples.

Each house has a place of its own where the inhabitants call upon their gods and bring them sacrifice; but, if any difficulty occurs, they call their *Inibs* into their houses to perform the service, which takes place with many fantastic ceremonies.

It is the office of these *Inibs* to prophesy good or evil, whether it will be rain, or whether fine and beautiful weather may be expected. They judge concerning unclean places, and banish evil spirits or devils; for, as they say, many evil spirits or devils dwell amongst the people, and these spirits the *Inibs* banish with much noise and clamour. They also carry hatchets in their hands, and chase the devil till he jumps into the water and is drowned.

In the public roads also they everywhere place sacrifices for these gods, which I have more than once kicked or thrown down.

Such then are the principal manners, customs, and religious beliefs and practices of the inhabitants of the island of Formosa, to which I have been sent. I have used great diligence to learn their language, and from the outset to instruct them in the Christian faith; and I have succeeded so far that a fortnight before Christmas of the year 1628 there were a hundred and twenty-eight persons who knew the prayers and were able to answer in the most satisfactory manner with regard to the principal articles of our Christian faith; but for certain reasons none of these have been baptized. The time I have been among them till to-day is exactly sixteen months. I trust the Lord our God will bless this work, and that he will build up a church unto Himself, serving Him in all singleness of heart and mind.

3.*History of the Dutch Trade.—With reference to the recent history of Formosa, it is certain that the Portuguese and Spaniards arrived in the island long before the Dutch, and gave to it its name; but it is not known when they first came, or what they accomplished.

There are those who maintain that the English were here before us; that they built a fort on the largest island; and that, without any reason being assigned, they were maliciously expelled. Since, however, they give no year or date when this happened, we hold that this is only one of the silly tales of the envious Tavernier.

As to the arrival of the Dutch, we can speak more definitely and with more certainty. When they first began to sail to China, their real object was to trade with that country, and procure goods to take over to Japan, that they

might thus force the Portuguese out of it. But, since the Chinese were forbidden by law to allow strangers to enter their country, and many delays and difficulties were thereby experienced, it came about, for these reasons and through other accidents, that they first anchored off the island of Pehoe, one of the Fisherman's islands, which lie in $23^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, directly under the tropic of Cancer, twenty-two miles east of the island of Lamo, and twelve miles from Formosa.

Thus, the first Hollander who is known to have arrived here was admiral Wybrand van Warwyk. He sailed from Patani on 27 June 1604 for China, and, being prevented by a storm from sailing to Macao, came to anchor on 7 August off the island of Pehoe, in a very good bay on the western side. There, on 29 August, the yacht *Sphæra Mundi* joined him, after having been exposed to great danger in the same storm.

He lay there for a long time waiting for news from the Chinese, who would not allow him to go to the mainland. On 15 December he and his party left Pehoe without trading at all, partly because urged to do so by the Touzy—a Chinese official who appeared on the scene with fifty junks to prevent their landing,—and partly because they had not received the decisive answer which had been promised.

Later on—in 1607—the admiral Cornelis Matelief departed for China, and anchored off the island of Lamo, in the hope of establishing a trade; but the Chinese would agree to nothing more than that we should first go to Pehoe, whither they would then send junks to trade with us, making great promises, which came to nothing. The Dutch, seeing what the Chinese wanted, and not being accustomed to be deceived by any one, decided to follow up this attempt.

Accordingly, captain Cornelis Reyerszoon was sent out, and steered again for Pehoe, to see whether he could come to terms with the Chinese there. But the inhabitants, being only fishermen, were afraid of us and took to flight, making it impossible for us to get near them. At last, however, we succeeded; for, when the chief merchant, Johan van Melder, was sent to them in a yacht with a white flag of peace hoisted at the stern, he managed to get them to confer with us; and when they saw that we sought nothing but peace, they requested Mr. van Melder to come into the bay to speak with their chief, which he did.

As a result of this meeting, three yachts were got ready, with which Mr. van Melder sailed to the Chinchew river; but there, also, the natives took to flight on the approach of our people. At last, however, Mr. van Melder managed to speak to a mandarin, to whom he explained that he simply came to trade, and to ask the Chinese not to trade with the Spaniards in Manila. Thereupon, the mandarin promised to bring an answer after he had spoken with his superiors and they with their king; but he besought Mr. van Melder first to depart from the river and thus prevent all complications, promising that he himself would immediately go for instructions to Hokchiu, a city about seventy miles from Amoy.

After this mandarin had returned, he sent to Pehoe four junks with

messengers, amongst the latter there being a very handsome and eloquent man, named Ong Sofi, who announced to our Council that permission to trade was granted them on condition that we should depart from the island of Pehoe, as it was the king's personal property, and he would not trade with us before we left; it being impossible for him to approve of treating with people who came to his country, and who built forts therein without permission. He added that, if we wished to go to the island of Formosa, and to fortify ourselves there, the king would have no objection; but our men were not at liberty to undertake this, on account of the command they had received at Batavia not to abandon their position.

After having thus spent several years in fruitless expeditions to China, the Company decided, in 1622, to send captain Reyerszoon again to China, either to conquer Macao, or to go to the Fisherman's island and see if he could in this way establish a trade with China.

He undertook to attempt the former, but did not succeed; and he also fared very badly through the explosion of some powder-barrels. Thereupon the two English ships, with the ship *Faithful*, having on board Mr. Jaques le Febre, sailed off to Japan on 27 June. And after the vessels *Bear* and *St. Cross* had run to Lamoia to watch the Chinese coast more closely, the other ships—excepting the *Hope*, the *St. Nicolas*, and the *Palikatte*, which had to remain till the end of August to watch the ships from Malacca coming to Macao—departed on 29 June for Pehoe, where they anchored on 10 July behind one of the highest islands, which looks like a table. Between the islands there, twenty armed junks were seen on guard; and some fishermen, who ran off.

They, therefore, weighed and entered a beautiful bay, where they again anchored in eight or nine fathoms of water. The land in view was found to be flat and stony, without trees, and having nothing but long grass. Nor is any fresh water to be found there, except a few small wells, which are somewhat brackish in the dry season. Provisions all came from the mainland.

Since, however, our men had strict orders to settle down somewhere in this neighbourhood, they fixed on a haven at the south end of Formosa, and near the small island of Tayouan, where they found some Chinese settled for trading purposes. To this, they afterwards brought supplies with yachts, it being about twelve or thirteen miles from the Pescadores; not, however, without much inconvenience, since there was only eleven feet of water in the haven, which was also very crooked, so that no large vessels could enter. It may be added that this Tayouan is only a small island or dry sand-bank, barely a mile in length, and separated from Formosa by a distance of about half a mile.

On 19 July the ships *Groningen* and *Bear* weighed anchor to cross over to the Chinese coast. On the twenty-first, they sighted the mainland and passed opposite the Chinchew river, which is easily recognised from its having two hills on the north-east side, one of which resembles a pillar. On the other side of the river the land is very low and full of downs, except that just within the south-west corner there is a tower or something of that kind.

On 25 July they saw very rough land, which they took to be the island of Lanquyn, and where they anchored in fifteen fathoms of water.

On 9 August these vessels again sailed for some distance and anchored in fifteen fathoms of water, close to several islands on the coast of China; and on the eleventh they steered for Lanquyn, which was found to lie in $28^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and to be provided with a fairly good haven on its northern side, and tolerably good water, but little in the way of provisions. While lying there, they were visited by a sampan or inland boat with some Chinese on board, who presented each vessel with five baskets of white sugar, although our men suspected them to be pirates.

On 18 August, the vessels reached the western side of this island, and anchored in a better bay, where they were protected from all winds. The pirates also followed us, and handed over some supplies which proved to be of very little use. Our men afterwards found it necessary to get rid of those questionable characters, as it was noticed that they were carrying on their piracies under the protection of our own flag.

For this reason, it was decided to return to Pehoe or the Pescadores, where they again anchored on 22 August. There they found our people busy erecting a fortress, with four corners, in which twenty guns were to be placed. They also found three more vessels than they had left, namely the *Golden Lion*, the *Samson* and the yacht *Singapore*. Near the fortress was a place called Seacape, where six or seven guns were to be mounted. The fortress itself lay eighteen miles from Macao, and was meant to be very useful for intercepting the trade between the Chinese and the Spaniards.

On the day after the arrival of these vessels—i.e. 23 August—two more yachts arrived from the coast of China and reported that they had been compelled to leave a ship behind them near that coast, and to place her crew with their arms under concealment; the local Chinese having rendered much assistance in this matter.

These yachts, really sent out to see whether trade with China could be established, were first delayed for a long time by the Chinese, and ultimately sent away with the promise—which had often been given before—that they would send a messenger to the Pescadores to inquire further about the matter. This they eventually did, but no decision was come to in favour of trade. So our men soon noticed that they did not want them there, and merely wished them to leave the place, which the Dutch were very unwilling to do.

It was, therefore, decided to proceed to the coast of China on 18 October with eight sail, to see if we could induce the Chinese to trade by force or from fear; but, in making for the Chinchew river, our ships ran three miles too far south, where three of them sailed away by themselves, and five of them steered into a bay, where they seized sixty or seventy junks. Here, while our men were busy getting on board two of the captured junks, they were compelled by the strong wind to cast the fore anchors. But during the night they were unfortunate enough to lose some of their anchors, and the junks began to drift

away without the men of the yacht *Victoria* being able to help them at all, though she lay close to them.

In one of these junks, besides two Chinese, twenty-three Dutchmen were drifted away, and were captured by the Chinese, only one of them turning up again, several years afterwards. At the time of the accident, our men could neither discover the junk nor any sign of the men along the coast, and consequently left. Meanwhile, their companions in the other junk, seven in number, got into the boat, and set fire to the junk; but, as the boat could not bear any sail, and they were on a lee-shore, they cast out the grapnel. Two hours after, the rope broke, and their lights went out as they were stranded upon the beach and left to the mercy of the piratical natives.

Having, then, nothing before them but a miserable end, they prayed to God for a merciful deliverance, and remained sitting in the boat, awaiting the morning in great fear. Before morning, hearing some Chinese approach the boat, they grasped their swords, and by means of shouting and yelling turned back the Chinese, who could not, on account of the darkness, see how many of them there were. This they took as an encouraging sign.

At daybreak, they left the boat, since it had stuck too far from the land, and they put it to sea again; so, with shouldered musket and girded swords, they set out for the Sammitjoe river, before which our two yachts were lying.

Some Chinese seeing this, approached, and sent two men ahead to speak to them. Our men, however, not trusting them, levelled their muskets, and were thus allowed to pass unmolested.

On the road, they came to a house with a man and a woman in it, where they again lit their tinder, sorted their guns which had got out of order owing to the rain, procured some rice to eat from the man for which they thanked him, and departed. They afterwards found on the shore six or seven dead Chinese being preyed upon by dogs and birds, and who had evidently been slain by our men; this leading them to conclude that no help could be looked for there, but rather a sad end, by way of avenging the massacre of these fellow-countrymen.

Continuing their journey, they met a troop of about two hundred Chinese, who all fled from them; and, towards the afternoon, they reached our yachts, and fired a few shots to attract attention with the hope that they might be sent for. Instead, however, of our people coming to help or fetch them, the shooting attracted seven or eight hundred Chinese from a neighbouring town. On seeing that these came armed with knives and pikes, our men expected nothing but death; but in order if possible to prevent this, they fired several volleys among them; whereupon the Chinese, seeing that our men were determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, fell back, except a few who remained at a distance throwing stones. As these people seemed never to have heard firing before, they were very much astonished at it and greatly afraid—so much so that they asked for peace, and invited our men to enter their town.

Our men accordingly entered, and found some two thousand Chinese

standing there, who stared at them with great astonishment, never having seen any Dutchmen. They also took them into a temple, where they gave them food, drink, and tobacco. Our men, however, were always on their guard, kept close together, and held their guns in readiness, so as not to be taken by surprise.

While they were sitting there their tinder was gradually burning out, so that they tore pieces from their shirts which they twisted and made into a fresh supply of tinder. Soon after, they left the town with gratitude, and were glad to see that no one was following them, as they had only four more charges of powder. They reached their yachts in the morning by means of two native catamarans or rafts.

In the meantime the Chinese had plundered the boat of everything, but the *St. Nicolas*—having sailed for that purpose—found her again on 2 November; after which, on 4 November, our men burnt several junks.

On 9 November the boat of the ship *Bear* was lost, with the skipper Jan Janszoon and seventeen men.

On 29 November our men once more skirmished with the Chinese, and lost the surgeon of the above-named vessel. They did not know whether he was killed or captured. They burnt two junks and one village, and returned on board with many sucking-pigs, goats and fowls.

On 2 December they plundered another village and burnt it; whereupon the Chinese sent two burning junks in our direction, thus exposing us to great danger. However, we lost only one sampan.

On 13 or 14 December the ship *Haarlem* came from Japan to the coast of China and joined our ships, her men being desirous of accompanying us to the Pescadores. It departed for Batavia with eighty-four Chinese, captured by our men from time to time, on 4 January 1623.

In the meantime our men, in this same month, vainly attacked several junks. On 28 January, however, they captured a small junk, with some dried and salt fish, and eight Chinese.

On 20 February they again made an expedition, with fifty armed men, two miles inland. They overran two villages, and returned on board again, with some bags of garlic and onions.

On 28 February they captured a junk with fourteen Chinese, who had come from the Chinchew river, and who said that commander Reyerszoon had made a treaty with the people of Chinchew. This, however, did not prevent our men from taking those Chinese with them.

On 30 March they captured two more junks and a fishing-boat, with twenty-seven men; while in the month of May they captured a junk with a valuable cargo, bound for Manila, and having two hundred and fifty souls on board. The greater number they took over to the Pescadores, to be near several hundreds who were already in captivity there. Some of these captives had such long hair that when they stood upright it hung to their feet. They wore it twisted round their heads, and fastened by having a pin stuck through it.

Those Chinese were greatly afraid of our men, possibly on account of an old prophecy current amongst them, to the effect that their land would be taken by people having red hair and beards—meaning by this, fair hair. And when skipper Bontekoe—who had a red beard—was here, they seemed to fear him more than the others; believing that their prophecy was literally fulfilled by the arrival of this man with a red beard.

When brought to the Pescadores, all these Chinese, with others of their fellow-countrymen, were bound two and two, and employed in carrying baskets of earth to the new fortress. After that was finished, some fourteen or fifteen hundred of them were transported to Bantam, where they were sold into slavery, the officials not being willing to release a single one of our men in return for those Chinese captives.

Some time after, it was again decided to make use of the chief merchant, Johan van Melder, by sending him this time as an ambassador to Amoy. A letter in Chinese characters, explaining the object of his mission, was accordingly written and ceremoniously carried before him on a large board.

On his arrival at Amoy, van Melder was taken to an upper plateau surrounded with trees, where there was a house, under the verandah of which seven tables were set, each covered with a cloth down to the ground, and each having a senator sitting at the head. These senators then demanded that, before beginning the conference, Mr. van Melder should show them the customary reverence by kneeling down and tapping the ground with his head so energetically that the bystanders could hear the sound. He, however, considering that to be beneath the dignity and honour of a Christian, refused, but said he was quite willing to show them respect according to the customs of his own country. This he did, and then addressed them with uncovered head, after having introduced himself. He afterwards received many tokens of honour, but was compelled to return without accomplishing his purpose.

When an account of his journey and experiences at Amoy was laid before commander Reyerszoon—who was then at the head of affairs in the Pescadores—the latter decided to take a trip overland himself in order to become personally acquainted with the state of matters. He therefore departed with Mr. van Melder from the Pescadores to Amoy, and so on to Hokchiu, the capital of the province of Chinchew, a journey of twelve or fourteen days up the river from Amoy.

Every six miles they were taken into a building belonging to the king or governor, and entertained in a stately way. They came across many towns, which lay barely a gunshot from one another, and of which no foot of ground was unoccupied. They also found the crowds of people so great that they had difficulty in proceeding further.

On arriving at Hokchiu, they were taken into a magnificent palace or house of amusement for a Chinese who had sixteen wives, each of them being provided with a similar house. It lay in the suburbs, a mile and a half from the Town-hall, and there they appeared before the council, but only to be told, as before, that there was no possibility of trade being begun till they left the

Pescadores or Pehoe and went to Formosa. Commander Reyerszoon replied that this was beyond his power till he received orders from Batavia. However, mutual promises were made, that we should send one ship and the two junks to Batavia to negotiate with their Honours there. They then parted in friendship after seeing that the ship and the two junks were sent off to Batavia.

As for this ship and the two junks, they were detained by contrary winds, and prevented from reaching Batavia during that year; so that, the voyage lasting longer than was expected, our Chinese friends began to suspect mischief, and again sent several junks to Manila. Of these we captured four, and this gave rise to a fresh war.

In order, therefore, to establish a good understanding and resume the former negotiations, it was decided by Mr. Reyerszoon and his councillors, on 25 October 1623, that the vessels *Groningen*, *Samson*, *Muyden* and *Erasmus* should proceed under commander Franszoon to the Chinchew river to blockade it, and prevent any junks from going to Manila or any other hostile bay; but, especially, to ask for free trade on Taiwan, and to carry an offer of friendship; which, if refused, would lead to a declaration of war by land and water, according to the written instructions taken away.

They sailed on the same day, and arrived at Chinchew river on 28 October, proceeding from it to Pagoda island; where they hoisted the white flag as a signal, but no one responding, they wrote a letter to the Totok of Amoy, and sent it to him by the Chinese who lived on the island. The letter conveyed only a notice of our arrival there to trade peacefully, with a request—such as had often been made before—that this might be allowed; its concluding part containing many affectionate expressions and offers of friendship.

On 1 November a Chinese named Cipzuan came on board in a sampan, and said that if we merely came to trade in peace it would be very agreeable to them, since three hundred Chinese merchants had decided to petition the Combon of Hokchiu to be allowed to trade with us, as they had already lost much in the war, and would be ruined if it continued.

He also stated that where he lived there was a hermit who dwelt in the mountains, a man of illustrious descent and great wealth; who, since the death of his tenderly beloved wife, had always lived in solitude, and interested himself only in pleading the cause of the poor before the great of the land; and, on account of this, was respected by every one, and looked upon as a prophet or fortune-teller. This hermit had also foretold that, when our offer was received, if the Chinese fought against us, they would bring their whole country into danger.

Hereupon Mr. Christian Franszoon requested Cipzuan to bring forward this hermit if possible, which he promised to do; and accordingly he—in a somewhat stealthy way—brought him and another Chinese to the ship on 3 November.

The real reason of our presence and the purity of our intentions having been explained to this man, he said he would do his best in laying the matter

before the Totok ; and to this end we also sent another letter to that official in keeping with the terms of the former one.

Two or three days later Cipzuan came with a reply from the Totok, stating that he understood from ours we were anchored below Pagoda island and only requested peaceful trade ; that if we sincerely meant this, and had no deceit lurking behind our request—implying that that had been the case before—such a thing would be most agreeable to him. He also stated that, so far as he was concerned, a good understanding might be hoped for, but that in the former negotiations he pointed out two ways by which this could be brought about, namely, by our liberating the imprisoned Chinese, or forsaking the Pescadores—both of which proposals had been rejected.

We replied that our intentions had always been good and upright ; and that, although he thought we came to rob the Chinese and had brought neither money nor merchandise with us, this was entirely false, as our intention, now as ever, was simply to engage in peaceful trade—a request we first made twenty-three years ago.

Thereupon he asked us to send an officer who had complete authority to act in all matters ; but we replied by requesting permission to come close to Amoy with a yacht for our greater convenience ; and having obtained leave to bring up two of our vessels, we decided on 13 November that the commander Franszoon should sail thither with the yachts *Muyden* and *Erasmus*. This was done next day, while two vessels still remained below the island.

On 18 November some of our men went in a boat to the yachts to see how it was that matters were not concluded, when the treachery of the Chinese appeared clear as daylight. For, on coming near, they saw that one of the yachts was on fire already, while the other was surrounded by three fire-ships. And although some fifty more were sent to surround the *Erasmus*, our men bravely saved themselves. They were unfortunate enough, however, to lose the *Muyden*, which was past saving, and which was blown up with man and mouse.

We afterwards learned from the yacht *Erasmus*, that so soon as the vessels reached Amoy, the Totok requested that some of the principal men should come ashore to converse with him about all matters. This Mr. Franszoon respectfully refused, professing to have no sufficiently able interpreters, and requesting him, on the other hand, to send some of his men on board with full powers to treat with us.

They accordingly sent several men with full powers, who, having conversed with our men, decided to trade with us at Taiwan, and to bring as much silk thither as we could pay for with the money we were able to hand over.

They also agreed that they would not sail to Manila, Cambodia, Siam, Patani, Djambi, Andragiri, or any other places without a pass from us ; and that they would send four or six junks to Batavia to treat with His Honour there about the Pescadores, which they were very anxious we should leave.

This treaty having been made, they went ashore, but returned on board

again to request that some of the principal men should go to the Totok in order that the treaty might be written in Chinese on the one side and Dutch on the other, and attested; so that the Totok might send word to the Combon of Hokchiu, informing him how everything had been decided on in his presence. According to the custom of their country, they also brought three mandarins as hostages, and three arrows, as a pledge of their sincerity.

It was thereupon decided to send ashore Mr. Franszoon, besides Doedoe Floriszoon Kraag, skipper of the yacht *Muyden*, and Willem van Houdaan, chief merchant of the yacht *Erasmus*, Jan Pieterszoon Reus, her skipper, and a company of attendants—in all about thirty men—to settle these matters.

On landing, they were apparently very well received, tables being placed on the shore for the sailors, and plenty of provisions served out; but commander Franszoon ordered skipper Reus to keep a sharp look-out, to be very careful that the men did not wander too far away, and to take them on board again as soon as possible.

Accordingly, Mr. Reus, whose suspicions were aroused, lost no time in taking the men on board; but, on the boat of the yacht *Muyden* going in the evening, according to agreement, to fetch the three officers who had been left ashore, they were all detained, while those in the yachts did not know the cause of the delay until the fire-ships burst forth, and the whole treachery of the enemy became manifest. Besides this, the Chinese had sent on board some poisoned native beer; which, however, was discovered before it did any harm.

The commander and his companions and the other men being thus kept prisoners, it was decided to provide the necessary supplies and continue the blockade of the Chinchew river with the other three vessels, skipper Bontekoe acting as head of the expedition till February 1624, when his orders would take him to the Pescadores, and from thence to Batavia—after commander Reyerszoon had gone with the most of his ships to Taiwan.

The result of these movements was that, on 12 May, the head Chinese official was sent with a letter from the mandarins requesting that some friendly understanding should be come to; a consummation which this same official had no small share in bringing about.

Thereafter, on 1 August 1624, the ship *Zeelandia* arrived at the Pescadores, having on board the chief merchant, Pieter Muysert, and the physician, Maarten Sonk, the latter coming to relieve commander Reyerszoon, and to take over the management of our affairs there.

Meanwhile, the following understanding was come to: that we should leave Pehoe and settle at Taiwan, and that the mandarins should induce their people to go thither to trade with us.

And we were the more easily persuaded to do this on being told that the Chinese were preparing fifteen thousand fire-ships, war-junks, and stone-junks to fill up the bay of Pehoe; a state of things our men did not think it advisable to wait for, preferring to leave for Taiwan with everything, and there to prepare places for receiving merchandise and carrying on their trade. They,

therefore, destroyed the fortress on Pehoe, the Chinese lending a helping hand in this work of demolition.

We had not been long settled on the dry sandbank of Tayouan, till we found that trade with the Chinese was not forthcoming as they had promised. Later on, however, matters took a different turn.

When everything had been brought into proper order, Mr. Reyerszoon, having been succeeded in 1624 by Mr. Maarten Sonk—who afterwards became Governor and chief ruler of Taiwan—departed with six thousand pounds of raw silk and a chest of other materials for Batavia; but, after his departure, the head official of the Chinese, who had been long inland with the Totok and Combon, conferring with them on matters relating to the Dutch, turned up with some raw silk, and a letter from the Totok of Amoy to Mr. Sonk, of which the contents ran as follows:—

‘This will serve as a reply to what Your Honour asks of us.

‘The captain in China has repeatedly represented that the fort in Pehoe has been forsaken and the place properly restored, from which we observe that you have been acting truthfully. We, therefore, assure ourselves of your friendship. The vice-roy understands that the Dutch people, coming from distant lands, requests to trade with us, to the south of the line, in Batavia, and, on this side, in the island of Formosa. We have, accordingly, decided to proceed to Hokchiu to speak with the Combon and the Council there, that we may place ourselves in a relation of friendship to you.

‘The commander may freely sail to Batavia to acquaint the Governor-General with everything, since the trade is sufficiently secured for Your Honour.

‘Written in the fourth year and eighth day of the Emperor’s reign, on the twentieth day of the month.

TOTOK FOA.’

Subsequently, and with the approval of his Council, Mr. Sonk began vigorously to erect a fort, since they were very much exposed without some such protection. A site was chosen on that high sandy ground to the west of the Tayouan river. It was surrounded with planks, and the interior filled with sand in the meantime, until they secured a sufficient quantity of stone from China to build a wall round about it, and so make a strong foundation.

When finished they called it Zeelandia, probably after the name of the vessel in which Mr. Sonk came thither. It was square, neatly built of baked brick, with surrounding walls six feet thick at the strongest part, the inside walls being four feet thick. Besides this, it was strengthened with another parapet three feet high, of the thickness of half a brick. All the corners, however, were hollow and filled up with sand.

If this fort had been examined properly, it would have been discovered that it was of very little use for the purposes of assault and defence, since the guns lay so high that, even if tilted but a little, they would have shot straight into the ground and hit no one.

The fort was also badly planned otherwise ; for there was no moat round it, and no palisade or other outworks, as there should have been for further security, so that one could, as the expression is, walk in with shoes and stockings.

An additional part was afterwards built, which was surrounded by a single wall and strengthened with embrasures, but this really weakened the main fort, whose guns could not cover so isolated a position, thus causing greater needless trouble to the Company, inasmuch as more men were required to defend it.

It must be added, however, that fort Zeelandia appears to have been planned for defence, not so much against some great enemy, as against the islanders and some Chinese farmers, for which purpose it was strong enough ; but in placing it, they appear to have made their selection of a spot where they could more easily land and ship their wares. Otherwise, much could be said against the bad position of the fort. One or two wells were made in it, but the water was so brackish and unwholesome that drinking water had to be brought from the Formosa mainland.

Meanwhile, a considerable number of junks kept arriving, on board of which our men sent presents of cloth, and so fraternised with those people from China, that there was some reason to look for a successful development of our trade. As for those Chinese, they had been driven from China on account of the war, and had been increasing in Tayouan and Formosa from time to time ; until now, they formed a colony of some twenty-five thousand fighting men, besides women and children. They occupied themselves in trade and agriculture, by which latter means much rice and sugar was produced here, so that whole shiploads were annually sent to other places, from which the Company derived much profit from customs duty.

Not long after the period referred to, a serious dispute about payment of this duty and other such questions arose with the Japanese, who strongly objected on the plea that they were there six years before the agents of the Company had arrived, and were therefore the first in possession. And the truth of this statement Governor-General Koen had acknowledged in his instructions to Mr. Reyerszoon in 1622, while free trade on the island had likewise been granted to the Japanese by Mr. Reyerszoon. This, however, did not free the Japanese, any more than the other inhabitants of Formosa, from the payment of taxes, tolls and other duties, seeing that the land did not belong to them but to the Emperor of China, who had granted it to our Company in place of Pehoe, which we had evacuated on that condition, and with it the Company had got, as landlords, the duties honestly coming to them from all the inhabitants, and still more from the Japanese, who were strangers. For, although they had been there ever so long before, that did not free them from the payment of taxes and duties to the landlords ; and if any had a right to claim these payments, it was undoubtedly the Chinese.

The Japanese, however, had the impudence to ignore our Governor as lord of the land, stating that they were in nowise subject to him and had nothing to do with him. Accordingly, when Mr. Sonk sent notice of this to Batavia,

he was distinctly ordered by Their Excellencies to claim and exercise supreme power in Tayouan in Their name, without fearing any one or apologising; and to inform the Japanese that, if they were inclined to trade there, they must pay the same taxes and duties as others. What trouble their refusal to do so brought upon us, we will mention in the proper place in the sequel.

On 20 January 1625, Mr. Sonk, having been made Governor, amicably bought from the Formosans on the mainland as much land as he thought the Company would need, in order to have some decided right and possession in Formosa itself. He bought this in Sakam for fifteen cangans or viquamas—a kind of clothing. The purchase is clearly proved by a resolution passed on 19 February and signed by the following members of Council: Maarten Sonk, Gerard Frederikszoon de With, Adriaan Verhee, Gysbert van Zuylen, and Gerard Hendrikszoon.

This is a completely different story from that of Tavernier, who tells us (vol. ii. p. 186 *et seq.*) that we made the English—who had taken the land from the Spaniards—drunk, and then overmastered them and slew them all—a falsehood which has no foundation in the world.

In the time of this Governor, a small fort was placed on the shore, a good half-gunshot from the other fortress, at the place where vessels enter the harbour. It was sixteen feet high, built of stone, with seven flankings and twelve guns, and was garrisoned by twenty-eight men; and it could easily prevent a vessel from gaining entrance to the harbour.

Mr. Sonk, who started from Holland in 1619 and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope—as may still be seen from an inscription cut in a rock at the Cape—with Mr. Jacob Dedel in 1620, did not perform much more in Tayouan; nor had he the opportunity, for he died there in December 1626.

He was succeeded in the same year by Mr. Gerard Frederikszoon de With, the second in command, who thus became the second chief ruler there. He had first the title of Commander, and was afterwards made Governor. He cannot have conducted himself very well; for he did not remain long, and did not deal very wisely with the Japanese; although it seems that he merely followed out former instructions, since Their Excellencies had enjoined his predecessor to make it so unpleasant and unprofitable for the Japanese—without giving open reason for dissatisfaction—that they would of their own accord give up the trade there, if they continued unwilling to pay the duties and taxes. It is in keeping with this that, when Mr. Pieter Janszoon Muysert was chief merchant and ambassador in Yedo at the Court of Japan in 1626, he noticed that there was great dissatisfaction amongst the Japanese magnates on account of the injustice done to the Japanese in Taiwan.

Mr. de With did not remain there longer than 1627, and had then to give everything over to his successor, Mr. Pieter Nuyts, who became the third Governor of Formosa.

This gentleman arrived at Batavia in the *Golden Seahorse* on 10 April 1627, and sixteen days after, was appointed Governor by Governor-General de Carpentier. He was also instructed to go as ambassador to Japan, in

addition to Mr. Muysert mentioned above, since matters had become complicated at the Court there, owing to the mismanagement of some affairs connected with the Japanese in Taiwan, and an energetic man was required to put things right without delay. He strongly urged upon His Excellency that he was still young and inexperienced in Indian affairs, and wished to be excused; but it was all of no avail, and this matter was as it were forced upon him.

He departed on 4 May, and reached Taiwan on 28 June; and after having taken over everything belonging to the Honourable Company from Mr. de With, he made preparations for going to Japan. Before leaving he wrote the following letter to Mr. Nyenrode:—

‘CASTLE ZEELANDIA, 16 June 1628.

‘SIR,—Your missives, transmitted by the *Heusden* and *Chinchew*, duly reached us. Shortly thereafter, when the vessel *Vrede* arrived in the roadstead here, it was sent off with a full cargo under commander de With, in company with the yachts *Erasmus*, *de Haan*, *Slooten*, and *Heusden*, armed with the bravest men, to the coast of China, leaving this place garrisoned by three hundred and twenty men.

‘Up till the present time nothing has returned of all this force; excepting a small junk, in which the Dutch had fled, with news that His Honour was to have sailed from the Chinchew river to a place called Tamsaia, situated close to Lamoia, at the request of the Combon, Totok, Hayto, and other Chinese magnates, to put down the pirate I-quan; in return for which the Combon had given a written promise that the Dutch should certainly obtain permission to trade from the king.

‘The said commander, on arriving there, was so overwhelmingly attacked by the Pirate’s fire-ships that he had to make his escape to Java with the *Vrede* and *Erasmus* without firing a shot, having previously instructed the remaining yachts and junks to return hither. But, as we have said, not one of them has appeared yet.

‘The yacht *Ouwerkerk*, with Mr. Nicolaas Ketting on board, was burnt in the river and the crew captured in Macao, so that had any one arrived here on the twentieth day after the departure from Costi, he would have found us with no naval force and in a very defenceless state. God be praised that the enemy did not put in an appearance at that time, or verily they would have captured this place without resistance.

‘The Pirate was so enraged at this, that—having over a thousand junks with him—he injured us in every possible way. For example, he seized a large junk with eighty-five Dutchmen; after that, another with two anchors and ropes sent from here to the commander; also, our junk *Sinkan*, with merchandise belonging to different merchants, to the value of over eighteen thousand *reals* which they meant to take over to China in safety; and then

two junks, in one of which was Mr. Joannes van der Hagen, who was sent to Chinchew to take over our silk from the hands of Simsou. This Simsou was himself likewise taken and killed; all his possessions taken, the land of Amoy occupied; the Totok expelled, and the whole coast brought under his tyranny. Lastly, the Pirate also captured our yacht *West-Kappel* with everything in it.

‘Such, then, is the fruit of this imprudent undertaking. Since these things happened, we have spent more money in providing for daily supplies than would be required to provide a cargo. No vessel can show itself on the coast of China, or I-quan has it in his power. We are waiting here powerless with three hundred and fifty men; and if we are not relieved immediately, I doubt whether Your Honour will receive anything from here; except, perhaps, a ship to repair.

‘After this, there followed the arrival of several Japanese junks with four hundred and seventy men; whose captain, Jaffioen, while yet outside the roads, loudly called out to skipper Heyn and Franz Kanon—the former having been sent out to him as pilot—proposals of a most insulting kind, and also acted in a very suspicious way. We were obliged because of this—as well as in obedience to our secret instructions from Your Honour and from Mr. van Firando,—to be diligently on our guard and to watch everything with double care in order to secure our position here.

‘When, therefore, these junks were within the bay and out of danger, we placed them alongside our ships, overhauled them thoroughly, and took away all their weapons; partly on account of the impudent proposals mentioned above, and also because of the whole extraordinary incident itself. For we found those junks exceptionally well armed and equipped, the largest one—not much larger than the others—having six field-pieces mounted on deck, and nine more below among the ballast. It was thus no wonder we were warned by some Chinese who had come over as passengers, and had been put ashore immediately on arrival, that there was evil brewing.

‘The captain repeatedly sent to me about the examination of the junks; but I disregarded all his messages, replying that if he had anything to ask, he should come ashore and make his requests personally in the usual way; but he, suspecting mischief, would not consent to this, until he saw matters could not be settled otherwise. When, therefore, he did come to the house, I made him appear before me; and after listening to his harangue about examination of the junks, I answered that although such a thing had never happened before nor had been practised under commander de With—who governed according to his own ideas,—the governorship of that honoured gentleman had expired, but now I was here and my orders must be obeyed by formally examining the junks, as our vessels in Japan were, both on arrival and departure; and that he need not be astonished at this, as his own outrageous proposals had given double cause for it. Seeing, however, that he would in nowise give his consent, I left him in a separate room, and went aside to confer with our lieutenant, Mr. Muysert, and a few military officers. Here he was detained for five or six days, with several merchants who had accompanied him, until

the unloading and due examination had been properly carried out. We removed from the junks fifteen pieces of cannon, quantities of swords, guns, pikes, soap-knives, arrows, bows, and other articles ; which we afterwards fully restored in as good a condition as when we removed them ; while during the interval, we allowed the captain to have them cleaned as often as he wished.

‘I also told him that it was unnecessary thus to appear before his friends with so many soldiers and so much ammunition of war ; adding that we had men, fortresses, and ships to defend ourselves against all enemies. He, seeing his deceit was exposed by the discovery of his weapons, did not know what position to take or how to account for everything ; for he was not prepared for the step we had taken. Ultimately, he replied that he had brought them for defence on the voyage. I replied that the danger was past now, and when he departed everything would be restored to him—as was afterwards done. Hereat he was greatly enraged, and seeing no other way of escape, he threatened to make serious complaints in Japan about the Dutch. He even dared to say openly in my presence that he and his master, the Phosodonne, were the cause of our not obtaining an audience, boasting in addition that those who were in favour with the Phosodonne, had at the same time the goodwill of the king. Many other blasphemous and contradictory proposals did he make, too devilish for me to attempt to send them to Your Honour.

‘After he had been some time in his lodgings, he did not cease—for an unsteadfast and godless spirit never rests—to seek by dishonest and roundabout ways to get his weapons out of my hands ; but in vain. Because, too, not a penny was to be gained here, he desired that I would allow him to fetch from China the merchandise he had left there in former years ; and be permitted to hire or buy seven or eight junks and to man and arm them with his men, that they might be sent out for this purpose ; but I returned a negative answer to all these proposals, as before.

‘Seeing, however, that—in keeping with his insolent boasting—he could cause much trouble by false complaints in Japan, and that you would not have to be responsible for us ; and seeing that he would continue his threats for compensation till he got it, we ultimately granted his request—although this was beyond the limits of his pass—as appears from an original writing signed by him and his principal merchants, which cannot be safely sent by this junk.

‘But, after consent had been given, it so happened that the junkmen did not want to run the risk of going out on any such service, plainly declaring that it was against their laws, and they would rather be slain there by men than cause the execution of fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, wives, children, and their whole families ; which would certainly take place if they thus illegally brought in Japanese who had been banished from their country. Accordingly, nothing further came of this abortive attempt. They afterwards informed me that they wished to go in their junks to Pehoe, there to draw up some kind of proposals, but they again changed their intention, and said they would go direct to Japan. These, then, are the principal matters that passed between us.

‘I may add here that the loss of ten thousand *taels* to the Company this year is of less consequence than our being without a good interpreter. Had Your Honour sent us a more competent man, or sent Mr. van Firando in a Dutch ship, according to the understanding come to when I was at Yedo, it would have been possible to describe everything to you more clearly and vividly; whereas we must now hold back that which, for want of an abler man, we cannot accomplish.

‘I-quan has formed an agreement with the king and Combon, and seeks our friendship, and as a proof of his sincerity he has restored at our request the yacht *West-Kappel*, with the money—one thousand one hundred and eighty-two and an eighth *reals*, or eight hundred and sixty-three *taels*, treasure which our sailors and the Chinese appropriated at the time of the occupation—a quantity of arrack, and everything sent by Your Honour for our table at Java.

‘From want of reinforcements our hands are virtually bound. Within four or five days we hope to get relief and orders. Trade will then—God permitting—gradually increase. Whenever it increases, Your Honour may expect a ship and cargo from here. Hitherto there is no appearance of our being able to spend any great amount for the Company on Chinese wares.

‘The ship *Edam* did not pass this way, so that, by having lost it and the *Vrede*, trading in wood is rather difficult.

‘Your Honour informed us that you had written by the Japanese junk; but, on its arrival here, they denied that they had any letters, and as no letters came by the *West-Kappel*, our suspicions were confirmed that the Japanese are not to be trusted any longer.

‘Having written thus far, the friends were called together to express their opinion about the silent departure of the Japanese junks; and they have decided—lest these our letters should not be handed to Your Honour, and the Japanese arriving first should fill the whole land with calumnies and evil reports, Your Honour may not have anything to say in reply—that the above-mentioned junks should be detained here till the arrival of the vessels from Java (which I hope will be within six days), so that in case a ship from there bound for Costi incidentally touches at this place, our letters might be sent with it, thus making sure that our friends will have a way of defending themselves.

‘But, further, seeing that Jaffioen is supposed to be a man who has committed high treason against the State—by treacherously introducing the Sinkanese,—a disturber of the public peace, and in every way an enemy and obstructor of the interests of the Company both here and in Japan, and who has been banished from that country for life as a punishment—his life having been granted him by special grace—we have to-day decided to tell him and all other merchants that the junks will be detained, but that if they should come again in a subsequent year, when trade is established, and with a captain who is reasonable and not quarrelsome, all respect and assistance—more than ever before—will be shown them by Your Honour’s representative here.

‘Finally, among the supplies sent by the *Woerden* there are a hundred *taels*

wanting; also, from the thousand bales of rice by the *Heusden*, there is a deficiency of ten *catties* per bale.—Your Honour's affectionate

PIETER NUYTS.'

In the meantime, some Japanese—probably at the suggestion of the Portuguese—quietly took sixteen Formosans from Sakam to Japan; and having formed a deputation to the king, they—as some affirm, although falsely, as will hereafter appear—induced these Sakamese to present their island of Taiwan to that prince. Contrary to expectation, however, those Japanese were refused even a hearing by the king, were commanded to depart, forbidden ever to bring any Formosans there, and ordered to take back those they had brought.

After Mr. Nuyts had made everything ready for his embassy, he undertook the voyage to Japan on 24 July of the same year, taking Mr. Muysert as his subordinate, because the latter gentleman had gone before in the same capacity.

That the Japanese are obstinate was seen in this matter; for although they had very badly injured themselves in their attempt to obtain supreme rule in Taiwan, yet they never forgot the injury done them by us here; and as long as they could, they sought to revenge themselves in every possible way. For this purpose they secretly followed us to Japan four days afterwards, intending by every means in their power to oppose the embassy of Mr. Nuyts, and make his visit a fruitless one. Mr. Nuyts was too late in discovering this and suffered for it; for the Japanese had succeeded in so arranging matters that he could get no hearing. As far as possible, however, he put the affairs of the Honourable Company in Japan in due order, and returned again to Taiwan.

How afterwards he treated the Japanese who came back from Japan with the Sakamese, and how they took His Honour captive in his own house, and he had to be redeemed by our people for a large sum of money, will be seen in due order from the following account of His Honour's imprisonment, drawn up by the Council at Tayouan:—

'Journal of what passed between the Honourable Governor Nuyts and some Japanese, with an account of the treacherous attack of the latter on Taiwan—from 29 June till 5 July 1628. Written by a friend.'

'On 29 June an exceptionally daring deed was committed here. The Japanese came—as they said—to ask permission to depart and to say farewell; but permission was in a kindly way refused by the Governor. As they were by no means satisfied with this refusal, they boldly insisted on departing, to which the Governor replied by saying that according to the decision of the Council they should not go; whereupon they flew upon him like roaring lions, took him by the head, bound his hands, feet, and waist with a long cloth band, and threatened to cut off his head if he called out.

'The chief merchant, Jacob Hooman, who had just left the room before this scene, on returning again heard the noise, and ran back calling the men to arms by shouting that the Governor was being murdered. This caused great

consternation ; and some Japanese outside the hall, who had knowledge of the plot, immediately attacked those of our soldiers who were on guard in or near the hall ; but these, being taken at unawares, and not having their guns in order, were easily put to flight, so that the field was soon cleared and our enemies left in full possession. On both sides, several were killed and others wounded, the merchant Hooman, seriously.

‘When this disturbance began, I was with the merchant Hartman in Hooman’s room, and heard the noise there. We sprang out sword in hand ; but met with such opposition that Mr. Hartman was compelled to jump through Hooman’s room window, and I through the passage door, to save our lives. Another chief merchant, Joannes van der Hagen, not being well, was lying on a chest with only his shirt on, and in a wonderful way escaped by means of a split pole through the window, otherwise—for so Jaffioen afterwards assured us—he would have been a dead man. His narrow escape also appeared from the fact that when the Japanese were vainly searching for him in his room, they cruelly murdered the servant of the Governor and his cousin, whom they found there ; and secretly buried the bodies in order to conceal their crime, as they afterwards acknowledged that they were ashamed of it.

‘On coming into the Court, we immediately called the soldiers to arms and occupied the Fort. In the meantime two or three shots were fired among the Japanese, which did some damage. I then climbed up to the gallery and came opposite the windows of the Governor, where I saw His Honour sitting so painfully bound that, partly from compassion and partly from disappointment, tears came into my eyes.

‘His Honour besought us to cease firing, or he would certainly lose his head ; and the Japanese, who desired to have me also a prisoner in the room, declared that if I did not stop the firing, the head of the Governor would be thrown out at my feet ; whereupon I sprang from the gallery and stopped the shooting in order to save the Governor’s life.

‘Immediately afterwards, it was reported to us that the men had quietened down, and that everything would soon come to a favourable termination. So the Governor commanded us to restrain ourselves, which we tried to do as far as possible. But when we learned in the meantime that large companies of Japanese were collecting, and that they amounted by noon to one hundred and fifty strong, we began to prepare for defence ; seeing they plainly declared that they were about to attack the Fort with the assistance of both the natives and the Chinese.

‘I therefore went to the Fort and called together the Council, and after full consideration it was decided to inform the Japanese that they must deliver the Governor to us before evening, or we would rescue him by force ; and that if they should have the audacity to take his life or that of his little son—who was with him in the room—they might depend upon it that not one Japanese would escape alive. It was also agreed to intimate this decision to the Governor in the first place, and to ask his opinion about it.

‘Thereupon Simon van Remortre and the private secretary of the Governor were sent to him. They soon returned with his request that no hostility should yet be shown, as matters might be attended to next morning early; his hope being that a peaceful agreement would be come to. He added, however, that on the following day a party of soldiers should be brought before the house to demand him; while he also would see whether he could not escape by jumping through a window.

‘On receiving this reply, and after much discussion, the Council decided to grant His Honour’s request, and to postpone hostile measures till the morning, in the meantime doubling all the sentries, and warning them to be on their guard.

‘Early on the morning of 30 June the Council again considered the proposal to appear before the house with soldiers, and for several reasons it was disapproved of; but they again sent a deputation to the Japanese, requesting them in a friendly way to liberate the Governor, and intimating that if they did not do this within two hours, we should take His Honour out of their hands, dead or alive, by main force.

‘The Japanese and the Governor sent the reply to the Council, that they were negotiating, and would soon come to an agreement; they therefore requested that nothing hostile should be done in the meantime, but that we should wait till the afternoon, when they hoped that everything would be arranged—a request which was granted by the Council.

‘In the afternoon His Honour wrote to the Council that the agreement for his release and the free departure of the Japanese had been made, and would be submitted to the Council. It was that His Honour should deliver five persons—his little son Laurens Nuyts, the merchants Pieter Muysert, van der Hagen, Mourcourt, and Jan Hartman—into the hands of the Japanese to be taken to Japan as hostages; while, on the other hand, the Japanese would deliver up five of their principal men; the latter to be taken to Japan by our yachts, where hostages should be exchanged and set at liberty; all of which being agreed to, the Governor would be liberated, and the Japanese would depart within four days.

‘Much was said for and against this proposal in the Council; the members finding great difficulty in seeing how the Japanese could be made to return our hostages from Japan; but all the objections were sent to the Governor in writing, with the request that he would answer immediately.

‘His Honour replied at once that everything was safe, and that there was no cause for fear, since the Japanese merely wanted hostages as an assurance on account of what they had done to him; whereupon the Council agreed to accept the proposal. Meanwhile a good watch was kept on both sides, as they did not trust one another.

‘That evening it rained—to the astonishment of many, the weather having been very hot—and on 1 July it still rained hard all day.

‘When the time came for the hostages to be handed over, the Japanese were asked if this should be done or if they had anything more to propose. They replied that they had: and, in the first place, demanded back two

hundred *piculs* of silk, which they said remained due from the Chinese merchants, but of which they had been deprived—Simsou's misfortune and the piracy of I-quan being the reasons given why they were forbidden to fetch it; secondly, they demanded that the Sinkan prisoners should be liberated; and, thirdly, they required the return of all the goods and gifts which had been taken from the aforesaid prisoners.

'The Governor and the Japanese negotiated for a long time about these things without the knowledge of the Council. To the first, the Governor would in no way agree; but about the two other demands he seemed not to have so much difficulty.

'Meanwhile, however, the Council met together in the Fort, and anxiously awaited an answer to their question about the hostages. At last, beginning to think that the delay might only give time to carry out some act of treachery, they decided that, if they received no answer before noon, they would shoot down everything in their way and do their best to liberate the Governor by force; a decision which was communicated to His Honour by his private secretary, with the request that he would reply immediately.

'His Honour's answer was given under great agitation, as might well be imagined, and pleaded the Council to have patience a little longer, as he hoped that everything would come to a favourable termination; adding also that he would send to them a written statement of his whole meaning in the afternoon; after which they could proceed as they thought fit.

'They again granted His Honour this request, and waited till they received his written reply in the afternoon. After discussing it, they thought best, so as to save the Governor's life, to wait two or three days without taking any hostile steps, hoping that in due time all would come right. Of this decision they sent notice to His Honour, who was very much pleased with it.

'On Sunday morning, 2 July, the Governor sent to ask whether we still abstained from hostilities according to the decision of the day before; and stating that, if we were doing so, he hoped for a favourable termination of the matter, since the Japanese were formulating their demand. When it was ready—and they promised on oath that nothing more should be added to it—it would be sent to us as soon as possible to decide as we considered best.

'Towards evening, His Honour sent their demands, consisting—as translated from the Japanese by Mr. François Caron—of the following items:—

'*First*: That the little son of the Governor, the commander Pieter Muysert, van der Hagen, Hartman, and Mourcourt should be taken as hostages in their junks to Japan; they offering that Sibutta Fatsemedro, cousin of Phesodro, Sayngo Soyemondunno, captain of the soldiers, Jammaocka Sinseymondeyno, overseer, Famada Sinsodeyro, son of Jaffiojodro the captain, and Onnamits Croyemondeyro, chief of the merchants, should accompany them in a Dutch yacht to Japan; thus securing the interests of His Honour and the Council.

'*Second*: That the eleven inhabitants of Sinkan—of whom four had run away—should be looked for in their houses, as also the two Chinese interpreters, and delivered over to them or restored to complete liberty.

'*Third*: That the present received by the members of the Supreme Government should also be delivered over to them.

'*Fourth*: That the rudders of our ships should be removed and brought ashore before their departure.

'*Fifth*: They demanded two hundred *piculs* of silk, for which money had been sent to China and probably fallen into the hands of the pirate I-quan; as also fifteen *piculs* of silk seized by Governor Sonk and declared forfeited.

'All this they declared—by *Semon*, the most solemn form of oath—to be their whole demand, which they would not increase; and they signed it in due form on 2 July 1628, in the town of Zeelandia.

'This demand was laid before the Council on 3 July; and after considering the matter in all its bearings, they unanimously agreed to accept (if the Governor acquiesced), but on the promised condition that no new demands should be made.

'Their resolution was come to on Monday, 3 July 1628, and reads as follows:—"The Council at present now assembled in Fort Zeelandia, having yesterday received from His Honour Governor Pieter Nuyts, Councillor for India, a certain document signed by the Japanese containing their demands, has come to the following unanimous decision, namely:—

"To grant the hostages, as also the second and third of the demands.

"Concerning the fourth, to try and get the Japanese to change their mind; but if they persist, to grant it.

"With reference to the fifth demand (the one for two hundred *piculs* of silk, which they pretend to have lost through our preventing them from bringing it away—the accusation being a very frivolous one), it is also conceded, seeing that our agency in Japan promises, if the Chinese trade prospers, to become the most lucrative possessed by the Company. Other reasons for acting thus are that, if we do anything hostile now, we should not only lose the Japanese trade, which is already of great value to us, but this station, and the life of the Honourable Governor—reasons which weigh with us far more than two hundred *piculs* of silk; whereas by admitting the claim, we may further avert the danger of losing much at Firando in buildings, goods, and servants of the Company, as also in vessels at present on their way to Japan. Seeing, therefore, that we are so heavily pressed, we think it best to yield this point, and to pay the Japanese in money, checks, or silk, on condition that the judge in Japan should consider whether the demand be just or not.

"As to the fifteen *piculs* of silk seized by Mr. Sonk, it was decided to grant that also; since the Governor-General of the Indies, Mr. Carpentier, had given orders before to pay for them in Japan; besides which, the payment could be made more advantageously for the Company here than in Japan."

'This resolution was signed by the following members of Council: Pieter Muysert, Johannes van der Hagen, Jan Hartman, Jacob Hooman, Abraham de Mourcourt, Jacob Heyn, Matthys Balen, Lambert Jeronimus, Teeuwis Willemssen, Jan Henrikssen Spiering, Andries Thiry, Michiel Snel, Simon

van Remortre, Abraham le Poivre, Paulus Traudenius, Antoni Michielszoon, and Dirk Janssen, private secretary.

'The Japanese engaged honestly and faithfully to do what had been promised in the sealed compact; and they further promised that, if the above-mentioned matters were settled to-morrow before sunset, they would withdraw three days after, not leaving a single Japanese behind. This agreement they also signed on 3 July 1628.

'On 4 July the weather was beautiful, and we had comfort in settling about the method of procedure. It was found best that all the silk in the storehouses should be given to the Japanese, and the value of the rest in money, each *picul* being calculated at a hundred and forty-one *taels*; and that twenty *per cent.* should also be paid on those *piculs* as interest. Regarding the fifteen *piculs*, for which two hundred and ninety-five *taels* would have had to be paid in Japan, only a hundred and forty-one *taels* were paid here, thus recovering the amount of the interest which had been charged against us. When all this was done, the hostages were to be exchanged, whereupon the Governor and the Japanese were to be liberated.

'On the morning of the fifth, when the silk was handed over as agreed, it was discovered that there were one hundred and twenty *piculs* fifty-three *catties*; and, for the seventy-nine *piculs* forty-seven *catties* still wanting, there was weighed out eleven thousand one hundred and eighty-four *taels*, seven *maces*, and four *candareens*, besides two hundred and fifty-six *taels*, six *candareens*. In all, we paid them thirteen thousand five hundred and forty *taels* and eight *maces*. The other fifteen *piculs* were given separately; whereupon, everything being settled, the Japanese began to prepare to leave in the morning. Meanwhile the Governor wrote the following letter to his Council:—

' "To the Honourable Council at Fort Zeelandia.

' "The insolence of the Japanese yesterday had its origin in the voyages they have made; for seeing that their friendly requests, often repeated, did not avail, they had recourse to extreme means.

' "God be praised! He has given us considerable prudence, and has prevented them from accomplishing their evil purpose; for they had decided to give me my *quietus*, and to fill their own pockets.

' "They mentioned no other reason for their conduct than that we intended to keep them here and gradually to destroy them—for having taken away the Sinkanese, and preventing us from obtaining an audience of the king.

' "But matters have been satisfactorily arranged, and we shall hope that all further ills, both here and in Japan, may now come to an end.

' "If my advice had only been followed by allowing them to go in peace, every difficulty might have been prevented. No one, however, is to be blamed, for I know that Your Honours' intention was good.

' "These people had a firm belief that they would never be allowed to depart, but be given over to perish here of hunger and distress; but at last

we came to an agreement that their departure should be safeguarded by hostages being exchanged, five of your number in return for five of their principal men.

“The first and principal of our hostages—about which for a long time we could not agree—is my own flesh and blood, my son Laurens; the others are Messrs. Muysert, van der Hagen, Mourcourt, and Hartman. These will have to go in their junks; while, on the other hand, the captain of the soldiers, his son, the cousin of Phesodro, the overseer, and Croyemon, the chief merchant, will be placed by themselves in our ships until they depart, and will then follow in one of our yachts.

“From this arrangement they cannot be moved, since they fear that we will still revenge ourselves. And although my own son and some of you accompany them, they are not quite satisfied, but seek perfect security in everything, knowing what might otherwise result from so daring a deed as this they have perpetrated, and fearing they will be attacked by us when out at sea. It was on account of this they demanded even my own person, with skipper Heyn and the lieutenant, for greater security; but, after long discussion, we agreed upon the five before-mentioned persons on either side; our hope being that when they have calmed down a little, this number may be diminished.

“The captain has assured me that our trouble has certainly no other cause than that I have now referred to, and has sworn that he will reveal wonderful things to me about Japan; adding that, if we follow his advice, our present will be graciously accepted. And we believe this the more, seeing his merchants assert that our interests are not suffering at Court.

“Your Honours need not take exception to the five hostages we have selected, or ask why Kitsisemondeyro and others were not chosen, because I hoped that our assailants might thus be led to diminish the number of our hostages by acquitting my little son and Mr. Muysert.

“We are at perfect liberty to take whom we wish to Japan, except the two captains, who cannot leave their junks; and if the Council thinks fit to change several of the hostages there will be no difficulty about doing so.

“We consider this agreement to be a sufficiently satisfactory one; that is, if no one desires our being exposed to greater danger both here and in Japan, and if Your Honours prove by deeds that you are, as you profess, in earnest. We, therefore, look for a favourable, straightforward, and reasonable reply.

“Your Honours may safely believe this our statement, that all difficulty has arisen from the above-mentioned reason alone. Excuse the bad penmanship, as my hands are still a little unsteady from yesterday's restraint, although without chains now. In haste. May the Lord God abide with Your Honours and enable you to embark on the same vessel with me; namely, that of true moderation and reasonableness. Farewell.—Your Honours' affectionate

PIETER NUYTS.”

‘In a later letter to the Council, the Governor met objection which was made to the hostages on our side by offering to go to Japan himself, if that were thought necessary. He added, however, that he did not himself think there was any need for this, but advised the members of Council to act in a wise and praiseworthy way, and assuring them that everything would yet turn out for the best.

‘After Mr. Nuyts had been liberated, he addressed the following letter to Mr. Nyenrode, commander in Japan, giving an account of what had taken place, and asking his advice:—

“SIR,—The accompanying copies of original missives of His Excellency Governor-General Koen will show Your Honour what is ordered and recommended to us in particular, and to Your Honour; and it is on account of the pressure of business and to save repetition that we send them on.

“On 16 ult. we delivered a letter to Quitsisemondonne, of which a copy accompanies this.

“What afterwards took place between us and the Japanese, Your Honour will be able to learn from the enclosed documents and resolutions, and from Mr. Muysert, Jo. van der Hagen, Mourcourt, and Hartman. These show how Jaffioye and some fellow-conspirators came to us on 29 June intending to say farewell before their departure—although it had been decided by the Council to detain them till we had returned from the coast of China, in order that, if any silk could be procured, some might be left to them. But, not to multiply complaints, I will only say that, after long discussion in my room, where there were no friends with me except my little son and Frans the interpreter, the said Jaffioye with twelve or fourteen other merchants daringly attempted to murder us.

“Mr. Hooman, to whom we had given some instructions about unloading the yachts from Java which were lying in the roads, had gone out, suspecting nothing, but was so hacked by the Japanese in the front part of the house as to be in danger of his life. Thereupon a serious struggle ensued, and everything being in confusion, some Japanese and two Dutchmen were killed. I myself received a cut in the arm, and warding off one from the head, before being bound with cords and pinioned in Japanese fashion.

“When the armed Japanese who were concealed in various parts of the house heard what was going on and appeared on the scene, I asked the captain what his intention was, and why he undertook so base a deed, knowing full well that we had sufficient men to destroy them all. He replied that, seeing we would not allow them to depart, they concluded that we meant to destroy them; but wished to anticipate this by first taking my life, and then fighting us all till the very last.

“Mr. Muysert and other friends, who now and then appeared before the house, seeing that we were not yet murdered, demanded our release; adding that if this were refused they would be compelled to open fire. On our meaning being made plain to the Japanese, they declared they would

neither surrender us, nor leave the house, without some guarantee that they would be allowed to depart in safety, which decision they were determined to abide by even although the last Japanese should suffer for it.

““Ultimately, and after having been again and again considered by the Council, matters were arranged as stated in the accompanying papers. From these, Your Honour will see what insult, disgrace, and loss, the friends thought it necessary to bring upon the nation and Company in order to retain our foothold in Japan and to save our very lives.

““In view, therefore, of what has taken place, will Your Honour be good enough to go immediately to the factory at Nangasaki—lest the friends may be taken by surprise—and consider there how the interests of the Company can be best secured. We think it might be done in the following way :—

““On the arrival of the junks, seize the one hundred and twenty *piculs* and fifty-three *catties* of silk which the Japanese by force extorted from the Council, besides the thirteen thousand five hundred and forty *taels* eight *mace*, which were paid in place of the two hundred *piculs*, in order that the matter may if possible be tried and judged before Cauwaytsdonne. Should this trial take place, Your Honour will not be remiss ; but will—should the Council signify approval—join Mr. Muysert and others in boldly urging our claims, so that the Company may not suffer any loss.

““But if you get no hearing, nor restitution of what has been extorted from us, it will become a matter of serious consideration for the Council, whether we should not leave Japan with everything belonging to the Company, and cut ourselves entirely away from it. If this be decided upon, you will kindly collect all our belongings, and send them over as soon as possible.

““And it may be well for Your Honour to make it known that you are about to leave Japan ; for, although we were to consider everything, and matters have been settled thus far in the interests of the Company, the Governor-General may think it advisable that this insult should not remain unpunished. But full details will be found in the accompanying papers.

““It may be that, if the matter of the two hundred *piculs* of silk be allowed to pass, no more complaints will be brought against our nation ; and if this seems probable, Your Honour should deliberate carefully before removing the factory ; as it is too good a source of income for the Company to be thrown away.

““On the other hand, the accounts which the Japanese have given us, mostly represent debts which are of three, four, and even five, years' standing. They do not include a single one from Simsou, and there is really little or nothing to be got from any of them ; but those which are valid should be collected, however small. We have made copies of them, and herewith send you the originals that they may be delivered to the Councillors to prove that the complaints of the Japanese merchants are frivolous. Those merchants state that, through our fault, they were not able to secure their capital during the year ; but this has been lying out for four or five years. However, that we daily communicated with the Japanese is described in various writings signed by themselves.

“Above all, we recommend Your Honour to zealously guard the Company from loss; and, if at all possible, to keep possession of that trading station. From want of time, the foregoing statement is not so detailed as we could have wished.

“The yacht *Erasmus* also takes a cargo from this, as *per* accompanying Invoice, which it is hoped will be found correct. Credit the General Account with it. That cargo with those in the Japanese junks amount exactly to 11,948 *gulden* 12 *stuivers*.

“Our requirements for this season are as follows:—

240 oak planks, 2 inches thick.
30 ditto, 4 inches thick.
80 white pine ditto, 2½ and 3 inches thick.
2000 bales of rice.

“Also, as many *miacose* and *sunghy* planks as the vessels can conveniently carry. The *sunghy* planks must be single.

150 barrels whale oil.
50 barrels rosin.
50 bales hemp.
300 Japanese dresses.
300 pairs of socks.
300 pairs of shoes.
2 neckties.
1 *tael* weight.

“In the confusion, several little things were stolen by the Japanese out of my office, which was open, such as: a gold chain—the property of the Company—a small silver oil can, a saltcellar, three plates, two forks, knives, and other articles. Your Honour might send in a claim for them. In haste, with greetings and recommending you to God. Kindly sell for the Company the large junk which was lent to the Japanese.

“Given in the town of Zeelandia, 7 July 1628.—Your Honour’s affectionate

PIETER NUYTS.”

We cannot refrain here from inserting the Report on trade in Taiwan which Mr. Nuyts drew up, since it gives a very correct idea of the whole subject.

“Short account of the Chinese trade, to be laid before the Governor-General and Councillors of the United East India Company.”

“Since, Honourable and Generous Gentlemen, we notice that many excellent persons, both here in India and in our Fatherland, speak of the Chinese trade and the place it occupies, in a way unsuitable to its true value and greatness; and since—so far as we know—no thorough and clear account

has been given of it by any of our predecessors, we feel ourselves compelled, for the sake of the Company, and for the advantage of Your Excellencies in authority, to do this as concisely and clearly as possible, trusting to such personal experience as we have had during the short time we have been at the head of affairs and have been travelling in China.

'The island of Formosa, where Your Excellencies have the fortress of Sakam, is called Pockan by the Chinese; while the adjacent little island of Tayouan has been named by us, Zeelandia.

'Formosa lies 21° north of the equator, extends lengthwise nearly south by west and north by east, up to $25^{\circ} 30'$ north; and is about thirty-two miles south-east from the Chinchew river or Amoy. No better place could be found for the Chinese trade, as it can be visited and the river be navigated at all seasons of the year.

'On Tayouan Your Excellencies have now a small fort on a high sandy down—the islet, which is only half a mile from Formosa, being sandy by nature—built largely of brick. We hope it will be finished within two years; but, since it is very apt to sink in the rainy season, a good deal of expense is annually required for repairs. The entrance to the channel is narrow, and has more than fourteen feet of water at high tide, but inside there is a depth of five fathoms; and here vessels can lie sheltered from all winds.

'Formosa has unusually high and beautiful mountains. The inhabitants, although good-natured, are very lazy and addicted to begging, but are contented with little. Each household sows only as much as it is thought will be required during the year. Some sugar-cane and some few vegetables are found growing wild, and there are also some trees. The soil would become fruitful and profitable if cultivated. We will refer to this again elsewhere, and also to the morals of the people, but we turn to other matters at present.

'From Tayouan and Formosa Your Excellencies' money is sent by Chinese junks to the agent of the Company, or any other reliable merchant in China, that he may purchase such goods and wares as are in demand in Japan, the Indies, or the Fatherland—these transactions being connived at by the Combon, or Vice-roy of the province of Fokien.

'Some merchants also come here from China to offer their wares for sale. But this brings in very little profit; and therefore when the time approaches for our yearly fleet to be sent to Japan and Batavia, and Chinese goods do not flow in very fast, we are compelled to go with two or three junks to China and even to Amoy, where the Authorities connive at having goods brought on board in abundance, weighed and bought, and then immediately sent hither. The difference in price there is eight or ten *taels* on the *picul* of silk.

'To Manila, all Chinese wares are openly sent from China in Chinese junks which pay export-duty to the emperor of China; and, in order to attract Chinese merchants and secure a monopoly of trade, the Spaniards were in the habit of advancing large sums of money, but the Chinese often failed to return with the value in goods. This went on for several years, till we settled here and the ravages of the pirates began, whereupon Chinese vessels were first kept

at home, and then gradually began to visit us, so that during the last few years very little trade has been carried on at Manila.

'The Portuguese of Macao have now traded with the Chinese for a hundred and thirteen years, and through exceptional payments, gifts, and embassies have got permission from the Emperor of China to remain there, and to go twice a year to Canton—where there are two large annual markets—and buy goods. They probably make more profit than either the merchants in Manila or we here, because long residence enables them to know better than others where they can obtain the finest goods and the largest variety of kinds. They have also abundant opportunity in ordering the material they want, and in fixing the length, breadth, patterns, and the exact weight of the silk, as they know what varieties are most in demand, and where these can be sold most advantageously, whether in Japan, the Indies, or Portugal.

'Since, however, they began to build forts and so forth, the Chinese have become suspicious, fearing that they would force themselves into China as they did into Malacca. Accordingly, the Portuguese have suffered such an amount of ill-treatment, loss, and inconvenience from the Chinese mandarins and governors at the annual markets, that they have gradually been compelled to remain away altogether, and to have all their goods brought to them by others. Owing to this, and to several mishaps at sea, their profits have greatly decreased, so much so that if their voyages to Japan could be stopped, their trade in China would of its own accord collapse; and they be reduced to such straits that they would have to leave Macao itself, seeing they have neither territory nor a fixed revenue there.

'Since the Honourable Company has settled in Zeelandia, two serious difficulties have caused us much inconvenience: namely, the erection of a fortress by our common enemy on the northern part of Formosa, and the presumptuous claims of the Japanese in wishing to share the trade with us. Both these dangers have to be faced, but by different means. The Spaniards must be met by open force; whereas the Japanese can be overcome only by a kindly gracious behaviour, without allowing them to know the real object we have in view. And this policy should be carried out at once, for long delay must be followed by irretrievable ruin.

'It is, indeed, certain that the only support of the Spaniards and Portuguese in India is the China trade. The wars we have everywhere waged against them, with the disgrace they have come to in Japan, have so weakened them, and ruined their trade in other countries, that there is no other place except China where they can make any profits worth mentioning. Accordingly, if we could succeed in depriving them of this trade, or at least in lessening their profits from the same, as we have often done elsewhere, they would be compelled to abandon their best settlements, such as Macao, Manila, Malacca, and Timor; while their factory at Moluccas would lapse of itself.

'The Authorities at Manila clearly see this; and they know, only too well, that they have no other way of retrieving their lost position than by obtaining possession of Formosa, if it be possible. It was these considerations which

moved them in 1626 to seize Kelang in the northern part of the island, where they built a fortress. And in the following year, they assembled a large fleet at this place with the object of driving us away, but in this, thank God, they failed owing to the tempestuous weather, which events were duly reported by us to the Government at Batavia.

‘The Portuguese at Macao have also done all they possibly could against us; although the only place from which they could expect help in time of need was their very distant settlement at Goa, all their other possessions in India being then on the decline. But instead of succeeding in their wicked designs, they have found out how very weak they are themselves. They have also made representations to their King about the state of affairs, have made great preparations at Goa, and have declared that they intend to fortify Pulo Timor; without, however, carrying out their intention. In short, as matters now stand with that nation, we could easily ruin them, or at least quite paralyze their trade, not only in the South Seas and New Spain, but also in Malacca and Goa; and this done, it would be a simple matter for our Honourable Company to get into its own hands all the China trade.

‘It is easy to show how this could be done if our affairs were on a sufficiently firm footing to admit of it, and the Company were able to bear the strain. The gain would be so great that it would be worth while to guard against every mistake; for, when we had succeeded in excluding the Portuguese from the commerce of these countries, the capital at the disposal of Your Excellencies would not be enough for a sixth part of what would be required for the China trade. On the other hand, when we had succeeded in obtaining sufficient funds to carry it on, we should find ourselves at first in the predicament of not being able to consume or to find purchasers for all the merchandise that would be brought to us.

‘Let us, therefore, take a closer survey of our real position. We could purchase from this country every year as much merchandise as the funds of the Company—without prejudicing any of their other interests—would allow; because up till the present we have never had a lack of merchandise, but rather of funds to purchase it, so that it is impossible to give an idea of the amount of capital that could yearly be laid out here. This much is sure, that we have never had any difficulty in fulfilling our contract to supply the Japanese annually with Chinese produce to the value of seven hundred and forty thousand *guilders*, and that much more merchandise would doubtless be forthcoming if there was capital to purchase it.

‘But although we may not wish to undertake so great an enterprise, it is of the utmost importance that we should make ourselves masters of Kelang, and send a sufficient force there in order to do this, for the following reasons:—

‘1. From Kelang the enemy could always send ships to intercept our yachts and other vessels going over to trade in the Chinchew river; and it would be next to impossible that these should always escape capture. But, even one prize thus made by the enemy would be a greater loss to the Company

than the expense of maintaining a fleet for six months in its operations against Kelang.

‘2. If the Spaniards stay there, they, with the large capital they have at command, will be a continual source of trouble to us, and be able to attract many traders and much merchandise to their settlement.

‘3. If they once obtain a firm footing in Kelang, it is to be feared that they will incite the natives and the Chinese living here to rebel against us, and this would be most unfortunate; as, without their help in such circumstances, we could not hold our ground unless we greatly strengthened our garrison and fleet, thus incurring great expense, and a corresponding diminution of our profits.

‘4. Kelang once reduced, we should then have the opportunity of employing a larger amount of capital, for the goods which formerly went to the Spaniards, would come to us, while the Chinese would have to reduce their prices.

‘5. Thus we should find by experience that the more capital the Company lays out in commerce (although the contrary would seem to be the case) so much cheaper will be the goods, and so much greater will be the profits derived from them.

‘China is such a productive country that it is able to furnish the whole world plentifully with certain kinds of merchandise. The Chinese send goods from all parts of the country to towns and seaports where they see there is the most ready money to purchase them. For example, before the Spaniards traded to China, or the Chinese to Manila, traders were in the habit of sending their merchandise to the island of Sanxian, and afterwards to Lampacas, at which latter place the Portuguese had been established for eighteen years. They then sent their goods to the fairs at Macao and Canton, but in such enormous quantities to the latter place that the funds of the Portuguese were insufficient to purchase them.

‘The merchants who attended those fairs from the North and from the interior of the country, seeing that their goods remained unsold, shipped them in their own vessels and on their own account to Manila, Siam, Macassar, etc.; until after much loss and misfortune at sea, more especially from pirates, they found themselves compelled to discontinue. So soon, however, as they find more conveniently situated markets where large trade can be done, and there is much capital at command, they will give up the long voyages for which their ships were ill-adapted and flock to such markets, even although they obtain much smaller profits than before.

‘We must, therefore, do our utmost to destroy the trade between China and Manila, for so soon as this is done, we firmly believe that Your Excellencies will see the Spaniards leave the Moluccas and even Manila of their own accord; so that, being expelled from Japan, and deprived by us of the China trade, they will not be able to bear the heavy burdens which would thereby be brought upon them. And as they see this more plainly than we do, they will do their utmost to seize Fort Zeelandia and all our stations in China. It is thus of the utmost

importance that we should so fortify our position here as to be free from all risk of losing it or suffering from any attempt to drive us out.

‘With regard to the Japanese. For many years before our arrival here, they carried on a clandestine trade with the Chinese, and always obtained as many goods as they had capital to pay for; but after we came and had erected a fortress, my predecessors tried to attract most of this trade to the Company, in order that we might benefit by the Treaty we made with the Chinese Authorities on agreeing to give up the Pescadores and remove hither.

‘It was on this account that our levying of duties upon certain goods gave rise to so much ill-feeling on the part of the Japanese, that their merchants complained to their Government. Accordingly, Governor-General Carpentier, foreseeing the harm this would bring upon us in Japan, tried to prevent it by means of presents, and by sending me in 1627 as special Ambassador; but, the complaints having already been taken notice of at Court, and prejudice having been roused against us, we were unable to obtain an audience.

‘Furthermore, some Japanese, with the view of expelling us from the country, had taken some natives of this place to Japan, and through them, had offered the sovereignty of Formosa to the Emperor; this also went against us. It is true that it would be well if the Japanese could be compelled or induced to employ their capital anywhere else, as we could then get all the gain which they derive from this trade; but if they give up trading here, the Company would not have money enough at hand to purchase all the goods that are brought to us. A very desirable thing would be for the English to occasionally invest some of their large capital with us, thus preventing us from being lowered before the Chinese for want of funds, as has sometimes been the case.

‘Moreover, how can we refuse free trade to the Japanese here without getting into ill-odour in Japan, whose trade is very profitable and important to us? I consider it would be best at once to allow them a fair share in the trade, without levying any duties upon them, as I fear they will not submit. This matter should be immediately attended to, or the profits of our Japanese trade will be lost to us.

‘Is it not unreasonable that we should demand duties from a people in whose country, with the exception of a small present to the Emperor and High Authorities, we have perfect freedom to trade without any tolls whatever being exacted from us? Besides this, the maxim “*qui prior est tempore, prior est jure*” holds good for them, as they traded with the natives here long before we came; so that it seems they have a perfect right to demand duties from us, rather than we from them; but they have never gone the length of even proposing such a thing.

‘If, therefore, we are to carry out Your Excellencies’ orders, the result will be that we shall have to leave Japan; and if this should bring about a war between the two countries, who can guarantee that we should be able to defend Taiwan and Kelang (if we had made this latter place ours by that time) against them? And, in any case, even although able to hold our own in these places, there would be no profit in keeping them up, owing to the heavy expense in doing so.

‘It thus seems to me that the best, safest, and most reasonable course to follow is for us to remain on friendly terms with the Japanese and allow them a share in the trade, as our position in Japan differs from that in any of the other kingdoms in India, where we are allowed to trade out of fear or by the hope of gain; whereas in Japan it is quite another matter, as they do not in the least care about us, and fear no harm we can do them, no do they set any great store by the profits they can reap from us.

‘But we will now leave this subject and consider whether the Chinese and Japanese trade could not only meet the annual expenditure which is required to carry it on, but be also made to bring us in a revenue which would be a great source of wealth to our country, and make us more powerful than we hitherto have been, by enabling us to lay out our capital here more advantageously than we could do elsewhere. A few facts will make my meaning somewhat clearer.

‘During 1627, five cargoes of silk were sent from this place to Japan, and two to Batavia for Holland, as follows:—

To Japan	per <i>Vrede</i>	valued at	.	.	¹ f. 228,214	17	6
„	<i>Woerden</i>	„	.	.	225,757	19	0
„	<i>Heusden</i>	„	.	.	92,587	11	0
„	<i>Edam</i>	„	.	.	60,000	0	0
„	<i>West Kappel</i>	„	.	.	15,294	17	4
To Batavia	per <i>Vrede</i>	„	.	.	337,932	19	0
„	<i>Erasmus</i>	„	.	.	221,561	0	2

Total value of cargoes for the year, . f. 1,181,349 3 12

‘During 1628, owing to the troubles in China, and the scarcity of money, we sent smaller cargoes than before to Japan and Java. Still, our consignments amounted to the following:—

To Japan	per <i>Erasmus</i>	valued at	.	.	f. 111,953	14	8
„	<i>Woerden</i>	„	.	.	107,398	17	0
„	<i>Heusden</i>	„	.	.	191,511	4	0
To Java	per <i>Batavia</i>	„	.	.	277,572	15	12

Total value of cargoes for the year, . f. 688,436 11 4

‘It should be added that, according to ordinary calculation, the second of these cargoes *per Woerden* should have brought us 8000 *rixdaalders* more than the above-mentioned sum; and that, reckoning all through, the cargoes of 1627 yielded a profit of *cent. per cent.*; while our hope is that the profits of 1628 will turn out to be quite as satisfactory as that.

¹ One florin (guilder or guilder) being worth about 1s. 8d.

‘Another thing to note here is that Mr. Nyenrode, our supercargo in Japan, has a standing order for the following goods in addition to those from China. From Europe, 150 half pieces of assorted cloth, 60 *kersays*, 300 pieces of Turkish *grogam*, 100 of *Leydsch grogram*, 60 of fine wool *couratten*, 80 of *perpetuanen*, 100 of gentlemen’s *serges*, 60 of English *perpetuanen*, 100 of coarse cloth, and 50 pieces of *stammetten*; from Siam, 2000 *piculs* of *sappan* wood, 600 *piculs* or Cambodian nuts, 600 bundles of rattan or an unlimited number at about seven *mace* each, with as many *rocheskins*, *thomskins* and *steekskins* as can be procured; and from Batavia, 200 *piculs* of *priaman* pepper, 40 of *giroffel* cloves, 25 of sandalwood, 500 pieces of bleached guinean linen, 100 of *salpicados*, 400 of *tafatsjelas di Golconda*, 200 *tsjelas*, 200 *di Narsapour*, 200 of fine *Makafonis*, 400 of *salampoeris*, 300 of *moeris*, 200 of *pancallen*, and 500 of *rocheskins*.

‘Now, all these alone, with such exports as copper and camphor, yield quite a considerable revenue even although our trade were not to extend any farther; but Cornelis van Nyenrode can take a large supply of things, and this, with such a free hand in the China trade as the Portuguese have, would enable me to make a much fuller statement.

‘But over against the report now given, let me proceed to place before Your Excellencies an account of the expenses which will have to be met during the current year. It is heavier than any we have yet had, seeing that my predecessor failed to make some repairs at the proper time, and wasted over 10,000 *guilders* because he knew that he would soon be released from office; facts which ought to be borne in mind in making a correct estimate.

Expenses on shore at Zeelandia,	.	.	.	.	f. 67,186	4	1
Provisions,	.	.	.	.	15,348	0	12
Outlay connected therewith,	.	.	.	.	4,392	11	1
Provisions for the table,	.	.	.	.	1,758	11	14
House expenses,	.	.	.	.	537	17	5
Hospital expenses,	.	.	.	.	1,465	8	7
Presents,	.	.	.	.	12,462	6	2
Extraordinary expenses,	.	.	.	.	1,187	13	7
Fortifications,	.	.	.	.	18,074	16	11
Expenses for freight of goods, including wages of 40 men							
at f. 15 each for twelve months,	.	.	.	.	21,600	0	0
Provisioning and repair of ships, with repair of junks,	.	.	.	.	27,595	15	2
Wear and tear of ships during eight years, their value							
being estimated at f. 60,000, without guns,	.	.	.	.	7,500	0	0
Interest of f. 700,000, with which the Company annually							
trades here, at 5 per cent. for twelve months,	.	.	.	.	35,000	0	0
Total,	.	.	.	.	f. 214,109	4	14

‘From the above must be deducted:—

Profits during the years at this station, .	f. 14,554	10	13
Gifts at Court,	10,000	0	0
Saved on Fortifications,	10,000	0	0
Saved on goods from Batavia,	4,500	0	0
		39,054	10 13
Total,	f. 175,054	14	1

‘Thus, Your Excellencies will have an annual expenditure at this station of about 175,000 *guilden*, but over against this, the value of the goods shipped from Japan will amount to 700,000, of which 400,000 can be sent to Holland and 100,000 to Batavia. This gives for each of the Indies not less than one hundred *per cent.* of profit.

‘All this, however, is little compared with what Your Excellencies might soon see in the Moluccas, in a more extensive trade with China, but more especially when vessels were prevented from running between Macao and Japan; for then the Portuguese would be driven away from both China and Japan, and the whole trade would pass into our own hands. Should such prosperity really flow in upon us, Mr. Leonard Camps estimates that the following kinds and quantities of goods could annually be disposed of in Japan itself.

Amount and Prices of Goods.

	Purchase Price.	Selling Price.
3,000 piculs fine white silk,	f. 540,000	1,080,000
500 „ raw silk,	90,000	180,000
100 „ white cut silk,	22,000	40,000
100 „ white twisted silk,	22,000	30,000
100 „ floss silk,	19,000	30,000
15,000 „ black single shawls,	37,500	67,500
20,000 „ coloured <i>armozyenen</i> ,	30,000	50,000
2,000 „ heavy black satins,	16,000	24,000
5,000 „ black damasks,	30,000	47,500
8,000 „ ordinary satins,	30,000	47,500
2,000 „ black smooth velvets,	16,000	26,000
2,000 „ black coarse camelots,	16,000	24,000
5,000 „ white satins,	20,000	31,250
2,000 „ damasks,	7,000	12,000
3,000 „ crimson damasks,	15,000	22,500
5,000 „ crimson crapes,	20,000	30,000
3,000 „ ornamented serge,	13,500	21,000
3,000 „ white crapes,	9,000	13,125
2,000 „ ornamented serge,	7,000	11,000
5,000 „ superior heavy material,	50,000	75,000
	<u>f. 1,010,000</u>	<u>f. 1,862,375</u>

'In conclusion, I promise Your Excellencies that, so long as God preserves me in the Indies, I can dispose of the aforesaid quantity of goods for fine genuine silver, once every four or five months at a profit of eight hundred and fifty thousand *reals* to the Company, which sum I consider sufficient to supply Your Excellencies with such Chinese wares as you require.

'Nunc audi, vide, lege, relege, et tandem quod justum est judica.'

'Given in the town of Zeelandia, 10 February 1629.

PIETER NUYTS.'

In 1627, Mr. Nuyts wrote a letter to His Excellency, Governor-General De Carpentier; but, as that gentleman departed to Holland on 10 November of the same year, it fell into the hands of his successor, Mr. Jan Pieterszoon Koen, who had assumed office on 30 September; and who was so offended at some sharp references in the letter to himself, that he very insultingly recalled Mr. Nuyts, and appointed Mr. Hans Putmans to take his place. However, His Honour remained here till July 1629, and was then succeeded by Mr. Putmans as chief ruler of Taiwan.

The injury and insult which he received from Mr. Koen annoyed Mr. Nuyts so much that, before leaving Taiwan, he thought fit to write a severe letter about it to the East India Chamber at Amsterdam. He afterwards had many troubles in Japan, whither he departed on 20 July 1632. There he was imprisoned by command of the Emperor till 5 July 1636, on which day he was told that the Emperor had liberated him. His intention then was to go to Yeddo and return thanks for this grace he had received by presenting a gift; but, on asking the permission of Mr. Caron, who had procured his deliverance, the Japanese magnates and royal councillors would not allow it; although it was afterwards thought advisable to send the assistant, Daniel Reynierszoon, to thank the Emperor for one thing and another. It appears that, previously, some confusion had arisen from the suggestion made that a Dutchman and an interpreter should be sent to the Governor of Firando to thank him on the Company's behalf for the release of Mr. Nuyts and for the Emperor's gift of two hundred bars of silver, worth two thousand five hundred *guilden*.

In their collection called *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, the French have a version of Mr. Nuyts' Mission to Japan and of his imprisonment in Fort Zeelandia, which contains many grave mistakes, as may be seen on considering:—

'1. That Mr. Nuyts had no audience of the Emperor in Japan was not due to his ignorance of Japanese affairs or to his obstinacy, as they assert it was, but to the hostile influence of certain Japanese officials at the Court, before his arrival there.

'2. Nor was he, as they groundlessly affirm, made Governor after his return from Japan, but immediately on arriving at Batavia from the fatherland, when he was appointed Ambassador to Japan and Governor of Taiwan at the same time.

'3. He afterwards departed on 20 July 1632—not 1634, as they state—for Japan, where he was imprisoned till 5 July 1636—not 1635—and released at the intercession of Mr. Caron, who presented that beautiful crown, not a year after the release of Mr. Nuyts, but one or two months before it. By the way, the statement which a royal councillor, who was a friend of the Dutch, made about that crown having been used at the funeral of the Emperor's father, and that His Majesty was so pleased with it as to release Mr. Nuyts forthwith, is also a pure fable.

'4. Further, it is totally untrue that Mr. Nuyts detained the Japanese who captured him for a long time at Taiwan, as this was done by the Council, without his approval and against his advice, he distinctly raising his voice against it.

'5. With regard to his Mission to Japan, it is simply baseless rumour to declare that he was sent there by Their Excellencies as a sacrifice for the State; and that the questions asked him about the method and object of his coming were put in the name of the Emperor. None of these stories appear in the records of the Honourable Company, the only source of reliable information, and therefore they must have been invented by the French. The Company's archives clearly show that, in 1631, Mr. Nuyts having been falsely accused of certain matters at the Japanese Court, he decided to learn the Japanese language so as to defend himself before the Emperor; and this he actually did about the middle of 1632, when he went to Japan in order to prove his innocence. On arriving there, however, the Japanese imprisoned him for five years in Firando without any reason being assigned, and he never reached Yeddo. He was ultimately liberated, and then left in one of our vessels for Batavia—not remaining in Japan for some time with a body-guard, as is falsely represented—after he had been refused permission to go and thank the Emperor. It was in 1637 or 1638 that Mr. Nuyts departed for the Fatherland, without hearing anything further about his case.'

What happened in Taiwan during the government of Mr. Putmans is not known, no written account of it having been found, except that he was Governor there from 1629 to 15 November 1636, when he sailed with the yacht *Bredam* and the ship *Warmond* to Batavia, and thereafter as Admiral of the fleet to the Fatherland.

Mr. Putmans was succeeded in November 1636 by Mr. Johan van der Burg, councillor-extraordinary for the Indies, as fifth governor. What that gentleman did here is also unknown, as is also the exact time and place of his death, although it seems he died in 1640.

In 1641 he was succeeded by Mr. Paulus Traudenius as sixth governor, who went thither with nine vessels in company with the sergeant-major, Mr. Joannes Lamotius. How long Mr. Traudenius remained, or what he did, is nowhere stated, except that in 1641 he wrote a letter to the Spanish governor at Kelang, which, with the reply to it, is here given:—

'To Gonsalo Portilio, Governor of the Spanish fortress on the island of Kelang, in Taiwan.

'Since we have sent out a sufficiently strong force by sea and land to attack and take possession of Your Honour's place of residence at La Sanctissimo, situated on the island of Kelang, either peacefully or by hostile means, we hereby, according to Christian custom, warn Your Honour, and inform you that in case Your Honour is willing to leave your fortifications at La Sanctissimo Trinidado, and other fortresses on Kelang, with your men, under such conditions of capitulation as we may agree to, we on our side will continue to treat Your Honour and your men reasonably, according to the usage of war; otherwise we shall be compelled to act towards Your Honour and your men as is customary when things of this nature are done by force. Do you then, Honoured Sir, avail yourself of the opportunity of avoiding bloodshed; and let us shortly have your answer, without wasting any time. We commend you to God.

'In the fortress of Zeelandia, 26 August 1641.—Your Honour's friend,
PAULUS TRAUDIENIUS.'

The following reply was sent to this:—

'To the Governor of Taiwan.

'Your Honour's letter of 26 August of this year we have indeed received, and read the contents. And I answer according to the law of good Christians, and according to the oath which I have sworn to my King, that I neither desire nor dare to surrender what Your Honour demands, namely this Castle, since I and my men are resolved to defend ourselves; for I am accustomed to seeing large armies, and have on several occasions fought against such in Flanders and elsewhere. So do not trouble yourself to write me letters with such demands, but let every man defend himself. We are Christian Spaniards, and God is our protector—that we believe. God preserve you.

'From our principal castle of Salvador, 6 September 1641.

GONSALO PORTILIO.'

That we afterwards had possession of Kelang appears later on, since Rev. D. Masius and others, shortly before Koxinga took Formosa, went from it to Japan, and afterwards reported their safe arrival at Batavia. During Koxinga's time, Mr. Bort retook it in 1665, and left captain de Bitter there with two hundred men. As regards trade, however, we had nothing but trouble at that northern station, for which reason we left it with all our belongings in 1668, especially since our trade with China did not prosper.

Mr. Traudenius seems to have remained in Formosa till 1643, and was then succeeded by Mr. Maximiliaan le Maire, the seventh governor, who remained till 1644.

Mr. le Maire was succeeded by Mr. François Caron, councillor-in-ordinary for the Indies, who became the eighth governor. On 25 October 1646, His

Honour sent to Japan in the vessel *Overschie* hemp and linen to the value of $f.12,910 : 12 : 4$; *gilams*, Quinam silk, rhinoceros' horns, powdered sugar, radix China, *galiga*, *sappan* wood, buffalo horns, with deerskins, *eland* hides and cow hides from Formosa, to the value of $f.27,836 : 15 : 1$. He retained office till 1646, and was then succeeded by Mr. Pieter Antoniszoon Over't Water, who became the ninth governor of Taiwan.

No account has come down as to Mr. Over't Water's doings, except that, on 22 September 1647, he sent the ship *Hillegaartsberg* to Japan with an assorted cargo worth $f.17,800 : 14 : 8$, one on 4 October following in the *Jenker* worth $f.214,808 : 15 : 8$, and another in the *White Horse* worth $f.215,254 : 16 : 0$; a return from Japan having been received on 31 October in the *Hillegaartsberg* valued at $f.125,868 : 6 : 11$. He remained till 1650, and was followed by Mr. Nicolas Verburg as tenth governor.

On 7 September the Chinese of Formosa prepared a large banquet, to which all the principal Dutchmen were to be invited, with the object of afterwards taking them down to the fortress of Zeelandia, and not only breaking their necks there, but at the same time taking the fortress by storm, thus becoming masters of everything.

All this was to have been carried out by a certain Chinese leader called Fayet, chief of a small village two miles from Sakam. But Pauw, also a Chinese chief in a village near the fortress Zeelandia, and brother of the said Fayet, was strongly opposed to the project, urged his brother not to go on, and when he would not listen but persisted in it, gave timely notice to those whose lives were in danger.

Before Pauw was admitted to the castle, he had a great deal of quarrelling with the sergeant of the guard, who would not allow him to see Governor Verburg until he stated that the life and welfare, not only of His Honour, but of all the Dutchmen, were at stake. He thereupon revealed the whole plot to Mr. Verburg; who, greatly astonished, had Pauw seized at once, and sent a captain with eight men to the little village, where they found the Chinese already all astir. Many of them fled, glad of the opportunity of escaping with their lives.

Meanwhile, Fayet scented mischief on finding that his intention was discovered, and marched with sixteen thousand men to Sakam, where he destroyed all he could lay hands on. But it was impossible for him to prevent the escape of the stable-master, N. Marinus, who rode on horseback right through Sakam sword in hand, with three other stable-boys, arriving at Zeelandia on the eighth, when he gave an account to Mr. Verburg of what he had seen.

After this, N. Danker, captain of a hundred and twenty Dutchmen, supported by two thousand Christian Formosans, soon put the enemy to flight; and in the skirmish which ensued, Fayet and one thousand eight hundred of his men were slain; besides which many women and children, and Lonegua, the second in command of the enemy's army, were captured. The last-named was roasted alive before a fire in Taiwan, dragged behind a horse through the town, and his head was then stuck on a pole. Two of his chieftains, who had

ripped up a pregnant native woman and torn the child from her body, were broken upon the wheel and quartered.

This commotion lasted fifteen days, during which four thousand men, five thousand women and some children, were either slain or captured. Our side had not a single loss, except that two men who lived on the plain were killed.

Had the plot not been exposed by Pauw, it would have been a bad case with us, for Dutch rule here would almost certainly have come to a grievous end; but it pleased God to prevent this. The Governor rewarded every Formosan who had faithfully assisted us with one *niquanias*.

That there were many Chinese in Taiwan at this time is clearly seen from the fact of Their Honours having decided on 10 May 1651 to hire out the poll-tax on them, which amounted annually to two hundred thousand *gulden*.

Nothing further of any consequence is known to have happened during the government of Mr. Verburg. In 1653, he was succeeded by Mr. Cornelis Cæsar, who was the eleventh governor.

On arriving in Batavia, on 10 March 1654, Mr. Verburg gave a full account of the condition of Formosa to Their Excellencies, showing that it required more judgment to govern a country than to conquer it. He added that we were surrounded by many evident dangers there, from the wild aborigines, whom he calculated to number a hundred thousand souls, and from the Chinese, both the island Chinese—from whom our state was exposed to such imminent danger in 1652—and those from abroad; and he advised Their Excellencies to be on their guard, since it was reported that the Chinese mandarin Koxinga—son of the pirate I-quan, and formerly tailor to Governor Putmans and interpreter for Governor de With—who was then fighting against the Tartars, intended, if driven from China, to go to Formosa and settle down there. For that reason a fortress called Provintia had been built on the side of Taiwan close to Sakam, which was of service against a sudden revolt, but could not withstand an army.

Later on, during the government of Mr. Cæsar, especially in 1655, there were many more rumours, as if the above-named mandarin had still the same intention of coming to Taiwan with all he had, and for this reason Mr. Cæsar thought it expedient to send the wharf-master Auke Pieterszoon and the sergeant Pieter Janszoon—who were expert in the Chinese language—in a small junk to Pehoe, dexterously to find out from the Chinese themselves how much truth there was in these rumours, in order that he might make suitable preparation. There was good reason for taking this precaution, as no junks had arrived from China for a long time, which fact led him and the Chinese in Taiwan to infer that Koxinga might really have some intention of coming, and that he was keeping back all vessels lest they should convey any hint of his plans, so as to take our people completely by surprise.

Meanwhile, Mr. Cæsar placed himself in a position to act manfully, storing enough wood for fuel in the fortress of Zeelandia to last eight or ten months. His greatest difficulty was that he had no means of preventing Koxinga—who was said to be supplied with many scaling-ladders—from land-

ing, which he would probably do in various places; in which case, far more men would be required than those then in the garrison; and, therefore, during November 1655, he requested that Their Excellencies would kindly arrange for having a fortress erected at Tankoia, telling them how necessary it was. He remained at his post till 1656, and was succeeded by Mr. Frederik Coyett as twelfth governor of Taiwan. This gentleman had been a resident here for ten years, as second in office and as chief merchant, so it may reasonably be concluded that he had a thorough knowledge of local affairs.

The former rumours about Koxinga did not diminish at this time, but continually increased, and made us anxious about the defenceless condition of the so-called town at the end of the plain where Fort Zeelandia stands. It was a mere village, which every one who pleased might enter; while the fortress itself—according to our former description—was so weak that no governor, however brave and valiant, could defend himself in it for any length of time against a strong besieging army.

It is also certain that not only Their Honours in Batavia—as appears from the despatches of 1657—but also the Directors in Holland had long before got notice of the bad state of affairs in Taiwan; while even in 1650, the Amsterdam Council of Seventeen had decided to increase the peace-footing of the garrison to at least one thousand two hundred men.

Not only were we assured through various sources of Koxinga's intention to attack us should matters go against him in China, but there was very good reason for believing that the uprising on 8 September 1652 was not undertaken without his knowledge. And it is certain that Mr. Coyett forwarded a report of these rumours as they arose; but all his complaints were ascribed to cowardice and groundless fear, owing to the incorrect explanations made by Mr. Nicolaas Verburg at the meetings of the Council in Batavia.

Owing to some incident, Mr. Verburg had become the mortal enemy of Mr. Coyett; and, although he knew very well that that gentleman wrote nothing but the truth regarding Koxinga's intentions, his hatred carried him so far as to intentionally deceive the Councillors in Batavia—who should have remembered Mr. Verburg's own report of 10 March 1654, and not have attached so much value to what he said afterwards. In his bitterness against Mr. Coyett, and without regarding his oath to advance the interests of the Company, he sacrificed Formosa, so to speak, for the one desire of bringing an energetic and innocent gentleman to a miserable end.

In 1660 there came more reliable reports that Koxinga would speedily arrive in Formosa, while at the same time many Chinese fled thither; but, after the energetic Governor had used every means to dispel the dark cloud, and sent all possible warning to headquarters at Batavia of Koxinga's threatened invasion on 10 March 1660, Mr. Coyett did not neglect to make other necessary preparations—he being still vigorously rebuked—for a brave and valiant defence. When Koxinga heard of this, he postponed the intended attack, whereupon everything quieted down again for a time, except that the uneasiness of our men was not entirely removed.

In the meantime, Mr. Coyett hoped that, in accordance with his request made in March, Their Excellencies would speedily send him a strong reinforcement; but those higher officials were misled by false statements, believing that the Governor was merely frightened by baseless rumours, and that Formosa was in no real danger.

Still, whatever difficulties were raised in the beginning of 1660 about reinforcing Formosa—when the constant hope was entertained that the storm would blow over, although distinct reports concerning it were received from Siam and Japan,—the Batavian Council nevertheless decided to send help, praising Coyett's precaution in their letter of 22 April 1660, and adding that if the reports turned out to be untrue, the fleet ordered there might be employed in conquering Macao without any loss to the Company.

They sent Mr. Jan van der Laan at the head of six hundred men and twelve ships on 16 July, with orders to relieve Formosa if necessary, but if not, to attack Macao. This man, gruff and inexperienced in matters of policy, after stirring up enmity in Macao—which was beyond his instructions—came to Taiwan in September, having been told by many people that Koxinga intended attacking Formosa. But Mr. van der Laan would believe none of these reports, and insisted strongly that neither he nor his men were required at Taiwan; and that it was best for him to go and conquer Macao according to orders.

When, however, he saw that he could not carry out his plans, he swore at the Governor and Council not a little, and threatened to revenge himself on every one opposing him; although it should be added that he had been spoken of as 'Jan athwart the road' by some who thought that his zeal about this Macao expedition proceeded entirely from his own great covetousness.

Before his wrath had quite calmed down, he induced some of his followers to draw up a document in which they declared that, as there was not the slightest cause for fear, the Governor and his Councillors were all disgraceful cowards, and extremely frightened before there was any cause for it. Having been drawn up while they were all drunk, none of the men would sign this document next day; but when van der Laan returned to Batavia in February 1661—with his officers who had been ordered thither—in the vessels *Dolphin* and *Tergoes*, he obtained letters from several of the men to their friends, of like import to the document now referred to. Those men, however, against his judgment and without his consent, were kept at Taiwan, while the fleet—except the *Hector*, *Gravesande* and *Vink*—was divided and sent to various parts of the Indies.

The non-conquest of Macao was also put down to Mr. Coyett's account on van der Laan's slanderous report of the condition of Formosa. No one then credited the much-injured Governor for having, through interpreter Pinqua, restored the trade with China which had been stopped by Koxinga. Indeed, during his trial at Batavia, the Public Prosecutor brought even this last-mentioned piece of service as a crime against Mr. Coyett.

But, to return. Soon after van der Laan's departure, and when most

of the ships had been sent away, Koxinga appeared before Formosa at daybreak on 31 April with several hundred war-vessels, and landed a force of 25,000 well-trained Chinese near Sakam and Baxemboy. Through want of men and ships, we were unable to prevent him, having only the *Hector*, the *Gravesande*, with one yacht and a fly-boat, at our command.

About this time Their Honours wrote the following letter to Koxinga :—

Copy of a letter from Mr. Joan Maatzuyker to the Mandarin Koxinga.

‘The letter which Your Highness sent to us by the Nachoda Banqua we received and understood, but it is not so friendly as we expected from you, since Your Highness makes several bold pretensions with regard to us, to which we cannot agree.

‘On several former occasions Your Highness has made similar though less important demands, which we granted, not because we were debtors, but in order not to offend Your Highness; we being heartily desirous of living in peace and friendship with all men, so long as that is possible. But now that Your Highness abuses our desire for peace by continually increasing demands, we plainly declare that we are not inclined to grant any further concessions, or give Your Highness the opportunity for making unreasonable demands during the coming year. In short, our intention now is to show that we are not by any means favourable to such pretensions, in the hope that Your Highness may act reasonably and be content.

‘*Firstly*, this letter from Your Highness states that one of your junks, on returning from Djohor to China, was attacked by a vessel of ours and taken to Taiwan, where it was stranded in stormy weather; and it demands from us one hundred thousand *taels* as compensation.

‘*Secondly*, that another junk, coming from Patani, was chased close to Canton by a certain Dutch vessel until it ran ashore and stuck there; and Your Highness estimates the damages at eighty thousand *taels*.

‘*Thirdly*, that some time ago two of your junks were attacked and captured by our ships.

‘Our reply to Your Highness is this: For the two junks taken formerly by our ships we have paid Your Highness more than we ought, and Your Highness said at the time that you considered the matter had been settled by us in a satisfactory way.

‘With reference to the junk which Your Highness states was chased by our ships while coming from Patani, and was consequently lost, we declare that we know nothing in the least about it, although we have made a strict inquiry; so that the story may have been invented by the men sailing in her, in order to escape a reprimand for their clumsiness or want of care. But even if it were true that our ship followed the junk, no wrong has been committed in doing so. Our commanders have general instructions with regard to all ships, junks, or other vessels they may meet at sea; if friends, to help them; but if enemies, to destroy or capture them if they can. To

obey these orders—which are quite reasonable—they must hail all ships they meet, so as to distinguish friends from enemies; and if the junk belonging to Your Highness was met by a Dutch ship—which did not wish to harm it in the least, but was willing to assist it in every possible way—and met with an accident while taking flight, no one is to blame but those who mistook their best friends for enemies. Moreover, the claim made by Your Highness for the value of that junk is most exorbitant. Who ever heard of a junk returning from Patani with cane, pepper, and such coarse wares, being worth eighty thousand *taels*?

‘With regard to the junk from Djohor, which Your Highness estimates at a hundred thousand *taels*, as in the foregoing case, we do not in anywise consider ourselves indebted to Your Highness until the claim is established by much clearer evidence.

‘Let Your Highness peruse the archives relating to trade on the coast of China, and it will be found that for the last sixty years we have peacefully sought to establish a free export and import trade there, such as is allowed us by every nation, and such as China has granted to several other nations. What we have attempted is most reasonable, and cannot without great injury and disgrace be refused us, since we are honourable, pious merchants; who, as we desire to act with fairness, do not wish to be wronged or insulted by any one.

‘Seeing, therefore, that our friendly approaches, repeated several times, failed to influence the officials of the Chinese government, we did not scruple to use force in bringing them to reason. And we gained our point after some successes and reverses; an agreement having been come to which closed hostilities, on condition that we should be allowed to trade freely between all the harbours of China and those at Taiwan and Batavia. Of the existence of this agreement, renewed on several occasions, we have very clear and undeniable proofs, and we presume that Your Highness is as much bound thereby as if it had been made by yourself.

‘Since, however, Your Highness—we know not for what reason—closed your seaports, forbade your subjects from trading at Taiwan, and injured us in other ways, we had good reason for suspicion, and for instructing our commanders that, if they met any junks and vessels under the jurisdiction of Your Highness, to take possession of them and have them laid up unharmed at Taiwan or Batavia until we discovered more clearly how Your Highness was disposed towards us—whether willing to abide by the former agreements, or inclined to cause fresh trouble. It was in these circumstances that our men brought with them the aforesaid junk coming from Djohor; and although we do not consider that they did anything amiss, we now regret that the capture was made, as Your Highness had meanwhile reopened Your ports, a fact of which we had no knowledge at the time.

‘As for the junk which stranded at Taiwan, it is a misfortune due to the sea and not to us; but, lest Your Highness should look upon that as a reason for closing Your ports, we may say that all losses have been made good to the owners.

‘We affirm, therefore, that in the face of every claim brought against us, we cannot acknowledge that we owe a single *candareen* to Your Highness.

‘If Your Highness abides by your present position, and Your letters raise groundless suspicions against us in other places—as Your Highness threatened in Your letters to Bingam and Siqua—we cannot prevent you; but Your Highness will please to take note that effective measures will then be taken by us to injure that commerce which supplies the funds required for paying the soldiers under Your command.

‘But we think that it would be better, both for Your Highness and for us, to remove as far as possible all causes of disagreement. For this purpose, and in order to make a sure and lasting treaty with Your Highness according to which we may mutually act, we are disposed to send an embassy to Your Highness. But we know not whether that would be agreeable. If, then, Your Highness be favourably inclined to such a step, kindly send us a reply to that effect, and an arrangement shall be made the following season, with the hope that everything may be done to your satisfaction.

‘In the Castle of Batavia on the island of Great Java, 8 June 1658.

JOAN MAATZUYKER.’

Mr. Coyett made an energetic and fearless resistance to this mighty enemy, but everything seemed to go against him. Although the *Hector* bravely attacked the Chinese at sea, it was soon blown up by its own powder. The men of the *Gravesande* defended themselves bravely; but the attack of Captain Pedel on Baxemboy was very unsuccessful, and he and a hundred and eighteen men lost their lives. The expedition of Captain Aaldorp against Sakam also failed.

Koxinga made rapid progress in a short time—seeing that the fortress had not been properly strengthened from Batavia,—and, after having brought everything in Tayouan and Formosa under his sway, he pressed the Dutch to the last extremity.

Meanwhile Mr. Jan van der Laan, purely out of bitterness against the Governor and his Council, gave a manifestly false report; whereupon Their Excellencies, without at all believing the letters from Formosa, decided to depose the Governor with the second and third officials under him, for cowardice, to recall them in disgrace to Batavia, and to send Mr. Herman Clenk van Odesse on 21 June 1661, with a very severe letter, in order that he should take the place of Mr. Coyett as Governor at Tayouan. But two days later they got a true account of Koxinga’s landing in Formosa, and an only too clear proof that the reports which had been made by Mr. Verburg and Mr. van der Laan were utterly misleading.

In the meantime, Koxinga demanded the surrender of the Castle, but the Governor and Council decided to defend it to the last drop of their blood.

On 2 May a messenger came from Koxinga offering safe-conduct to any who might be sent to treat with him. The Magistrate of Sakam also sent a message by the two assistants, Jan van Valkensteyn and Adriaan Piek, that he

was short of water, the well having run dry ; and that, since the enemy's arrival, more men, women, children and slaves, had come in as fugitives from the district about Provintia.

Fort Provintia being now as good as lost, it was decided to make an agreement about it with the enemy, in order to save the men, and to strengthen Castle Zeelandia with them. Wherefore, the merchant Thomas van Iperen, and the fiscal Mr. Leonardus—two members of Council—were sent with a verbal message to Koxinga to treat with him about everything, and to ask for what reason he had come over and what he wanted ; all of which they were instructed to do with much courage and without the least sign of fear.

When they approached Koxinga at Sakam across the channel on 3 May, they saw that he was encamped with his army round the little fort of Provintia in the open country ; not entrenched, and without batteries, although he was very well provided with fine guns of heavy metal, and gunpowder. His army consisted of archers, of men armed with shields and swords, and some with large two-handed knives fastened to wooden handles about half the height of a man. But all of them had their whole bodies, except the arms and legs, covered with armour made of overlapping iron scales. The archers were his best men, those with long knives being like our pikemen who keep the lines intact, and his shield-bearers taking the place of our cavalry.

On their arrival, our two deputies were taken by an officer into a large tent, where they had to wait till it was convenient for Koxinga to give them an audience.

Meanwhile, several fine regiments marched past the tent. Then the captain who was with the deputies said they would be received so soon as Koxinga's hair was combed ; but that they might now come close to his tent, some distance off. Here also many armed men who had passed the other tent were again paraded before the deputies, from which they saw that the intention was to practise deceit as to the number of soldiers in the field.

Ultimately, the deputies were brought before Koxinga, who was sitting in an armchair, under an open blue tent, beside a small square table, and surrounded by all his magnates clothed in long garments like popes, without any weapons. Our deputies passed right through his bodyguard close up to the little table, and after greeting him, addressed him in name of the Governor and Council ; but he, without taking much notice of their credentials, said that the friendship of the Company was of as much value to him as that of any of the other Indian companies, and lasted just so long as it served his interests and no longer ; after which the Dutch might get the better of him if they could. He added that he was not bound to give any reason for what he did ; but that in fighting against the Tartars he had found it advisable to occupy Formosa, which had always belonged to the Chinese, and where the Chinese had allowed the Dutch to live so long as they did not require it ; but that those strangers were now to give way to him, the true possessor. He did not, however, wish to fight with the Company or to enrich himself with their goods ; he only wished possession of the place, and would gladly take them with their goods to Batavia in his junks,

on condition that they surrendered at once. They would then remain friends, although they had greatly insulted him by touching his junks, and had conducted themselves very haughtily in opposing his great might; there being only a few men in the Castle to oppose him, and they having already seen many proofs of his power.

Thereupon, the deputies showed that the island did not belong to the Chinese, but most decidedly to the Company, in virtue of a formal agreement made with the Chinese on our leaving the Pescadores, and therefore that he had no right there. On this they insisted, and said further that if he had any requests to make he might make them, to which he replied that he wanted the island and would have no further negotiations about it; and that if they were not satisfied, they might hoist the war flag.

They strongly protested against this and departed, but with permission to visit the small fort of Provintia. They found it in a very bad condition, its occupants having had no water for eight days, and being in want of everything. The deputies therefore gave the commander permission to come to terms with the enemy, but so as not to compromise our rights at Tayouan or Zeelandia.

On their return, the deputies gave an account of everything to the Governor and Council, who renewed their decision to defend the Castle, collected all their forces, and on the fourth day of the month hoisted the war flag from the ramparts.

Fort Provintia then surrendered; but the commander was unable to save himself or his men from the hands of the Chinese, whose prisoners they became. As a further precaution, all our men from the town of Zeelandia went into the Castle of the same name, whereupon the enemy at once took possession of the town. Captain Aaldorp sought to prevent this, but was compelled to retreat before superior numbers.

On 25 May, Koxinga opened fire upon the Castle from the town, where he had planted his cannon; but the besieged made a brave response, covering the ground with thousands of slain enemies. The besieged also made a sally, and spiked the enemy's guns, which had been left in confusion.

Here it may be remarked that, against all reason, the officials at Batavia thought the besieged should have made a general attack and entirely defeated the enemy; and the failure to do so at this time was imputed to Mr. Coyett, against whom many other frivolous accusations were made. The ungrateful Paulus de Viek, whom the Governor had treated with much kindness, did his share of this objectionable work, whereupon he was made head accountant.

Meanwhile the Governor had no military officers with him except Captain Aaldorp—originally a baker's assistant—and an inferior lieutenant, the rest having departed to Batavia with van der Laan.

The besieged then made two sallies, after which the enemy became quiet for a time, thinking that they would precipitate matters by blockading the Castle.

When the condition of Taiwan was circumstantially reported to the officials at Batavia, they were not a little perplexed, seeing that they had been disgracefully deceived; although they were wise enough or obstinate enough to conceal

their fault, concluding that it would be best to ascribe all the blame to Coyett's cowardice.

In order, therefore, to give matters as plausible a colouring as possible, they decided to send off a yacht to recall Mr. Clenk to Batavia, seeing that he had departed only two days before. The object in doing so was to recover their damaging letter; but, thank God, their purpose ended in failure, as the yacht could not overtake Mr. Clenk.

It was afterwards decided at Batavia to send a fleet of ten vessels as soon as possible, having a reinforcement of as many men as could be got together; but there was great difficulty in finding an able commander to lead the expedition. At last, Mr. Jacob Caeuw was selected for the post. He left for Formosa on 5 July with a very significant letter from Their Excellencies, in which they plainly acknowledged their grave mistake, recalled Mr. Clenk, and entirely justified Governor Coyett and his Council.

Meanwhile, Mr. Clenk had reached the roads of Taiwan on 30 July; but, on his arrival, he saw our men in the fortress of Zeelandia hoisting the war flag. He also found the anchorages in such a state, and especially the northern one so full of hostile vessels, that he was completely bewildered about the matter; seeing that he had been appointed Governor over a land described as being in perfect peace, and not in a condition of warfare. Accordingly, he gave notice to the officials on shore of his arrival and of the business on which he had been sent, but added that, for important reasons, he was not inclined to land. He also sent ashore the aforesaid letter of 21 June 1661 which he had brought from Batavia.

In reply, Mr. Coyett requested that Mr. Clenk would kindly come ashore as his successor. This request he several times repeated, but Mr. Clenk always refused; and after a few days, on the appearance of a storm, he took the opportunity of going from the roads out to sea, but the storm continuing, he alleged that he was short of rice and water, and sailed for Japan. This very faithless deed was as inexcusable as another not less disgraceful and most unjust act of his towards some innocent Chinese on board, who were prevented from landing, although furnished with proper passports.

On his return to Batavia, Mr. Clenk was brought before the Court of Justice about both these matters, but no defence was forthcoming. Instead, however, of being punished as he deserved, he was sent as commander of the fleet to the Fatherland, probably that he might not be called to account again. And although he returned afterwards to Batavia, he was never again accused of that misdeed, but was rather made advocate-fiscal of the Indies, his name appearing in the list of those who held that office.

Hardly had Mr. Clenk left Taiwan, when Mr. Caeuw arrived in a ship which anchored in the roadstead on 12 August, whereby those hopes which had been disappointed through the mean departure of Mr. Clenk, were somewhat revived. But another painful interruption took place when that gentleman, not being able to land as he intended through the roughness of the sea, sailed away

and did not return, although they anxiously looked for him every day for about a month. Against all expectation, however, he did come back again about the close of that weary time of waiting.

During this season of inactivity, Koxinga's men got full particulars about the reinforcements from some of our people who escaped from the stranded ship *Urk*. It was thereupon decided to attack the enemy by land and sea; but almost everything failed, both the attack on Bokkenourg and on Baxemboy.

The Tartars now came forward with offers of assistance, in the hope that they and we might overcome Koxinga; their proposal bringing a short gleam of hope, but resulting in very little.

Meanwhile, it was decided to send the women, children, and all non-combatants to Batavia, so that supplies might hold out so much the longer; whereupon Mr. Caeuw requested that he might be allowed to accompany the women to Batavia; but as Mr. Coyett and the Council judged this to be a disgraceful and cowardly proposal, permission was distinctly refused him. He replied that he was not subject to the Formosan Council, and that, in accordance with his secret instructions, he would go off to Batavia in spite of them. However, he afterwards saw that this would not do without the approval of the Council, and gave up the idea.

About this time it was also decided to accept the offer of the Tartars, by sending some of the best ships with sufficient men to China, for the purpose of co-operating with them in an attack on Koxinga's power there, and thus drawing him away from Taiwan.

For this undertaking, Mr. Caeuw bravely offered his services, which were accepted without the least suspicion; but on reaching the open sea, he needlessly and faithlessly fled with two of the best ships, first to Siam—where the powder he wasted might have been saved for doing better service at Taiwan—and then to Batavia. And yet, his very inadequate punishment amounted only to an insignificant fine and suspension from service for six months.

This faithless deed greatly weakened the Dutch in Taiwan, and the enemy, after a number of other unfortunate events, as well as from information supplied by several deserters—especially Hans Jurgen Radis van Stokkaart, sergeant in our service, who deserted to them on the 16 December—was able to bring them into still greater straits, so much so that on 25 January 1662 Utrecht was captured, while the besieging army continued to come closer round Castle Zeelandia and its outworks.

Mr. Coyett had decided to await the last attack of Koxinga; but for many reasons this was unanimously opposed, and on 1 February 1662 the fortress was surrendered to him by Mr. Coyett and the Council on certain conditions which were formally drawn up.

The loss which the Company thus sustained did not amount to any more than four hundred and seventy-one thousand five hundred florins—the *rixdaalder* being still calculated at sixty pence—but a great noise was made about it in Holland and Batavia, as if millions had been lost. According to one inventory

still preserved in our archives, the damage we sustained may thus be summarised :—

Red coral stones worth	. . .	f. 900
Several cases of amber,	. . .	50,000
Money in treasure chest,	. . .	120,000
Gold bullion and stores,	. . .	300,600

Total value, f. 471,500

It is therefore very evident that Formosa was shamefully neglected and lost to us owing to Mr. Verburg's hatred of Mr. Coyett, to the officials at Batavia being influenced by false reports, and to the selfish conduct of Messrs. Clenk and Caeuw; for had the two last-named gentlemen remained at their post of duty, matters might have turned out very differently.

The brave Governor and some members of his Council met afterwards with cruel treatment, advocate Philibert Vernatti drawing up a wonderful accusation against them, and Mr. Coyett especially having to endure much suffering in consequence. He was seized immediately on his arrival at Batavia, and many insults were heaped upon him during his three years' imprisonment there; such as being led to the scaffold and struck across the head with a sword by the executioner. Banishment for life to Rosingeyn in Banda was the sentence pronounced upon him on 11 June 1665; but he was subsequently removed to Pulo Ay, where he remained till 1674; during which year his children and some friends petitioned the Prince of Orange on his behalf, with the result that he was allowed to return to Holland under certain carefully expressed conditions.

We were thus driven away from this beautiful province of Formosa after having occupied it for thirty-seven years. The greatness of its loss to the Company is seen from the amount of capital invested there, and from the fact that Formosa was particularly well suited for destroying the trade of the Spaniards and Portuguese with China and Japan.

Koxinga did not live for more than a year after his conquest of Formosa. It is said that the Tartars imprisoned him; and that he, fearing they would compel him to disclose matters of which he was unwilling to speak, first bit off his tongue and then his forefinger, so as to deprive himself of the ability to speak or write. He afterwards came to a miserable end.

His son Kimpsia or Sepoan wished to make a treaty of friendship with the Tartars, but as he insisted on retaining the sovereignty of Formosa, Amoy, and Quemoy, while consenting to pay tribute to them and conform to their custom of shaving the head, his proposals met with no encouragement, although he ultimately succeeded in coming into treaty relationship with them.

The following is a list of the articles in which trade was carried on by us in Formosa. *Exports*:—Hemp garments, raw silk, preserved ginger, white and red gilams, white and brown sugar, rice, deer and stonebuck skins, with

eland, cow, and buffalo hides. *Imports*:—Amber, pepper, coral, *rixdaalders*, and clothes in great variety.

List of the Governors of Formosa.

MARTEN SONK,	.	.	.	1624-25
GERARD F. DE WITH,	.	.	.	1625-26
PIETER NUYTS,	.	.	.	1627-29
HANS PUTMANS,	.	.	.	1629-36
JOHAN VAN DER BURG,	.	.	.	1636-40
PAULUS TRAUDENIUS,	.	.	.	1641-43
MAXIMILIAN LE MAIRE,	.	.	.	1643-44
FRANCOIS CARON,	.	.	.	1644-46
PIETER A. OVERTWATER,	.	.	.	1646-50
NICOLAS VERBURG,	.	.	.	1650-53
CORNELIS CÆSAR	.	.	.	1653-56
FREDERIK COYETT,	.	.	.	1656-62

4. *Religion in the Island.—As to the religion of the inhabitants of Formosa, no others are known there except the Heathen religion and the Christian Reformed.

1. Of the Heathen Religion.

Although no books or writings have ever been found in the island of Formosa to give us information concerning the religion of the people, it is nevertheless certain that the people there have a religion which cannot be otherwise designated than as heathenish and superstitious, inasmuch as it agrees very much with those other heathen religions which have been handed down from one generation to another.

The Formosans imagine that there are several gods, each having his own work and abode; but of one Supreme Creator they know nothing, affirming that the world has existed from all eternity and shall eternally so remain.

Nevertheless, they believe that there are certain rewards for the good, and severe punishments for the wicked; the former having to cross over a very difficult gulf before they can become partakers of great joy and every variety of pleasure, while the latter will never be able to cross this gulf, but must roll about there for ever as a punishment for their sins; a doctrine which would seem to involve belief in One Divine Being, since there must be a Supreme Ruler of the universe if all men are to be judged according to their deeds.

The ridiculous part of their religion is that the people find sin in things which are really not sinful. For instance, it is considered an evil thing for any one to build a house on some so-called forbidden day; or to gather wood or food without taking due notice of the singing of birds, or for any pregnant woman to keep alive her children before the thirty-seventh year of her age—a custom which is surely abominable and in itself deserving of punishment.

On the other hand, they see no sin in actions which are extremely sinful;

so much so that crimes like adultery, fornication, murder, and theft do not trouble them in the least, but rather cause boastfulness, under the belief that their gods find pleasure in them; from which it may be inferred that this people must have a very degrading opinion of their deities.

The Formosans have several gods whom they worship, and to whom they sacrifice in time of need, two of them especially being regarded as excelling in power and riches. The one—who is a male and lives in the south—is called *Tamagisangak*, and is supposed to beautify man. The other—who is a goddess and lives in the east—is named *Tekarpada*. It is said of her that thunder is heard when she scolds her husband for not sending sufficient rain on the earth; which, however, he immediately does on hearing her voice. Both these gods are worshipped most zealously, and oftenest by the women of Formosa.

There is another god who lives in the north, whom they look upon as extremely wicked, called *Sarisano*. They try to propitiate him, seeing that he has the power of making people ugly, and causing them to take chickenpox and other kinds of disease. They are greatly afraid of these evils, and seek to ward them off with all their power, affirming that when they serve this *Sarisano* there is not the slightest need for fear.

Besides these there are yet two other gods, *Tapatiap* and *Takafutta*, the gods of war, who are more especially worshipped by the men when they go out to battle, no scruple being made about propitiating them by sacrificing even on the streets.

Temples are everywhere to be met with, there being one for every sixteen houses; and while all other nations have priests to perform religious ceremonies, this is done here by priestesses called *Inibs*.

These *Inibs* sacrifice the heads of pigs and deer, which they are accustomed first to boil somewhat, and then to place before their gods with some rice, strong drink or *brom*, and pinang. Thereupon, two of the priestesses rise and call upon their gods with a horrible shouting and screaming, so furious that their eyes stand out of their heads as they foam at the mouth, causing them to look as if they were either demon-possessed or suffering from madness. Their gods are then said to appear in such terrible form that the priestesses begin to shake and tremble violently—as one actually sees them do—before they fall to the ground as if dead; the bystanders meanwhile showing signs of deep grief, by giving themselves up to continuous weeping and howling.

On recovering, the two priestesses climb to the roof of the temple and stand, one at each end, calling upon their gods with violent gesticulations. Every article of clothing is now laid aside, and they appear stark naked before their idols, to honour them and move them to answer prayers by the exhibition of, and continual tabering upon, their female parts. They then wash their bodies in clean water, but remain naked before the people; who are mostly women on such occasions—the men being not very religious,—and who have all the while been making themselves as drunk as possible.

The *Inibs* also busy themselves in expelling demons and warding off all sorts of evil. Nor do they simply foretell good and bad weather, for by cutting the

air with a naked sword, and performing various frantic gestures in public, they profess to drive away the devil who causes the bad weather, so that he is not able to stand the hacking with the sword, but takes refuge in the water and is drowned. These and a hundred other such outrageous stories they tell the common people, who are largely dependent on them, and who wonder greatly at their doings.

Besides these ceremonies performed by the priestesses, every Formosan has a kind of private religion which he practises in his own house, where each one honours his gods in the way that pleases him best.

The people also celebrate several feasts, during which they solemnly worship their gods in the temples, with the addition of feasting, dancing, and singing.

When any Formosan becomes sick, a rope is first tied round him. He is then suspended from the end of a 'spring-branch,' and suddenly let fall from above, so as to shorten his sufferings by breaking his neck and bones. As soon as he is dead, the fact is proclaimed by the beating of drums, whereupon the women gather together, each one bringing a pot of native wine or *brom*, in which they always indulge very freely.

The corpse is likewise treated in a most wonderful way, by placing it near the fire while a funeral feast is going on, and the friends are exhausting themselves by dancing to the sound of a drum. These ceremonies are kept up for nine days, during which a most horrible stench is caused by the gradual drying and roasting of the corpse.

After this period of mourning, the body is washed nine times, wrapped in a mat or something of that kind, and placed on a high scaffolding, which is draped round with hangings till it looks like a bedstead or field tent. Here it is left for three years, till it has become thoroughly dry; whereupon they bury it in their houses, giving their friends at this time another funeral feast according to their means.

From all these doings it is apparent that the Formosans are a stupid, blind, and ridiculous heathen people; and yet it has pleased God—as we shall hereafter see—to bring many of them to the knowledge of the Truth.

2. *Of the Reformed Religion.*

After the Dutch Company had established itself on the island of Tayouan in 1624, and had begun to trade with the inhabitants and to colonise the country, and after they had become better acquainted with the wild nature of these blind Formosans, they began to be solicitous about sending ministers of the Divine Word thither, not only to give their own people the opportunity of being properly instructed in religion, but more especially to extend the kingdom of God among the heathen, by preaching the gospel of the grace of God.

This they did, on the one hand, to show their great zeal for the kingdom of God, and on the other, that they might lay a good foundation whereon

to rest their hopes for the blessing of God on their trade in those parts, being assured that the Lord does not forsake those who fear His name, and who seek to bring others out of darkness into His glorious light.

At first only a couple of catechists were sent; and the first to arrive there seems to have been Michiel Theodori, who came with Mr. Reyerszoon or Mr. Sonk in 1624. But as he did not get on well, Dirk Lauwrenszoon was sent in his place, while Mr. Theodori was sent to Batavia without an appointment. Mr. Lauwrenszoon remained at Taiwan from 17 July 1625 till May 1627. A certain Cornelis Jacobszoon de Jong was there also in 1625, who went to Batavia on 4 December.

On 3 December 1626 Herman Bruyning, who was a catechist in Batavia, came over to Taiwan with Mr. de With.

The first minister called to Formosa was the pious George Candidius, who arrived on 4 May 1627. He brought with him as catechist Jan Janszoon van Fekkeren, and among this rough uncivilised people laid the foundation of that church which afterwards—according to accounts sent by letter from Formosa and from Batavia—flourished so greatly.

Like a true zealot, he exercised himself in their language, made himself master of the native religion, and then led them on in the right way of salvation, having much fruit amongst this poor people, and being the means, but not without much trouble, of bringing many of them from the kingdom of darkness into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

After labouring there for about two years, he wished to return, whereupon the Rev. Robertus Junius was sent out, and arrived in 1629, Mr. Candidius remaining on till 1631, as his presence was still very much needed.

On 3 April 1631, the catechist Jan de Lange departed for Batavia, and on 3 July it was decided that the licentiate Petrus Bonnus should take his place at Tayouan.

At this time, Mr. Junius laboured hard to acquire the native language, and to prepare longer and shorter catechisms, some affirming that he also translated portions of the Word of God.

Meanwhile, Mr. Candidius was called to Batavia; but his heart was so firmly attached to the needy church of Formosa—where it was impossible for one minister, however energetic, to do all the work—that on 5 May 1633 he allowed himself to be called to Sakam a second time, and accepted the call on certain conditions, namely:—

1. That a stone house should be provided for him.
2. That on his return he should be made minister of Batavia.
3. That he might draw his monthly salary whenever he wished.

As all these requests were agreed to on 12 May, he returned to Formosa and took up his abode in the village of Sakam, where his fellow-labourer Mr. Junius was residing.

On 15 June 1634 the Consistory of Batavia decided that the catechist Cornelis Carre should proceed to Formosa to take the place of Andries

Dirkszoon; and on 22 March 1635 Pieter Douweszoon, after having been there for some time, returned to Batavia.

It was during this year that the zeal of Mr. Candidius and Mr. Junius brought matters so far that seven hundred Formosans were baptized. Still more joyful intelligence was received at Batavia on 24 April in a letter sent by those two brethren dated 11 March 1636; from which it appeared that a journey throughout Formosa had been undertaken by Governor Putmans, who found so wide a door of entrance for the gospel that ten to twenty ministers were urgently needed to take advantage of the opportunity. The brethren made an earnest request for one additional minister in the meantime, and added that, in their opinion, those who were sent in future should be engaged for a longer period of service.

On 28 April the Rev. Assuerus Hogensteyn was unanimously called to Formosa, and on 1 May the call was cordially approved of.

On 26 July the Consistory of Batavia also decided to reinstate and to send to Taiwan the Rev. Joannes Lindeborn, formerly minister in Erkelens, from which he had been driven by the war, and had come over as catechist in the ship *Oost-Kappel* on 11 July.

These two gentlemen departed in different vessels. Mr. Lindeborn and his wife arrived in Japan on 10 October. As no foreign lady had been there before, and as Mrs. Lindeborn had a broken leg, her presence caused great astonishment among the Japanese. Mr. Lindeborn landed at Taiwan on 10 November, but whether or not he remained there long is not known.

From a letter sent by Messrs. Junius and Hogensteyn it appears that the latter arrived in Formosa safely on 15 December.

In the meantime, Mr. Candidius had requested to be released, and at the command of His Excellency, Mr. van Diemen, a reply was sent to him that he might come to Batavia, according to his request, to be married; although he could not remain there, but must either return to Holland or to Sakam again, the Governor-General not troubling himself about what he had most distinctly promised when Mr. Candidius came away—truly a very poor reward for the faithful service which that pioneer and founder of the Church had rendered with so much heartiness.

On 30 April 1637 Mr. Candidius arrived in Batavia from Taiwan, and was welcomed by the brethren.

A letter was then also received from Mr. Junius—the statements of which were confirmed by Mr. Candidius—from which it appeared that Rev. Mr. Lindeborn behaved himself so badly that he had to be deposed from his office for a time, so that Mr. Junius was now alone in Sakam, owing to the recent death of Mr. Hogensteyn.

In consequence of this, Mr. Junius, being now barely able to preach once a month in the Castle of Zeelandia, very earnestly requested that one or two ministers, as well as some licentiates and catechists, should be sent to Taiwan, as the harvest was very great and one labourer was insufficient for ministering to the wants of so many people.

No further mention is made of Mr. Lindeborn, from which it may be inferred that he died about this time.

On 13 July Mr. Candidius was very earnestly requested to return to Sakam on account of his mastery of the language; but that good gentleman, remembering how unreasonably he had been treated in return for all his services, modestly declined this invitation, and declared himself inclined to return to the Fatherland, which he did later on; whereupon the Rev. Gerardus Livius was selected to proceed to Taiwan and be stationed meanwhile at Castle Zeelandia.

On 12 July 1638 the Rev. Joannes Schotanus was called to be minister at Sakam. He went thither with the catechist Balbiaen, but did not remain long; for on 11 December 1639 he appeared in Batavia without proper credentials, having been suspended from office in September by Governor van der Burg, in the presence of the Rev. Messrs. Junius and Livius.

On 2 January 1640 a letter was received from Mr. Junius stating that Mr. Livius died towards the end of 1639, and that Mr. Schotanus was becoming worse than ever, so that he was still under suspension. The latter had to appear before his superiors in Batavia during the course of the year.

On 4 June 1640 the catechist Viverius asked permission to go to Tayouan, and wished to be favourably recommended by the brethren in Batavia to those in Formosa.

On 17 July the Rev. Joannes Bavius was called to Formosa, seeing that Mr. Junius had sent an earnest request to be released, which was granted, he having served ten years.

On 9 May 1641 the energetic Mr. Junius appeared before the Consistory in Batavia, and was asked whether he felt inclined to return to Taiwan or to go on to the Fatherland. He replied that, if the meeting thought it necessary, he was willing to return for two years longer beginning in October, if arrangements were made to have his salary increased, and on condition that his brethren would write to Governor Traudenius about him, as that gentleman had given him some trouble. He was assured that he would not be molested in the least, and that everything should be done as in the time of Governor van der Burg.

Mr. Junius further requested that, so soon as he was able to preach, Mr. N. Merkinus should receive a minister's salary from the Governor; and that Mr. Agricola should be promoted to the rank of licentiate.

As no Presbytery had yet been established in Formosa, either because the material for forming one was wanting or for some other reason, Mr. Junius was asked whether he considered it necessary to form one. He replied, yes; and expressed a wish that Governor Traudenius might be advised to that effect.

On 13 May it appears that Mr. Junius engaged to go to Taiwan again for three years, on the understanding that his salary should be one hundred and forty *guilders*, in addition to the ten *rixdaalders* he had formerly been receiving.

His Excellency promised Mr. Junius most distinctly that he would write to the Governor about him; agreeing also that Mr. Merkinus should be promoted to

the ministry and Mr. Agricola to be a licentiate; all these conditions being duly carried out. There is no further mention made of the two latter gentlemen, except that Mr. Agricola is again met with in Batavia later on. Both of them spoke the Formosan language fluently, which was the principal reason for their being promoted.

In 1643 the Rev. Simon van Breen left Batavia in response to a call from Formosa. The catechist Gillis Joosten requested that he might be allowed to accompany him; and on 8 June Mr. Regerius said farewell to the Kirksession in Mr. van Breen's name, he being ill at the time.

On 14 December of this year Mr. Junius appeared in Batavia, having left Messrs. Bavius and van Breen with the licentiate Hans Olhoff behind him. He was requested to remain there, and still more earnestly to go again to Formosa; but he replied that both Mr. Bavius and the inhabitants of the village of Soulang had also urged him to stay, but he had refused, being more inclined to go to the Fatherland; for which reason he now modestly refused the request of the Consistory.

Mr. Junius then also reported that Christianity was in a very prosperous condition in Formosa. He seems to have left the same year for the Fatherland, where, as it appears, he died in 1656. Before his departure, Mr. Junius made several requests on behalf of the church at Taiwan, to which Governor Caron attended.

During 1644 the Rev. Joannes Happartius went to Formosa, and on 1 August Mr. Agricola appeared in Batavia, having escaped with difficulty. It was only on 7 November of this year that directions were given with regard to drawing up such principles of Church government as would best suit the circumstances. Instructions were then also given to make a *Sakams Vocabulary* which might afterwards be enlarged into a general Malay, Portuguese, Sakamese, and German dictionary.

In 1646 Mr. Bavius still lived in the village of Soulang, and had under his direction the villages of Mattau, Dorko, Tirozen, and Tevorang; Mr. van Breen had charge of Favorlang and the neighbouring villages; and Mr. J. Happartius—of whom there is no mention after this year—was stationed in the Castle, where he conducted the Dutch service, and superintended work in the villages of Sakam, Tavakan, and Bakloan.

The licentiate Hans Olhoff remained in the southern villages; but that district, from Favorlang to Pangsoia towards the south, being far too large for him, the assistance of a minister was sought. Bitter complaints were also made about the laziness of the teachers there.

On 1 April 1647 word was received that Mr. Bavius had died, and that Mr. van Breen desired to return to the Fatherland, who was accordingly released.

The Rev. Daniel Gravius, a man of great talents and much beloved by the members of the Government and by his congregation in Batavia, expressed a strong desire at this time to serve the church of Christ among the newly converted heathen of Formosa, and offered himself for that work, to the utmost astonishment of all. Both the Government and the Kirksession tried in various

ways to dissuade him, but he was resolved to go to Taiwan if they would release him from service in Batavia. After failing many times in getting him to give up the idea, he received his discharge; His Excellency saying he should no longer be hindered in his pious determination, and that his praiseworthy zeal should be assisted by friends in procuring whatever might be needed for his work in Formosa. Mr. Gravius said farewell to the Kirk-session of Batavia on 6 May, and left for his new field of labour amidst the sorrow and tears of his congregation.

On 11 July it was decided to send the Rev. Jacobus Vertrecht to Formosa.

On 20 April 1648 the Rev. Antonius Hambroek was also called thither.

On 22 March 1649 the Rev. Gilbertus Happartius, on 26 April 1649 the Rev. Joannes Cruyf, and on 17 April 1651 the Rev. the Rutger Tesschemaker, were likewise called thither.

About this time the brethren brought many serious charges against Governor Verburg, and Mr. Verstegen was appointed to make investigation.

In 1651 Mr. Gravius returned to Batavia after a stay of four years in Formosa, having especially exercised himself in the native language, and been of great service to the church there. On being urgently requested to do so, Mr. Gravius remained two years longer as minister in Batavia, but on 5 February 1654 he said farewell to the Kirk-session and left for the Fatherland. At the beginning of 1662 he still gave proof of his linguistic knowledge and his interest in Formosa by having the *Formulary of Christianity* printed in Camp-Vere, both in Formosan and the Dutch languages.

The Rev. Joannes Ludgens was called to Formosa on 26 July 1651, the Rev. Gulielmus Brakel on 15 April 1652, and the Rev. Gulielmus Pantherus on 3 June 1652; the last-named, however, refusing to go.

Towards the close of this year, on 26 December 1652, the Rev. Gilbertus Happartius returned to Batavia, but on 7 March 1653 he was called to enter upon a second term of service in Formosa.

It was also thought that the very flourishing Church there should have six ministers at least; so that, influenced by the weighty arguments which had been brought forward in favour of this, the Batavian Council instructed the new Governor, Mr. Cæsar—who was just leaving for Formosa—to make investigation and to report.

On 30 July the Rev. Joannes Bakker was called to Formosa; on 20 April 1654 the Rev. Abrahamus Dapper, and Rev. Robertus Sassenius on 27 of the same month.

On 21 June 1655 the Rev. Marcus Masius was also called; on 30 June the Rev. Petrus Mus and Rev. Joannes Campius; on 14 July the Rev. Hermannus Buschhof, and on 21 July the Rev. Arnoldus a Winsem, the last-named having been appointed to reside at Sakam.

The records also show that several of the before-mentioned ministers had already died in 1656, but their names with the precise date of their decease cannot be known. It may, however, be accepted as approximately correct that they all died about the time mentioned in the list given at the end of this section.

On 9 June 1656 the Revs. Joannes de Leonardis—brother of Rev.

Abrahamus de Leonardis, formerly minister in Batavia and afterwards in Dordrecht—and Jacobus Ampzingius were called. The first-named of these gentlemen (along with his wife) was taken prisoner when Formosa was invaded by Koxinga, and was still a prisoner with the Chinese there in 1663.

On 21 May 1657 the Rev. Gulielmus Vinderus was sent to Formosa, and the Rev. Mr. Buschhof left that same year. The former did not remain long, his death having been reported on 11 July.

The Rev. Mr. Masius had been stationed in Kelang, an island subject to us towards the north of Formosa, but in 1661 he was taken to Batavia *via* Japan, by the ship *Graveland*, in order to escape from Koxinga's relentless cruelty.

With regard to the Rev. Mr. Hambroek, it appears that he came to Batavia on 25 April 1661 because of the injustice he had suffered at the hands of some members of the Government; but he must have immediately returned to Formosa, seeing that he, with his wife, several of his children, and some five or six fellow-labourers, were taken captive by Koxinga during that year.

Koxinga placed those prisoners in view of Fort Zeelandia to see if Governor and Council would save them by an immediate surrender. He also sent Mr. Hambroek as an ambassador into the Fort to bring about this result; but, instead of urging his countrymen to surrender, that noble and resolute man used every possible argument to encourage them to remain immovable; although he knew that this advice would prove fatal to himself, his wife, his children, and his fellow-prisoners.

Mr. Coyett gave him liberty to remain in the Fort if he wished rather than return to the camp of Koxinga; but he refused even to take the proposal into consideration, stating that Koxinga's fury would soon burst upon the other prisoners, and more especially upon his wife and children, if he was guilty of so faithless a deed, one which no minister especially could think of, seeing that the commission of it would only fill him with unspeakable remorse. In order, therefore, to save himself honourably from all difficulties, Mr. Hambroek considered it the best course for him to keep his word like an honest man by returning to his worthy wife, loving children, and faithful friends, and there awaiting the Divine will with immovable steadfastness; seeing that by doing so, he would have a clear conscience in the sight of both God and man.

It is most touching to read of the appeals by which his two daughters in the Fort sought to move him from his resolution; how with tears in their eyes and with every possible supplication they tried to persuade him to remain with them; how, when all this availed not and he silenced them with his heroic and noble reply, the one, unable to speak for grief, involuntarily fell to the ground, and the other, when she could not answer him any more and he was about to go, fell sobbing on his neck, and fainted away with her clasped hands hanging there; and how, with unparalleled heroism he used the opportunity to free himself, lest all these heartrending sights should induce him to waver and act in a way he would ever after regret. Surely those sights and sounds must have been sufficient to move a heart of stone!

Accordingly, this man, immovable and firm as a rock against the dashing of the foaming waves, left the Fort with the greatest bravery and returned to the enemy. On his way out, he encouraged the soldiers to do their duty; and assured them that he would willingly sacrifice himself for them or for his dear ones if that could be of any use. They were all moved to tears at this rare self-forgetfulness and promised that they would remain faithful unto death, expressing also their fervent hope that God might spare him and graciously deliver them all.

And so, this noble-minded man tore himself away from those precious pledges that he might give himself up to be slain—as he actually was—rather than act the part of a selfish coward, and thus bring everlasting disgrace on himself, his office, and his beloved nation.

His action was far more heroic than that of the illustrious Roman Attilius Regulus, who had been taken by the Carthaginians. For, although Regulus had no such deed to look back upon as an example, and could have saved his life by only recommending the Romans to grant what the Carthaginians demanded; although, too, he showed courage by dissuading them from doing so, thus bringing honour and glory to his native land, there is yet much reason for doubting the whole story; which, even if it were true, presents no such heartrending experiences as we find here. On the other hand, the case of Mr. Hambroek is undoubtedly an authentic one, and shows that in the face of influences connected with the very dearest ties, he remained firm in his determination, and thus set an example of lofty heroism which stirs the heart with astonishment and admiration.

On returning to Koxinga, Mr. Hambroek said with much dignity and calmness that the Governor and Council had decided to defend the Fort to the last drop of their blood, and that on no account would they allow the subject of surrender to be even mentioned, although they were quite ready to make every honourable attempt in meeting the wishes of His Highness.

This reply so embittered Koxinga against our nation that he, seeing that matters were turning out contrary to his expectations, and that the Formosans were beginning to revolt against him, sought a plausible excuse for breaking the necks of all his prisoners. The desired pretext was found when the Formosans attacked and cut to pieces a large troop of his followers; for he falsely accused our people of having caused this by inciting the Formosans, and speedily commanded all the male Dutch prisoners to be cut down and mercilessly put to death. This was very easily done, as they were entirely defenceless and had been divided into several detachments. According to the most trustworthy accounts, they were nearly all beheaded, among them being the noble-minded Mr. Hambroek; Petrus Mus, minister of Favorlang; Arnoldus a Winsem, minister of Sakam, with his faithful colleagues, Jacobus Ampzingius and Joannes Campius. It is also said that many women and children fell during this first outburst of the enemy's fury.

Not that those victims were, as some cavillers jokingly said, put to death for their faith—Koxinga cared very little about that,—but through the pure rage of that barbarous Chief, and more especially because the Fort was not

surrendered to him. Still, they do not deserve to be so bitterly, maliciously, and falsely slandered after their death as they have been in the recently published *Neglected Formosa*, and only in order to benefit those at the head of the Government. That the ministers were not open to some of the accusations made against them is evident from the fact that they very seldom returned home with a fortune.

It has been already stated that Mr. de Leonardis and his wife were among the prisoners; but, with Mr. Jacobus Valentyn, Magistrate at Sakam, and about twenty others, they seem to have been mercifully spared. At least, during the time of Mr. Bort's second voyage to China in 1663-4, they were still living; and there is also proof that the under-merchant Joannes Renaldus put himself to much trouble by giving presents to certain influential agents of Koxinga, in some hope that the widow of the Magistrate, with Mr. de Leonardis and his wife, might be set at liberty. As for Mr. Bort, all his trouble was in vain; for his expedition was obliged to return without accomplishing anything more than an exchange of hostages, which was very sad for those still left in exile.

After our people had been murdered, the Dutch women who remained were divided among the Chinese; the most fortunate being those who were assigned to unmarried men. Those who were claimed by chiefs already married suffered greatly at the hands of their jealous and vindictive wives. Some of them were compelled to do the work of the meanest slaves, and after enduring unspeakable grief, injury, and reproach, died of broken hearts in shame and wretchedness.

On the occasion of Mr. Bort's second expedition to China, captain Christiaan Poleman had just landed at Quemuy, and was engaged in pursuing the enemy and assaulting the large city, when our men received a message from Koxinga's son, stating that the widow of Jacobus Valentyn and the Rev. Mr. de Leonardis, besides men, women, and children to the number of nearly a hundred, were still at Sakam.

He offered to have them all set free, and to grant us freedom to trade at Taiwan, with liberty to form a settlement on Tamsui in the north of Formosa near Kelang, or on Kelang itself. He also urged us not to believe the Tartar assertion that he would deceive us, swearing by the heavens, sun, and moon that he spoke the truth and lied not.

Had he been believed, those prisoners would have been delivered, and our people would not have been exposed to the deceit and flattery of the Tartars, as they afterwards were; for we obtained neither trade with China nor the freedom of the prisoners; everything having disgracefully slipped out of our hands, and the whole negotiations having ended in smoke.

On 2 September 1684 the Lord mercifully delivered from their imprisonment some of these unfortunate captives, namely, Alexander Schravenbroek with his wife and two children, the widow of Hendrik Verbiest with two children—he himself and his mother having died in China—Salomo Valentyn with his wife and three children, Mrs. Susanna van Berchem with her daughter, and Mrs. Geertruy Focanus with her two sons. The two last-named widows, being natives of Sakam, remained in China with their children; but Alexander Schraven-

broek, after twenty-two years' imprisonment, had so fully mastered the language that our ambassadors, Messrs. Paats and Keyser, employed him as interpreter.

Now that the beautiful Formosa is thus taken possession of by Koxinga, everything gained there during the thirty-seven years of our occupation has disappeared and has again relapsed into its original condition of heathenism or Chinese idolatry. What a pity it is indeed that all the labour, anxiety, and money which have been lavished upon this fair isle should result only in bringing upon us humiliation and irreparable loss !

The following is a list of the ministers, with the years when they went to Formosa, and when they left or died :—

GEORGIUS CANDIDIUS,	.	.	1627-31
ROBERTUS JUNIUS,	.	.	1629-41
GEORGIUS CANDIDIUS—2nd term,	.	.	1633-37
ASSUERUS HOOGESTYN,	.	.	1636-37
JOANNES LINDEBORN,	.	.	1637-39
GERARDUS LEEUWIUS,	.	.	1637-39
JOANNES SCHOTANUS,	.	.	1638-39
JOANNES BAVIUS,	.	.	1640-47
ROBERTUS JUNIUS—2nd term,	.	.	1641-43
N. MIRKINIUS,	.	.	1641-43
SIMON VAN BREEN,	.	.	1643-47
JOANNES HAPPARTIUS,	.	.	1644-46
DANIEL GRAVIUS,	.	.	1647-51
JACOBUS VERTRECHT,	.	.	1647-51
ANTONIUS HAMBROEK,	.	.	1648-61
GILBERTUS HAPPARTIUS,	.	.	1649-52
JOANNES CRUYF,	.	.	1649-62
RUTGER TESSCHEMAKER,	.	.	1651-5 ?
JOANNES LUDGENS,	.	.	1651-5 ?
GULIELMUS BRAKEL,	.	.	1652-5 ?
GILBERTUS HAPPARTIUS—2nd term,	.	.	1653-5 ?
JOANNES BAKKER,	.	.	1653-5 ?
ABRAHAMUS DAPPER,	.	.	1654-5 ?
ROBERTUS SASSENIUS,	.	.	1654-5 ?
MARCUS MASIVS,	.	.	1655-61
PETRUS MUS,	.	.	1655-61
JOANNES CAMPIUS,	.	.	1655-62
HERMANUS BUSCHHOF,	.	.	1655-57
ARNOLDUS A WINSEM,	.	.	1655-62
JOANNES DE LEONARDIS,	.	.	1656-62
JACOBUS AMPZINGIUS,	.	.	1656-62
GULIELMUS VINDERUS,	.	.	1657-59

PART SECOND

NOTICES OF CHURCH WORK IN FORMOSA

PART SECOND

NOTICES OF CHURCH WORK IN FORMOSA

1. Memorandum from Rev. G. Candidius to Governor Nuyts.—After having given a short account (page 9) of the customs, manners, and religion found in the island of Formosa, and having been asked by Governor Pieter Nuyts if I thought that the Christian religion could be made acceptable to its inhabitants, and in what way this could best be effected, it was impossible for me to withhold the following expression of my opinion.

I do not doubt but that, *post ponendis*, the Christian faith will commend itself to this people, and that their own religion, customs, and manners, so far as they are opposed to the law of God, will be abandoned and rejected by them. Moreover, I confidently believe that on this island of Formosa there may be established that which will become not only the leading Christian community in all India, but one that will vie with the most flourishing and glorious in Holland itself.

For many important reasons the work of converting the heathen in India and adjacent countries has been very unsatisfactory and discouraging. So far as natural ability of the natives is concerned, the intellect of the people of Formosa is acute and their memories are excellent; so much so that, in one week, I have been able to make them understand things which took me a whole fortnight to teach other Indians, and even persons belonging to our own nation. Many of them may not be inclined to accept our Christian faith, the aged especially clinging most pertinaciously to their beliefs, and being not likely to listen to us without much difficulty. Still, I am convinced there does not exist in all India a more tractable nation and one more willing to accept the Gospel.

But even supposing that this people are more strongly opposed to our faith than any other nation in India, I remain convinced that it will be easier to bend them than many others, and for a very evident reason. The other nations of India with whom we have intercourse are either Moors, Gentiles, or Chinese; all of them having their kings, rulers, or chiefs, without whose permission no one would venture, on pain of death, to adopt any other religion; whereas the Formosans have neither head, ruler, nor chief to whom they need listen, and every man is free to believe whatever he likes. Again,

the three nations now referred to have systems and ceremonies embodied in written laws, with priests who thoroughly study these writings, who are well versed in their creed, and who endeavour to propagate it with quenchless zeal. On the other hand, the people of Formosa have neither written documents nor valiant and famous teachers to spread abroad a knowledge of their faith. They have only some women who act the part of priestesses, but who know as little about religious matters as they themselves do; on which account those matters are regarded as amounting to mere customs which may be followed or not, just as circumstances require.

The native religion has been undergoing great decay during the last sixty years, and I believe that during another sixty years (even if we Christians were not working here) it will become entirely different from what it is at present. As already stated, one reason of this is that they have no written documents, and not a single person among them who can read or write; nor have they any one inclined to go forth and proclaim their beliefs, aged persons also being of opinion that, formerly, people were taught to believe quite different things from those of the present time.

As to the Gentiles on the coast of Coromandel, we have no reason to expect that the Gospel preached to them will produce any good results, at least that is the only conclusion one can come to in view of a certain treaty which Commander Marten Ysbrantz communicated to me in the year 1624. Then, we cannot incline the hearts of other Gentiles in East India towards us, simply because we have no intercourse with them.

A similar treaty to the one just mentioned was made with the Moors residing on the Moluccas, Governor Le Febvre having told me about it when he exercised the supreme power over these islands in 1626. After having influenced some Moorish men and women and having taught them to pray, the ministers were obliged to desist without baptizing them.

And supposing such a prohibition had not existed, it would still be exceedingly difficult to incline the hearts of those people to accept our Christian faith. This is evident, not only from the writings they possess, but from the examples which we see in their daily lives.

It is said that among the Moors in the island of Amboyna some success has been obtained; but how matters really do stand there, I leave others to say. Who among the Moors living on the island of Banda has become a Christian? Mention me one instance only, and I shall believe that great things have been accomplished. It is true that schools in which Moorish children received instruction were opened in that place; but those children were not made submissive, but rather treated with far too much indulgence.

We come now to Batavia, the capital of our possessions, and a stronghold of the Moors. It is to it that our ministers and brethren sent out to tend the sick are first sent, and from it that they again return to the Fatherland. There we have three clergymen and three or four sick-visitors; but, in spite of all this, who among the ancient Moors there has been converted to the Christian faith? Verily I do not know of a single one. I am aware that some women

were baptized; but what was the reason of that? That they were rescued by some of our Dutch people, and if they wished to marry, they had first of all to be baptized.

I wish, however, to deal with a people whose wills we could bend and lead towards an acceptance of our faith, and that, because of the worth and dignity of the faith itself, not for profit, or from any pure worldly motive. Such a people are the natives of Formosa, for with them we stand on quite a different footing. Their wills can truly be influenced and their hearts changed by faith alone; my proof for this statement being that, within sixteen months, I have myself seen one hundred and twenty young and old persons amongst them instructed and brought into the obedience of Christ.

We now come to the third nation, namely, the Chinese. Our people have not hitherto paid any attention to their spiritual welfare; but I am positively convinced that, if they did actually become the objects of our attention, very little could be effected in that quarter.

After having thus enlarged on my reasons for believing that our principal Indian community could be obtained and easily ruled in Formosa, I wish to show how that same community could gradually become as excellent and as sincere as any to be found in our own country. In Holland, it is often the case that as many different religious opinions are to be found in one house as there are persons in it. The Formosans, however, after having been instructed by faithful and *orthodox* teachers, would all have one and the same faith.

Amongst ourselves, the task of exterminating error is a difficult, indeed an impossible one; for those who cling to error have writings in which their opinions are embodied, so that they can teach their posterity the same falsehoods. We have seen, however, that the Formosans have no writings whatever to hand down their superstitions and idolatry to future generations. We could thus teach them to read and write, and impart to them concisely the contents of our religion; so that being instructed according to one system, they would be taught to call upon God with one heart and mind, and to worship Him in one and the same way. This, then, is my opinion, expressed in a few words, concerning the possibility of introducing the Christian religion into the island of Formosa.

Let us now proceed to the second part of our subject and see what would be the best means to employ for the attainment of this object. First of all, it is necessary that Formosa should not be abandoned or given up to the Japanese; for in that case the Spaniards would certainly annex it; and under Japanese rule, the Christian religion would meet with no kind of shelter or protection.

The island, therefore, remaining in our possession, a minister should at once be appointed with the public approbation of the Company or under commission of the Governor-General. And it should be resolved that other ministers be sent out as necessity arises, without ever leaving the place vacant; for the absence of some wise and loving friend, even though it be for only one year, would give rise to a great deal of harm.

The minister required for this place must bind himself by contract to remain all his life, or at least for a period of ten or twelve years. To remain three or four years only is not advisable, and rather than do so, he had better not come out at all. In three or four years he would not be able to master the language, but in ten or twelve he might obtain a complete mastery of it. It would be no doubt possible to speak a little and to teach the people something at the end of three or four years. This, however, is not speaking the language, but only having a kind of smattering of it which is most disagreeable to listen to. And so, I repeat that, in ten or twelve years' time, those who come out will be able to express their thoughts in the language, and to pronounce it well. They would be listened to with pleasure and would be able to influence the people according to their desire after having qualified themselves in this way. Hence also the necessity of having several always working at the language, so that they may be ready to take the places of those who die or have to leave the country.

Any minister not having *donum castitatis* should bring out a wife with him, and thereby be in a position to resist the snares of Satan, and in order that he himself, with his family, may present the living example of an honest, virtuous, and proper life to his hearers; being thus like a mirror in which all the people might see a reflection of themselves and regulate their lives accordingly. It would, however, be better still if the unmarried man would choose a native woman to be his wife. I consider this course would be much more advisable for several reasons. Of course, ministers coming here should have those other very necessary virtues which I have already mentioned elsewhere.

Another very helpful thing would be for ten or twelve of our fellow-countrymen to take up their residence on this island; laymen of good and virtuous conduct, not without means, and inclined to marry the women of the place. These would act as a magnet to attract the whole country, and in this way success might be reckoned upon, for God would not withhold His blessing.

Meanwhile, it will be the duty of the magistrates to see that our people residing here do not become a cause of scandal and offence to this nation, severely to punish the transgressors, and thoroughly to support the preacher, so that the Company's large outlay may not be in vain, and that some good may be brought about.

The occasional distribution of a few *cangans* among the people would also be advisable, but when the principal men come down from the mountains to visit us, they ought to be well entertained with food and drink, to be treated with kindness and civility, and presented with some garments.

These then are the means which I think should be taken for introducing the Christian faith among the people of Formosa. The work will doubtless require some time, but eventually it is sure to be crowned with success.

If, however, I am to express the innermost thoughts of my heart (a very serious and responsible thing to do), I must confess that there is a better and shorter method of work which I have not yet mentioned. According to it the

magistrates must come into greater prominence. As no republic can exist without rulers and laws, and this place has neither, the magistrates we have appointed should offer their protection and assistance to the seven villages we occupy, and grant like privileges to such others as are willing to submit to our laws. But, submission to the laws may not be forthcoming? In that case, threats must be employed. But, if they do not care for threats? The threats must just be fulfilled. And if they then flee to the mountains? The inhabitants of the seven villages cannot and will not flee all at the same time; and even if they did during any attempt we made to enforce obedience in one of them, a part of the inhabitants would conceal themselves in the mountains, and another part in the other six villages.

However, if all the villages are treated in exactly the same manner, the inhabitants will not flee; and if the worse comes to worst and they still try to wage war against us, we must then see to it that two or three of their principal men in each village are on a friendly footing with us, as they could easily make the people follow and obey them. But I am of opinion that they would not offer any opposition; for they are mightily afraid of the Dutch.

I have thus sketched out the way in which I humbly think the Company should walk. By doing so, they would not only derive much profit from this country, but exterminate idolatry and ungodly works by introducing the true faith. I do not mean that force should be employed to make the natives adopt our religion: that is by no means my opinion. I only say that proper laws against murder, theft, and adultery should be made; that the resident magistrates should be the ones to pronounce judgment in all cases of transgression, and that the people should be made to submit to them as the source of all authority.

Such, then, are the methods which seem to me suitable for the Christianising of Formosa. May our Lord, who knows what are the best means and who can put it into our hearts to use them, bestow His blessing, to the glory of His name and to the salvation of those benighted heathen.

2. Letter from Rev. G. Candidius to Governor-general J. P. Coen.—Sinkan, 20 August 1628. *To the most valiant, prudent, and equitable Lord-General.* Your epistle of 26 June I have duly received. From it I see that your heart is filled with affection, grace, and inclination for the propagation of the Holy Gospel among the heathen, as well as towards the ministers of the same; for which I desire to express to you my most sincere and best thanks.

To our very great regret, the introduction of the Christian faith and instruction in that saving truth which brings about the extermination of idolatry and every heathenish malpractice, makes very little progress among the Sinkan population at present. The principal hindrances are these:—

First: Since the arrival of the Japanese with those Sinkandians who went with them to Japan a year ago, *i.e.* since April last, the hearts of the Sinkandians have changed and become embittered against us. For—as is already known to His Honour the Governor—when the Japanese with the Sinkandians arrived

off the coast here, many days elapsed before they were allowed either to land, or to take in water, or anything else. This the Sinkan villagers took very much amiss; because, as they had not seen their folk for a very long time, they wished them to land and return to their homes; fearing that some accident might happen to them while lying off the coast without obtaining any provisions, and seeing that five of them had already died.

Later on, when the Governor had made an agreement with the Japanese that the Sinkandians should be sent ashore, they were put in irons and confined on board our ships instead. Thereupon, the whole of Sinkan became like a lioness whose cubs had been violently taken from her. Many cries and groans, with many bad epithets, were heard. They threatened especially my own person, having been alone among them with my servant at the time. I therefore lost no time in sending word to the Governor, who immediately ordered eight soldiers and a corporal up to the station, sending me word at the same time with a message that, if I did not consider my position to be a safe one, I should come down to the Fort. However, I remained, but was not able to effect very much. Meanwhile, the Japanese assaulted the residence of His Honour the Governor and took him and his little son prisoners. The Sinkandians were still kept in custody, but four of the leaders broke their chains, secretly jumped overboard at night, swam ashore, returned to Sinkan, and gave a very unfavourable account of the Dutch. At last, our people made a compromise with the Japanese, wherein it was agreed that His Honour the Governor should, on certain conditions, be set free. One of these conditions was that the Sinkandians who were still in chains should be liberated, and that all the goods which they had brought from Japan, and which we had taken from them, should be restored. Having now regained their liberty, these Sinkandians proceeded with a great number of Chinese who accompanied them up to the village of Sinkan. There they celebrated their return and were very merry, praising and lauding the Japanese who, they said, had treated them magnificently not only on the voyage but also in Japan, where they made them many presents of money and other things; whereas they painted the Dutch in ugly colours, saying we had treated them very badly, and had, moreover, robbed them of the things they had received from the Japanese. In this way the hearts and minds of the inhabitants have been turned away, and filled with bitterness against us. Thus, the bad feeling that they entertain for the reasons just mentioned is an impediment which has been standing in my way ever since April last, and which still exists.

Second: Their priestesses are another serious cause of our being so trammelled in our work. These priestesses, called *Inibs* by the people, are old crones who teach the very contrary of what I teach. They will not suffer that the least tittle of their superstitious idolatry and malpractices should be altered or disparaged. I have already been able to teach many of the Sinkandians the prayers, and those persons could answer questions on the saving truths of Scripture in a way that shows them to be suitable subjects for baptism. Indeed, they themselves tell me that their priestesses teach lies only, and that

my doctrine is good and true ; but practise it they will not. It was my fixed purpose to baptize some of them, and to send Your Excellency by this ship the names of those whom we could consider as the firstfruits of the spiritual harvest ; but I have not been permitted to do so. For although they possess sufficient knowledge to rank as candidates for baptism, I considered it unsafe to baptize them until they had not only promised to put away their idolatry, superstition, and malpractices, but had also walked for some time in the Christian faith, so that their works might be consistent with their profession. This however they failed to do, but continued, as before, such observances as the sacrifice of pigs, fish, flesh, oysters, rice, strong liquor, and so forth, besides regulating their actions according to their dreams, and to the flight and singing of birds. And even although I had succeeded by dint of many words and much persuasion in enticing them to forsake such superstitious ideas and to abandon their idolatry, I would have been quite helpless in persuading them to cease from killing their own children, a practice as common here as the christening of children is amongst ourselves. This crime of destroying the fruit of the womb is committed by the women till they have reached their thirtieth, thirty-third, or thirty-fifth year. They also feel proud of the number of children they have destroyed ; several women having confessed to me that they had already killed eight, others twelve, and others again fifteen. Their priestesses teach them that it would be a shame for them not to act in this way ; these old crones being the very ones who are called in by expectant mothers to procure abortion. Supposing, therefore, that they forsake their superstitions and idolatry, but continue to practise this bestial cruelty to their children, and there be no rigid law and severe punishment to make them desist therefrom, it would be simply impossible for one to administer the Sacrament of Baptism to such people.

My constant exhortation that they ought to abandon this evil conduct only provokes such replies as these : 'Our customs have been handed down to us from generation to generation and cannot be done away with.' 'Our priestesses, who are in daily converse with the spiritual world, know what is right and teach us accordingly.' 'Were we to disregard those priestesses, our gods would become angry, and would send no rain, but rather our foes, upon us, who would chase us from our country and destroy us.'

This people have still another kind of superstitious fear ; for from the time that the Japanese arrived last April, they do not look upon us with a kindly eye, but think that we endeavour to estrange them from their religion, in order that their gods may become angry with them.

Therefore they have proposed that I should begin by giving Christian instruction in one house only, and that all its inmates should abandon their manners and customs and adopt ours. If their gods still continued to bless that house by giving much rice and other things during the next two or three years, they too would willingly adopt our religion. They also come to me to test my powers, asking me to perform miracles, to give or withhold rain and wind, to foretell future events, or to reveal what is actually occurring else-

where; and because I cannot do so, they despise me, and say that their priestesses can do all such things.

Third: Another peculiarity which has greatly hindered my work is that this nation has no central authority or chief to whom I can speak in name of all the people. Every one does as he likes. If I instruct a person one day, he may be next day in the fields, and sometimes he does not return for a month. If those who are inclined to listen to me meet others who are not, the latter break down and destroy more in one hour than I can build up in ten. Now, as it was desirable that those opponents should be effectively admonished, I requested the Governor—after the Japanese had left—to take action, and he commanded them to come down for this purpose, but they refused, fearing that they would be put in irons. After the lapse of some time, I repeated my request to the Governor, who then promised to come up on my behalf and address the people; but, probably on account of more important affairs, this was not done, and before long he repaired with the fleet to China.

Thus, being unable to do anything if other means were not employed, I went down on 1 August to the Governor, told him minutely how matters stood, and asked his advice as to what should be done, but he told me that he did not know what advice to give me. I then expressed my opinion to him that there was a chance of success if he would come up and command the priestesses to desist from idolatrous teaching, and order the people not to listen any more to them, but listen to me and regulate their lives accordingly.

I also said that instruction should be given under certain fixed regulations, which could easily be arranged in the following manner. The entire village of Sinkan is divided into fourteen districts or parishes. Now, if an order were issued that all the women living in two quarters of the village should come for instruction in the afternoon, and all the children from nine till twelve in the morning, the whole village would receive instruction during the course of one week; and the children, on whom our best hopes are fixed, would be instructed every day. Nor would such an order or command interfere with their labour; for no person would have to give more than two hours a week to our teaching.

I concluded by reminding the Governor that the inhabitants of Mattau and Bakloan are bitter enemies of the Sinkan village, and would certainly have burnt it to the ground and slaughtered its inhabitants, if the Dutch had not taken pity on them by sending about a hundred musketeers for their deliverance. The village of Sinkan came under the protection of the Dutch at that time, and without this protection it would not exist for one day. The fear which the Sinkan people at present have is that the Dutch themselves will chase them from their village on account of what happened between them and the Japanese. Recently, there was a rumour that the Dutch would really expel them, for which reason they fled to the mountains, taking with them their most valuable possessions. They also fear that the Dutch, without doing them any harm, will cease to protect them. If, therefore, we offered to become their patron and protector on condition that they obeyed us and adopted our manners and customs, but that, otherwise, we could not renew our treaty with

them on religious grounds, then I confidently believe they would listen to us and obey our commands. At all events, a proposal like this can do no harm ; for if they accept it, good and well ; whereas if they refuse, and we wish to continue on friendly terms with them, I can be ordered down to the Fort, and they will just remain what they were before.

Hereupon the Governor answered that he would do as requested after the vessel left for Batavia. I should very much have liked him to do so before the ship had left, so that I might have sent a report concerning all things to Your Excellency, but it was not to be : the Governor was too busy about other matters. I can only say that if the means I have now proposed succeed, I would be full of courage ; but if not, it would be better to discontinue the work as soon as possible, so that no more time may be lost.

This, then, is the state of matters ecclesiastical among the people of Sinkan. May our Lord God convert them and take away the stony heart out of their flesh, so that the seed of the Divine Word sown there may bring forth the fruits of holiness, glory, and life everlasting.

Before closing this Report, I may not and cannot neglect to congratulate His Excellency and his esteemed spouse on their happy and prosperous arrival in India, and to bid them a hearty welcome, rendering most sincere thanks to God from the depths of my heart that He has so mercifully kept and preserved them. I pray without ceasing that His Excellency, as well as his dear spouse, may in future abide under God's almighty protection, and be guarded from all dangers and perils. May God also bestow upon them every blessing, so that under His Excellency's rule, churches and schools may flourish and increase. This I sincerely pray. May God answer my prayer !—I am, Your Excellency's most willing and obedient servant,

GEORGIUS CANDIDIUS.

P.S.—The time that I agreed to remain here will soon expire, and I do most ardently wish, for very important reasons, that another person may be speedily sent out. I have translated into the Sinkan language a collection of prayers and a statement of what we regard as the saving truths of our religion. I have also compiled a vocabulary of all the native words with which I am familiar. It is advisable to send a clergyman who would remain here for a long time, or who felt inclined to stay here for good. I will hand him all my Sinkan writings, so that when the outlook is more hopeful, he may have a better opportunity for becoming thoroughly proficient in the language.

3. From Rev. George Candidius to Governor-general Coen.—Sinkan, 1 February 1629. *To His Excellency the most Honourable Governor-General* :—It was by the vessel *Batavia*, in charge of Mr. Ham, merchant, that we forwarded to Your Excellency our last account. Therein we gave a statement of matters ecclesiastical at Sinkan in the island of Formosa, and of the work which has already been done. We then spoke of our hopes and reasonable expectations in this connection, and of what measures might be adopted for securing a still greater spread of the Gospel here. The present communication

is intended to furnish Your Excellency with more detailed information regarding our manner of procedure and the progress of the work up till now.

As soon as the *Batavia* had weighed anchor and got under sail, His Honour the Governor left for Sinkan. On his arrival at that place, he addressed the inhabitants, most warmly recommending my person and my mission to them, saying that they should receive the doctrine I proclaimed and act according thereto. He also said that, if they acted thus, it would be his heart's desire to protect them, yea, that he most willingly would be to them as a father to his children; whereas, if they refused now to listen to him, neither would he listen to their behests, but would be filled with wrath against them. The Governor did not then think fit—for private reasons—to interfere with certain unlawful customs of the place, or to punish the offenders. He regaled the principal men amongst them with meat and drink and gave them thirty *cangangs* (a kind of clothing) not in his, but in my name, saying that Candidius had honoured them with these gifts in order that they might diligently listen to him, obey him, and regulate their lives according to his doctrine.

The result of these efforts has been that after the departure of His Honour the Governor, the people diligently listened to me, so that I had no rest whatever, either day or night, from the great number of persons who came to see me. Outside day-labourers came to be taught at night, while those who did not go to work in the fields came to me during the day; but my strength proving insufficient for so great a strain, I was obliged to make some of the more intelligent islanders assist me, as well as my servant, who had received a little instruction. The result was that, last Christmas-day, one hundred and ten persons, young and old, could repeat the prayers, and could answer with facility the principal questions which man must know for his salvation. Matters stood thus on Christmas-day of the year 1628.

Shortly before Christmas, the Governor sent for me to announce the intention of celebrating Holy Communion at the Fort, to visit the communicants, and to preach the preparatory sermon; in order that all might again have an opportunity of jointly sitting down at the table of the Lord. Hence, I was absent about a fortnight.

On New Year's-day, the Governor again came up to the station, on which occasion he put some questions to the people, listened to their petitions, and admonished them to continue in the way they had begun by obeying me in all things. His kind manner and affability effected very much good, and has called forth great affection and respect for the Dutch nation.

After the Governor had taken his departure, he returned after a few days, but with a party of armed men, in order to arrest—for reasons known to himself—a Sinkan man named Dika, chief of that band which had already done so much harm, about a year ago, in Japan. This Dika had now found means to escape

from the dwellings of the inhabitants; and as they by means whatever—neither threats nor promises—where he was hiding, and as there were ten been with him in Japan, the Governor began to

distrust them, and thought it expedient for me to return immediately with him to the Fort. He now declared that if Dika were not delivered up to him within six days, there should no longer be peace, but war, between us and the Sinkan people.

During these six days the inhabitants removed all their possessions, and then fled to hide themselves in the thickets and woods. At the expiry of the six days, and Dika not having been given up, the Governor again made his appearance with a considerable number of troops, intending to fire the village if Dika were still kept in concealment. But on his arrival he found the village quite empty; for, with the exception of a few old men, the inhabitants had disappeared, and had taken all their possessions with them. As His Honour concluded that the inhabitants had abandoned the place, he changed his plans and, according to the native custom, made a compromise. He told those present that the following demands would be made upon their fellow-villagers by way of punishment: They must hand over thirty head of swine, and every family ten bundles of rice; they must also build another house for the Dutch, while the dwellings of those eleven persons who had been in Japan must be destroyed and razed to the ground. On consent having been given to these conditions, the Governor again departed with his troops.

On 26 January 1629 I returned to Sinkan by the urgent desire of the inhabitants, and—with the Governor's consent—resumed the glorious work so hopefully begun. I find however that great changes have taken place. Many of the fugitives have never returned; some of them will not come back at all, and others living in the village will not by any means come to my house, as they do not trust me, and feel very suspicious. It will, therefore, be impossible to effect much this month; but I feel confident that by dint of kindness, many will be induced to give me their confidence again.

Such is the present state of affairs; but I very much fear that, when the Japanese once more make their appearance, the work begun in Sinkan will severely suffer. May our Lord, in whose Holy Name and to whose glory the work has been begun, assist us with His counsel and guidance.

Let this suffice for to-day. I beg to commend His Excellency and his spouse to the protection of God, praying without ceasing that He will bless and preserve them body and soul, granting them here below prosperity and health, and above the crown of eternal life. I am, etc., G. CANDIDIUS.

P.S.—My urgent request, mentioned in my former letter to Your Excellency, that a successor be appointed to take my place, I here once more repeat with all due humility and respect. For many reasons, I long to return to my native country. A capable and suitable person ought soon to be sent out, one who is inclined to remain in this country for good, and to marry one of the native women of Sinkan—by far the better plan. Failing that, the brother who comes should be willing to remain here ten years at least, and such an one may be found amongst those who have studied at the Company's expense. He must pre-eminently possess the gifts of piety and chastity, be of

kindly disposition, of an equable temper, and fear neither work nor trouble. He must also have a good memory, so that he may soon learn the language of the people. I will hand him a vocabulary and the prayers of the church, with the principal articles of the Christian faith, which I have compiled and translated into the Sinkan.

As long as my time lasts here, I shall go on planting and sowing, though it is probable I shall reap but little. Any one, however, possessing the qualifications which have just been mentioned, will certainly reap an abundant harvest in accordance with the sure word of promise.

4. From Minutes of the Formosa Council. . . . Having been asked by the clergymen Georgius Candidius and Robertus Junius what we considered would be the best means of securing the submission of this people and extending the Christian religion amongst them, we think that the very best means would be for us to seize all the possessions of those who were concerned in the recent murder and many other deeds of violence, namely those who live in the villages of Mattau and Bakloan. By adopting this course, the people everywhere will be so filled with terror that they will humbly bend their necks and most piteously sue for our friendship. They will afterwards become quite civilised and subject to us; so that, by the grace of God, the Christian religion will make better progress than heretofore. We judge thus because past experience shows that mere kindness is thrown away upon this people, and will never bring about the spread of Christianity amongst them.

After due consideration, therefore, the Council finds it expedient and has resolved that, so soon as the vessels return from China, they shall attack Bakloan, as that place has the fewest inhabitants—about three hundred souls—to see if, by this means, they cannot be brought back to our rule and rendered fit for civilisation.

Given at Tayouan, in the town of Zeelandia, 17 November 1629, and signed by HANS PUTMANS, NICOLAES COUCKEBACKER, ARYAEN SONNIUS, JAN ISEBRANTSEN, JONG, MINNE, WILLEMSE, and CAERTEKOE.

5. Governor Putmans to Governor-general Coen.—On board the *Texel*, off Amoy, 24 February 1630. . . . The Rev. Mr. Candidius, on seeing the great dejection of the arrogant and uncivilised people, and inferring from this that the prospects for the propagation of the Gospel are considerably more promising, has been persuaded to remain another year—although his intention was to leave the island. We believe, however, that if his salary were reasonably increased, he would continue to serve us three years more, which would be very advantageous for the Company; because a stranger would take two or three years to learn as much of the language as Candidius knows, and this would be a decided drawback, seeing that the work was so prosperously begun, and has now been suspended for a whole year.

Without doubt, Mr. Candidius will already have written to you or to the Rev. Mr. Heurnius, for he has been the cause of this interruption to the work.

We also believe that he will meanwhile marry one of the native women. According to his own account, this would already have taken place if he had not been compelled by Mr. Nuyts to leave Sinkan; while our own opinion is that the cause of Christianity would be much advanced by such a marriage, as an important tie would thereby be formed between these people and ourselves. . . .

6. N. Couckebacker, Chief Factor, to Governor-general J. P. Coen.—Tayouan, 27 March 1630. . . . According to instructions from His Honour the Governor, Mr. Candidius left on the 9th of last month for Sinkan, to resume the work which he inaugurated there with such eminent success. On 22nd instant he wrote us a letter in which he expresses his decided hope that the Christianising of the people of Sinkan will make good progress. Of this he entertains no doubt whatever. The accompanying communication makes everything clear to Your Excellency, and we shall continue to act in keeping with its statements. . . .

7. From Minutes of the Formosa Council.—10 July 1630. . . . As the conversion of the people of Sinkan makes great progress, and as His Honour the Governor strongly recommends the continuation and extension of this work . . . we have resolved, as far as time and our stock of materials will permit, to have a suitable house built in Sinkan for the use of Mr. Candidius and the persons dwelling with him. Moreover, we have resolved that the Caffir Francisco, at present servant to the said Mr. Candidius, shall be taken into the service of the Company at a remuneration of eight *guilders* a month, and that he shall now receive his liberty, having faithfully served the Company as a bondsman for a period of ten years.

This done and resolved at the factory of Tayouan 10 July 1630, and signed by HANS PUTMANS, GEDEON BROUWERS, PAULUS TRAUDENIUS, AARIS SCHELINGER, PAULUS CLAESS, PAULUS PIETERSS, and J. VAN SANDT, *Secretary*.

8. Governor Putmans to Governor-general Specx.—On board the *Bommel*, three miles to the north of Tayouan, 5 October 1630. . . . We have not yet been able to come to any positive result as to the terms and amount of salary which the Rev. G. Candidius claims in case he wishes to renew his engagement with us. His demands fall under several heads: *First*: He claims nine *guilders* per month more than the sum which has been put to his account since the time of his departure from Holland till now. On leaving Holland it was decided by the honourable Directors of the Company that the three clergymen, Messrs. Heurnius, de Praet, and Candidius, should each receive 84 *guilders* a month, but that he who was to reside on the coast of Coromandel should not receive more than 75 *guilders*. When at sea, and near the Cape of Good Hope, it was decided by lot that Candidius should reside there. But on reaching the coast, it appeared that the place was already occupied by a minister sent from Batavia; consequently, Candidius and his

fellow-preachers were appointed to other stations. His salary, however, since the time he visited that coast, has amounted only to 75 *guilders* a month, as if he were residing there, and this is the sum which has all along been entered in the books. *Second*: He lays claim to the amount of 250 *reals* which, according to his account, he advanced to the inhabitants at the time Governor Nuyts administered the affairs of the island, and which amount the people could not obtain from Mr. Nuyts. *Third*: He stipulates that in case he were to marry, his salary should be paid to him monthly, and in cash. *Fourth*: That a successor be appointed to take his place should Mr. Nuyts be again appointed Governor. He thinks it probable that this appointment will be made from the following statement which Mr. Nuyts sent to the Sinkan people through Candidius: 'The Rev. Mr. Candidius will tell you that your father, Governor Nuyts, wishes you well, and that in the space of ten months he will come and see you, and that when he does come he will prepare grand feasts for you, and give you great quantities of strong drink or *maschecau*.' In Dutch was added: 'Let me know what the people of Sinkan say to this, and whether they now and then ask after their father, and whether they are regaled, as in my time, not only in their dwellings in the mountains, but when they come down to the coast.'

Having written thus far, Mr. Junius of Sinkan visited us, and reports that, if we grant these conditions—being first approved of by Your Excellency—and give Mr. Candidius the same salary as Mr. Heurnius, namely, 120 *guilders* a month, he is willing to renew his engagement for three years more. These conditions we shall grant him in the hope of receiving your approbation, and so as to prevent this prosperous work from being seriously hindered; another consideration being that Mr. Candidius will almost certainly be making early arrangements for his marriage. Nor are they so very unreasonable, although I have not ventured to grant them absolutely, inasmuch as he says that you have already been informed of the conditions through Mr. Heurnius. If Your Excellency's letter had mentioned this and expressed approval, we do not doubt that, as he himself declares, he would immediately have married a Sinkan woman, whereby good service would have been rendered to the Church of God as well as to the Company. . . .

9. Governor Putmans to Governor-general J. Specx.—On board the *Wieringen*, off Amoy in the Chinchew river, 22 February 1631. We have just had an expedition against Mattau, a place that has always been at enmity with Sinkan; and which expedition, according to Candidius and Junius, was our most efficient means for extending the Christian religion in Sinkan and other villages.

Although our operations against Tampsui, undertaken by us to succour and satisfy the people of Sinkan, well-nigh proved a failure, seeing the latter were ignorant of the approaches leading to the place, still they have been carried out. In this expedition the people of Sinkan captured one head only. Three or four men of Tampsui were also shot down, but the foe immediately

dragged the corpses into the high grass and jungle, so that the heads of the fallen enemy could not be captured. The results of the expedition are satisfactory; for the minds of the people of Sinkan have been so favourably turned to us that the whole village shows an inclination to adopt our religion. Some of the principal men—and it is to these that the other inhabitants chiefly look—have cast away their idols, and are being daily instructed by Candidius; there being thus every appearance that the progress of Christianity will be very great, and that the fruits thereof will be more evident than ever. May the Lord add His divine blessing thereto!

Candidius' opinion that it would be a good thing to bring the inhabitants of Sinkan under political law, as Your Excellency has been advised by him to do, we cannot as yet approve of. We have, therefore, returned a reply to Candidius—who requests to have a political person appointed as judge in Sinkan—in which we maintain that for the present it is much more expedient that the *Takasach* Council in the village should, assisted by his advice, continue to settle all matters till these people become somewhat more civilised and accustomed to our manners.

Most of the materials required to complete the house which we ordered to be built in Sinkan have been transported thither, so that we hope it will soon be ready for occupation by Candidius and the persons associated with him; as the work, so well begun, will then have every prospect of being continued without let or hindrance, and without any fear of the people of Mattau. . . .
Your humble servant, H. PUTMANS.

10. Hans Putmans to the Governor-general, J. Specx.—Tayouan, 17 March 1631. . . . The house in Sinkan will soon be ready. The work so prosperously begun shows most glorious results; and within ten or twelve days Candidius will baptize fifty persons whom he thinks fit for that ceremony. We hope that the Lord will increasingly bestow His blessing upon the good work. . . . Your humble servant,
HANS PUTMANS.

11. Governor-general J. Specx to Putmans, Governor in Tayouan.—Castle of Batavia, 31 July 1631. *Most honoured, wise, and equitable Sir,* Your letters, dated 8 October and 28 December 1630, and of 20 and 22 February, with those of 6 and 17 March 1631, came duly to hand, to which we now send the following reply. . . . It was with much pleasure that we heard of the increase and progress of Christianity among the inhabitants of Sinkan. The zeal which Mr. Candidius has been showing in this matter is perfectly praiseworthy; but—as in all things—a certain degree of moderation and temperance should be shown. You must conduct and further this work by such means as may not burden the Company. Pecuniary assistance should steadily be given by the people of Sinkan to support the poor in that island, and on no account should it be expected that this responsibility will be borne by the Dutch community, who are themselves already sufficiently burdened. Here, and in other places, there is no lack of good and sincere Dutch Chris-

tians who really require more assistance than those of Sinkan, and the trade of the Company, in consequence of many losses, has now been diminished to such a degree, that we find it hardly possible to make any money grants to the people of Sinkan. Indeed, even as it is, the Company's resources are greatly drained in sending every year about four thousand *guilders* for salaries and the support of the ecclesiastic staff in Tayouan. Consider, too, that the Company has to think of necessitous widows and orphans who every year look forward to receiving the interest of their capital invested many years ago with just as much anxiety as the people of Sinkan look forward to their harvest of paddy. Hence we cannot agree to take any more money out of the treasury of the Company to fulfil the promises which some people there have made to the people of Sinkan.

As to the terms proposed by Mr. Candidius for a new engagement, they are exactly contrary to the general rules of the Company, and on account of this, with the above-mentioned financial state of matters, we can by no means approve of them. His Reverence should not forget that his calling as a clergyman has great spiritual profit and gain, and show by his warm Christian zeal that he is not swayed by mere worldly and temporal interests. As to his claim of 250 *reals* of 8 shillings each, which he maintains he advanced during the time that Mr. Nuyts was Governor, he must produce further evidence. The Governor just mentioned declares that he has no knowledge whatever of such a claim, and is of opinion that everything was settled when he left the Island. He advises us to continue Mr. Candidius in office, and he confidently trusts that the Christian zeal shown in the service he has rendered will be duly acknowledged, and that in future he will have no reason whatever for complaint.

We believe that the marriage which Mr. Candidius has in view proceeds from a praiseworthy zeal for the common weal; but when we come to consider the public and private advantages and disadvantages which may be expected to accrue from such a marriage, we think it better, both as regards his own person and the general welfare, that he should not be too precipitate. . . . The desire of Mr. Junius to take up his abode in Sinkan, along with his family, is a matter for consideration. Do not let him be in too great a hurry, but let him rather wait and see what time will produce, and what turn the affairs of the Company will take. Mr. Pieter Bonnius, a clerk in Holy Orders, who has been residing upwards of four years in India, and who is considered to be a man of good parts, will embark on board the *Zeeburgh* for Tayouan. If necessary, his services may be put into requisition, if not he can again return to this place.

Nor can we agree to the proposal to send out three or four young ecclesiastics to be employed in the villages, as at present we do not know of any persons who could render such service.

We recommend you to moderate this untimely zeal and inclination towards extending the work, and beg you in future not to demand more of us than you can reasonably expect our means are able to meet, on account of the expenses which would thereby be incurred. Your friend, J. SPECX.

12. Hans Putmans, Governor of Formosa, to Governor-general Specx.—Factory of Tayouan, 11 October 1631. . . . It was thought necessary to build the house at Sinkan not only for the advance of the Christian religion, but also for the purpose of keeping the other villages in check, and to save Sinkan from ruin. Another reason was that in future a large quantity of deerskins could be obtained from the place. This house has already been the source of many advantages to us, and that in very many respects, as Mr. Candidius will have already communicated to you.

It has been impossible to persuade the said Candidius to continue for some time longer the work that has been so prosperously begun. He declares that the Council ought to pay him in future 120 *guilders* a month, instead of the 75 to 84 *guilders* he has been receiving from the time he left Holland. It is not to be denied that his demands are somewhat exacting, as Your Excellency remarks in your last communication. In the meantime, Mr. Junius has been making very fair progress in the language, and as he seems well inclined to take the place of Mr. Candidius, we have informed the latter that the Company will no longer require his services, and therefore grants him his desire to be dismissed. Mr. Junius, assisted by a capable person—who in the meanwhile will endeavour to become somewhat acquainted with the language—will take his place; and the clerk in Holy Orders, Mr. Bonnius, will in future perform service at Tayouan.

Your Excellency remarks in your letter that we extend our work too much in Sinkan, and that we should moderate our untimely zeal; but you must surely be aware that last year Governor-general Coen, as well as yourself, strongly advised us to advance the work, and we have already acquainted you with the reasons for having promoted it by our very best efforts. Leaving the matter of the progress of Christianity entirely out of the question, we think that even political reasons, and the consideration of what has already been done, should induce us to advance the work; if, indeed, our desire is that peace and order should become permanent among the inhabitants, so that sooner or later we may derive profit therefrom. . . . Your obedient servant,

HANS PUTMANS.

13. Hans Putmans, Governor of Formosa, to Governor-general Jac. Specx.—Tayouan, 18 January 1633. . . . The progress of Christianity in Sinkan has been such that, God be praised, all the inhabitants have cast away their idols, and they all now call upon one and the same almighty and true God. The other villages, Mattau and Soulang, keep quiet. The inhabitants of Mattau sometimes boast behind our backs of the murderous and despicable acts committed against us; but we trust, and it is highly desirable, that now Japan is again open, they will receive the reward so justly due to them. If there were more labourers here, many more souls would be gained and brought to the Lord. As regards Tayouan, there is nobody to assist the Rev. Mr. Junius, which we desire you in future to bear in mind. . . . Your obedient servant,

HANS PUTMANS.

14. Hans Putmans to the Commander of the Fleet coming from Batavia.—Castle of Zeelandia, 31 May 1633. . . . According to the communication of Rev. Robertus Junius, the state of matters in Sinkan is highly prosperous, but Takaran, the chief of Mattau, cannot desist, in his pride, from molesting the people fishing at Wankan who have not got his licence or permit. The said Takaran pretends to have the fixed intention of departing with some others, on board one of the Japano-Chinese junks, for Japan. For several reasons we have thought it most expedient not to take any measures to prevent this Takaran leaving till the ships have arrived from Batavia. . . . I am, etc.,
HANS PUTMANS.

15. From the Commanders of the Fleet, lying off the island of Lamo., to Governor-general Hendrik Brouwer.—On board the *Middelburg*, off the island of Lamo, 9 July 1633. . . . It has been settled that the Rev. Mr. Candidius and his wife shall take up their abode in two little rooms at the side of the church till the rainy monsoon is past and the weather has again become favourable, when, according to the command of His Honour the Governor, another habitation will be erected for him in Sinkan unless the said Candidius desires to remain in Tayouan.

We have very amply discussed with Mr. Candidius the best means to be employed for preventing Takaran from going to Japan, and have concluded that it would be well for Candidius on his arrival to present this Takaran with some gifts that would please him, but at the same time to inform him that it was our intention to sail soon with a fleet of fifteen ships, in order to appear there within two or three months, and to devastate the Golden Lion island on our return. We further arranged to have it intimated that Takaran might, on the intercession of Candidius, be employed as chief of this expedition, but in that case it would be necessary for him to conceal this from the chiefs of the other villages, so as not to excite their jealousy. It seems to us that, if the said Takaran will not listen to this proposal, it is because the Chinese or the Japanese are urging him on not to desist from his purpose. If this be a correct surmise, we think it would be advisable—seeing that both presents and sweet words are unavailing—to tell him plainly that on our arriving at Tayouan and finding he had gone to Japan we should probably take this so much amiss as to attack his village. Your Excellency can further discuss this matter in all its bearings with Mr. Candidius and decide what the interests of the Company require, giving us further orders as to what we had better do or not do in the circumstances.

Your Excellency is well aware how many troubles some of the people of Sinkan caused us by their visit to Japan, but the still open wound which was then made would probably ulcerate anew and become worse than ever if Takaran were to repair thither. For this reason we should strongly advise Your Excellency to prevent him from carrying out his plan, and we trust that the wisdom and prudence of Your Excellency will find proper means to effect this without making the matter at all public. We do not doubt but the return

of Mr. Candidius will be very serviceable to Your Excellency at present.—Signed, HANS PUTMANS, W. J. COSTER, CLAES BRUYN, ROELANT TAYLER, etc., JAN WOUTERSE, *Secretary*.

16. Gedeon Brouwers, Chief Factor, to Antonio van Diemen.—Tayouan, 21 October 1633. . . . Matters in Sinkan are looking rather favourable and the propagation of the Gospel is making fair progress, hence we may expect an abundant harvest if the cockchafers of Mattau do not partly destroy it. Certain it is that these people, by their great and bold effrontery, seem thoroughly to retard the progress of the work. Their arrogance is daily increasing, and if it is not crushed, it is to be feared that great and very serious harm will be the consequence; but we hope that the higher we raise our hand, and the longer we delay the blow, the harder it will fall upon them. We firmly believe that, after this chastisement, the glorious prospect of the conversion of the heathen in this place will be fairer than in any other part of India, and there is no doubt whatever that if once the hand is laid to the plough—as has been most praiseworthy done till now—the Lord our God will recompense the Company tenfold in other matters, and that its income will increase and the Directors be more abundantly blessed than ever; this being the sincere wish of our hearts.

May our omnipresent God continue to bless His valiant, wise, prudent and discreet servant, as well as his beloved spouse—to whom we offer our most respectful regards,—and continue to him length of days for the good of the country, of our dear native land, and for the special honour and glory of yourself. Amen.—Your affectionate servant, GEDEON BROUWERS.

17. Paulus Traudenius, Chief Factor, to Governor-general Hendrick Brouwer.—Tayouan, 24 October 1633. . . . The divine and glorious work is, praise God, fairly progressing in Sinkan; but there are yet many who remain unwilling to listen to us, being incited to opposition by the people of Mattau and others. It will therefore be very necessary to chastise those people; for if this be not done soon—we hope it may when Governor Hans Putmans arrives—there is good reason to fear that they will hatch some plot against us, and if they succeed in executing their evil design—which may God prevent!—the great probability is that they will do us serious hurt. Their singular and absurd way of acting leads us to think that this may be the case. We refer you to Messrs. Candidius and Junius, who, without doubt, will be able to give you all the information needed for your guidance. We trust Your Excellency will assist us in this matter as far as may be permitted by the rules of the Company.—Your most obedient and willing servant, PAULUS TRAUDIENIUS.

18. Hans Putmans, Governor of Formosa, to the Chamber of the Company in Amsterdam.—On board the *Catwijck* in the Bay of Pangsoia, 31 October 1633. . . . The Christian religion among the inhabitants of Sinkan is, God be praised, vastly progressing, and will probably daily continue to extend

itself more and more unto the glory of God, who, as it seems, abundantly blesses the work. But it is pre-eminently necessary first to chastise the people of Mattau for their most wicked deeds committed against our nation when Mr. Nuyts acted here as Governor. The surrounding villages which feel deadly hatred against Mattau are looking forward to this event with great longing. Probably the people of Mattau will receive their punishment before the monsoon sets in. . . .—Your most obedient servant,
HANS PUTMANS.

19. Hans Putmans, Governor of Formosa, to Governor-general Hendrik Brouwer.—Fort Zeelandia, 28 September 1634. . . . It would indeed be a very glorious, praiseworthy, and profitable thing, if Your Excellency's command to impart sufficient knowledge to some of the native people of Sinkan, in order that they might instruct other inhabitants of the island in their mother tongue, could possibly be executed. We have consulted and have had long deliberations with the clergymen residing here concerning this matter. Their opinion is that the plan is impracticable, so long as the young folks continue to live in their villages, and enjoy too great an amount of liberty among the people they reside with.

The clergymen also think that this work of instruction would be greatly advanced if several of the more intelligent native youths were selected for this purpose, and sent under the supervision of one of the two clergymen here to our own country, that they may study there. But it would never do for them to be treated like some of the natives of Amboina in similar circumstances—who were simply sent to a school and then allowed to roam about where they liked. These young selected Formosans would always have to remain under strict supervision of the person who took them to Holland, and this person would also have to see that they diligently and continually attended to their studies. Nor would it be wise to make much of them—as was done with those young Amboinese, who were called royal children—but rather to arrange that they should be educated in the simplest and plainest way.

Were this system carried out, the clergymen do not doubt that, in due time, many wonderful conversions might be looked for among these benighted heathen. They, therefore, request that one of them be permitted to proceed to Holland during the current year for this purpose.

For many good reasons, the Council could not grant the request. We only remark now that, while one of the clergymen would thus be occupied in Holland, the whole work at Sinkan would devolve upon the other clergyman who remained. Moreover, an absence of ten years would be required for carrying out a scheme of this kind, whereas the inauguration of it can quite easily stand over for another year. The Council, therefore, thinks it most necessary that this important matter should be submitted for Your Excellency's own advice and decision; so that it may not be begun too precipitately, and at an inconvenient season; an additional reason for further deliberation being found in the recent death of our faithful assistant Jan Gerritez.

As to my own private opinion, I cannot but think that, if suitable young

natives studied diligently in Holland under strict supervision of the clergyman who undertook that task, and were returning to this island to teach the heathen, the advantage would be exceedingly and inexpressibly great. But what if they turned out to be knaves and rogues who would use their influence to impede the work? The objection is one which does not weigh much with me; for we can surely trust and believe that God Almighty would bless our efforts. And as regards the expense, if the Company raise difficulties—although it is hoped that they will not—the clergyman in charge of the youths will see to it that money will be raised in Holland for support of the undertaking; while the other who remains here—very likely Candidius—would pledge himself to remain at Sinkan till the young natives had again returned from Holland.

If it can be effected, the inhabitants of Mattau should, for reasons political and spiritual, be thoroughly chastised for having cruelly massacred sixty-three of our innocent people there. At least four hundred men will be required for this expedition, to make sure that no failure may ensue, and that those enemies may be punished according to their deserts. . . .—Your humble servant,

HANS PUTMANS.

20. Governor Putmans to the Chamber of the Company at Amsterdam.—Fort Zeelandia, 28 October 1634. *To the most valiant, prudent, and very wise Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of the United Dutch East India Company.* . . . The conversion of souls among the heathen people of Sinkan daily increases, thanks to the merciful dispensation of God, so that the clergymen Candidius and Junius declare that not only will this entire village ere long embrace the Christian religion, but that all the inhabitants living there, with the exception of a few, will be baptized, and that those who have come to years of discretion will have been instructed.

With a view to still further extension, the clergymen very urgently request our permission to send four or five Sinkan youths to Holland; where, under supervision of one of the Formosa clergymen, they might be taught in our schools, and later on in our universities, so as to become really capable teachers and ministers of the Word. And we ourselves think that if God blesses the undertaking—as we sincerely trust He will—it would be a most excellent method of advancing this glorious and holy work, till all those heathen around us will attain unto sincere knowledge of the Christian faith, and gradually become subject to Your Excellency's rule and authority.—Your most humble servant,

HANS PUTMANS.

21. Governor Putmans to Governor-general Hendrik Brouwer.—Fort Zeelandia, 9 March 1635. . . . The clergymen Candidius and Junius have been importuning us somewhat sorely, and not only in one matter, but in several. Firstly, they have been requesting us to grant one of them permission to leave for Holland with four or five young natives of Formosa, and also to do so without first awaiting your advice or commands. This subject I touched on in my letter of 28 September. Secondly, they soon after insisted

on being exempted in Sinkan from all political matters, as they call it. Thirdly, they declared that they should no longer be required to hold divine service on Sundays in the Dutch church at Tayouan.

Those gentlemen maintained that their consciences did not permit them to perform any political services, although not long before we had agreed that, temporarily, at least, their services could not be entirely dispensed with, and it was settled that, while the clergymen should continue to direct all matters, the elders, or councillors of the village, should execute them. Till, therefore, the receipt of further orders from Your Excellency, we have arranged that, in order to exempt our clergy from the opprobrium which arises when they demand the infliction of punishment, and also because they thought they were always being sorely misrepresented by the village elders in this matter, the fines should henceforth be collected by the sergeant at that time present in the place. This arrangement has been followed ever since.

At first they could not come to any arrangement whatever as to their continuing to hold divine service on Sundays in the Dutch church at Tayouan. The clergymen declared that the Consistory at Batavia had appointed them to the service of the church in Sinkan, and not to that of Tayouan. Later on, they maintained that their communication had not been couched in the form of a petition, but was a mere intimation informing us that they would no longer hold divine service at Tayouan; and yet, their address concludes with the usual 'By doing which, *etc.*,' a form of address not generally found in simple communications. In order to give themselves a still greater degree of importance, they further declared, but by word of mouth, that they had not requested us to exempt them from this service, saying that there was no necessity for them to do so, as our Council had no right to interfere in this matter. They continued also to maintain that they had been appointed to Sinkan and would remain there; and, in keeping with this declaration, they did not appear during two or three successive Sundays to preach at Tayouan. We ultimately bade Mr. Junius—who seemed more inclined to give way than Candidius—to appear before us, in order that this matter might be discussed once more. At last, after many angry words had been exchanged, Junius declared that, should Mr. Candidius still decline to preach at Tayouan, he himself would do so; and till now he has kept his promise. We trust we shall very soon be instructed by Your Excellency how in future we must act in such cases, so that no mistakes may be made.

Later on, these two clergymen came with the request that the communications they had sent to us should be forwarded to Your Excellency. From these letters you will be able to see what an excellent opinion they have of the authorities in this place; and that they seem to think there is nothing like justice in India, everything—according to their opinion—being done on the spur of the moment from sheer caprice or from something even worse. On their being asked what they really meant by such language, they answered that they did not complain of the present authorities, but were unable to know what might be in future.

In a former communication, we stated our opinion as to the proposal for sending one of the clergymen to Holland with four or five young natives of Sinkan. Meanwhile, Mr. Junius is daily occupied, during his spare hours, in instructing three young men from Holland in the language of Sinkan, hoping that their services will afterwards be found of much value, in rendering the work of the clergymen somewhat less burdensome.

A third clergyman or clerk in Holy Orders to preach in the Dutch church is very necessary. His first care would be, as in the case of Mr. Junius, to master the Sinkan language, so that this glorious work of the Lord may not be interrupted in case the clergymen were to die or any other mishap were to occur. To guard against this, another fully qualified person should at once be ready to take up and continue the work.

We most confidently believe that nowhere else in India does there exist a more promising place than this as regards the conversion of the heathen; and if there were more teachers, there would be a still greater number of converts. One proof of that statement is seen clearly in the three small villages round about Sinkan. Their inhabitants expressed a longing to have somebody to teach them, and thus be delivered from the people of Soulang and Mattau, who frequently molest them. Here, too, we have no grand folks who, for political reasons or for their own profit, will oppose our religion; but natives who are of such a mild disposition that they entirely incline towards us, and just do what we tell them as regards Christian instruction; although, if we were to lay upon them any extraordinary burden, they would offer opposition, like all other nations. For the present, we shall wait and see what your commands are in this and all other matters, so that we may act in accordance thereto.—
Your most humble servant, HANS PUTMANS.

22. Hans Putmans to the Governor-general Brouwer.—Fort Zeelandia, 19 September 1635. . . . Yesterday three men of Sinkan were arrested and lodged here in prison. As far as we can gather from the clergymen, they have been conspiring to murder them, and if possible also to kill all the soldiers there in garrison. We do not know if the whole village, to get rid of us, is concerned in this matter, but to-day or to-morrow the prisoners will undergo further examination.

NOTE: From the day-journal of 28 September 1634—20 October 1635, it appears that the Governor and Council of the factory at Tayouan resolved, after most mature deliberation, not to destroy and trample under foot the glorious work of the Lord that has cost so much time and trouble during the last seven or eight years, but to command the troops garrisoned in that place to remain there till the people shall have calmed down; and that in the meantime gentle means—but only such as will leave our authority unimpaired—be employed, without attempting to repel force by force, unless in the utmost case of necessity.

23. Governor Putmans to Governor-general Brouwer.—Fort Zeelandia, 21 February 1636. . . . Having now seen how, by the blessing of God, we have obtained a complete victory over all our foes, over both open enemies at Takareiang, and false friends at Mattau and Soulang, and in order to show our favour, kindness, and desire for peace, towards these benighted heathen, the Council resolved that an expedition consisting of picked soldiers should proceed to the village of Tevorang, lying in the mountains. The Council was led to adopt this resolution for the following reason: when the inhabitants of Sinkan felt discontented, or some difficulty or other arose with them, they often declared to our clergymen that, if they no longer wished to remain in Sinkan, they would flee to the village of Tevorang just mentioned, expressing also their conviction that we would not be able to reach them there. Now, in order to prove to them the fallacy of this idea, and to show what we could do, though with some difficulty, we proceeded to that village early on the morning of 11th January.

On our way we had to cross several large rivers, one of which was crossed several times. There were also some very steep mountains, one of them which rose to a great elevation. Having got over this mountain, with much difficulty, we arrived a little before noon at the before-mentioned village, where we were received and entertained according to the manners and customs of the place. We had sent on the day before some of the people of Sinkan to announce our coming.

We found the village to be pretty large and situated in a beautiful valley about a day's journey from the mountains. The population is very numerous, and seemed to have fewer idols than those of other villages. Nor do the inhabitants appear to be so robust as those of the villages situated on the seashore. They have very long hanging ears, in the lobes of which large holes are pierced. The married men live in the same houses with their wives and children, according to our custom, but contrary to the custom of other tribes.

It is the opinion of Mr. Junius that the people of this village of Tevorang might be still more easily converted to the Christian faith than the inhabitants of Sinkan and other villages in its neighbourhood, and every one knows that things in the Sinkan region are in a very hopeful way, the inhabitants giving promise of becoming most obedient and dutiful children. . . .

24. From Day-Journal of the Tayouan Council. . . . 29, 30 and 31 March 1636. . . . His Honour the Governor and Council having deliberated, the following resolutions were adopted. 1st. To request Mr. Traudenius of Wankan to repair hither, and to send van Sanen as his substitute, with command to keep rigid order there. 2nd. That, to-day or to-morrow, His Honour should proceed with thirty or forty soldiers to Sinkan, to confer with the clergyman Mr. Junius and some of the elders on several matters relating to that village; and to meet there with some delegates from Dolatok, a district containing five villages lying towards the south, in order, at their

own request, to conclude peace with them, and to accept the sovereignty of their country. In the afternoon, His Honour is to leave for Sakam, and by daybreak of the following day to set out for Sinkan.

1 April. In the morning His Honour left for Sinkan, where he arrived towards noon in good health. In the afternoon the delegates from Dolatok transferred the sovereignty of their land to us, whereupon Mr. Junius read out the articles of peace to them, the same as had been framed for Takareiang, Pangsoia and other villages to the south. The delegates cordially approved of these articles, promising most faithfully to keep them intact. They were then honoured with banner and robe; and after having been well regaled, they received permission to depart, and joyfully set out, promising to give an account in their villages of all that had taken place.

2 and 3 April. These two days were employed in most thoroughly examining some men who were thought to be concerned in the murder of several Dutchmen; but no positive results could be obtained. For this reason, the Governor and Councillors present resolved that Mr. Junius should examine other persons still more thoroughly, but meanwhile to detain in prison those men we had already examined, till further proof could be obtained. The subjects concerning Sinkan proposed by Mr. Junius to the Council were examined and discussed; so that, on arriving at Tayouan, the Council might be able to make fuller inquiry into the matter.

5 April. This day the Governor and Council resolved, on request of the inhabitants of Pangsoia and other villages southwards, to send Mr. Junius as soon as possible, with the lieutenant and fifteen or sixteen soldiers, to Pangsoia, in order to unite these people more closely to us, to post up the articles in public in these communities, and to make the inhabitants thoroughly understand their contents and purport.

7 April. Mr. Junius left, accompanied by the lieutenant and soldiers, for Tamsuy and Pangsoia. May the Almighty grant them much success!

11 April. In the evening, Mr. Junius with the lieutenant returned from Pangsoia, reporting that he had been well received and entertained in that place, as well as in the five villages of Dolatok, by the chiefs and all the inhabitants; but that, for several reasons, he had not visited the other villages lying southward. His appearance in those places had given the people much satisfaction, and will probably be attended by most advantageous results, as to all appearance their attachment to us will be more than ever strengthened. Mr. Junius did not publish the notification which had been drawn up, being of opinion that the first article—giving the sovereignty of this land to the States of Holland—might later be explained by some malevolent Chinese in such a way as to cause widespread irritation against us. Hence he only read the articles to the assembled people, who fully approved of them, and willingly promised to obey them in all respects. . . . The people of Pangsoia are valiant, robust, and well proportioned. They go about nude without feeling any shame. They have large holes in the lobes of their ears—large enough to put a fish through,—which are kept extended by means of a

wooden ring. Their women are not so well proportioned as the men, but are clumsy and stout. They cover their nakedness with a little garment. Their houses and dwellings resemble those of Takardan. They are low, near the ground, and very badly constructed like those of Dolatok, whose inhabitants remarkably resemble the people of Pangsoia as regards their clothing, habits, dwellings and arms, which consist of shield, spear, bow and arrow (carried by some men only), and *paringh*. The men, however, are not quite so tall, although they are very active and determined.

14 April. On receiving a communication from the Rev. R. Junius, who according to orders had visited Pangsoia, and had found that in the course of time the people would accept Christianity if they had but capable teachers, it was resolved by the Governor and Council that corporal Warnært Spoelmans, who had made himself much beloved amongst these heathen, should proceed to Pangsoia to learn its language, and that a capable young man should afterwards be sent out to assist him, so that we might fully know what was occurring in that place. Although Mr. Junius raised difficulties as to placarding the treaty made with Pangsoia, saying that the first article—in which the sovereignty of the States of Holland is acknowledged—might lead some mischievous Chinese to explain it in such a manner as to irritate the people against us, the Governor and Council determined to abide by their resolution to have it posted up in public, being assured that evil-minded men will always find means to incite credulous people, and because this treaty was a just and good one, and most probably would prove very profitable and advantageous to the Company.

Lastly, they resolved that, after having succeeded in making an agreement with the Chinese to burn a large quantity of bricks for the redoubt at Wankan, the earliest opportunity should be taken to continue the erection of that redoubt, the completion of which is regarded as a matter of great importance.

15 and 16 April. These days it was arranged by the Governor and Council that the expedition to the Golden Lion island should forthwith be proceeded with, and that it should be undertaken under direction of the lieutenant as commander, assisted by the Rev. R. Junius and another member of Council.¹

17 April. Some days ago the Rev. R. Junius drew up a report on several subjects to the Governor and Council as to the promotion of the work of the Lord in Sinkan. This report was perused by each member several times in private, in order that all together might be able to give their advice with greater advantage. A discussion upon it was held in due course, and the Council's decisions are fully stated in the Book of Resolutions.

22 April. To-day a letter was received from the Rev. Robertus Junius, now residing at Sinkan. Its contents show that Lampak, who was a short time ago in Pangsoia, and sent from that with presents to the people of Longkiau, had last night returned to Sinkan. He reports very favourably of the way in which he had been received and entertained by the chief of

¹ The inhabitants of the island of Lamoia were guilty of the murder of the crew of the ship *Golden Lion*. For this reason they were to be severely chastised; which was done some time later, but in too severe a manner.

Longkiau, who made this reply after full explanation, and the gifts were handed over :—‘If the Dutch desire to live at peace with us, it is well ; if not, it is also well.’ His Chinese advisers thereupon strongly advised the chief to remain on a peaceful footing with us, saying how necessary it was to do so ; for if he did not, he would have great cause to fear our power in the future. To this he replied that we should not be able to climb the high mountains, and if we did and proved too powerful for him, he would flee and climb still higher. On hearing, however, the good report that Lampak gave of the Dutch, he seemed to feel better inclined towards us, declaring that when he first saw a Dutchman (neither he nor his ancestors had ever seen one of our nation), he would afterwards accept our presents and send some of his people to make a lasting treaty with us.

1 May. It was resolved by his Honour Governor Putmans and the Council that Joost van Bergen, with corporal Cristoffel Waraer and a soldier, should go to Longkiau ; as the inhabitants of the sixteen villages in that district wished to send some of their people to conclude a treaty of peace with us, provided one or two of our people remained amongst them as hostages till their delegates should return, and in this way allay their fears.

15 May. To-day corporal Cristoffel, who had on the 1st instant repaired to Longkiau with Joost the interpreter and a soldier, returned from that place, accompanied by the brother of the chief and fifteen others. . . .

To all appearance these people are much more civilised than those in the surrounding villages. Their complexion is fairer and they are not so tall, and they maintain their authority over their inferiors in a much better way. The brother of this Lamlok holds sovereign sway over sixteen villages, each of which has a chief appointed by him. He is attended by many servitors, who always surround him. They do not go about nude, but like other black nations, they wear garments, the women even covering their breasts. Fornication and adultery are regarded by them as something shameful, and each man may have but one wife. When the chief dies he is succeeded by his eldest son, who in his turn is respected as much as his predecessor.

If the trade of the Company with this country could be made really productive (the chief article of barter would be the skins of deer) something very promising as regards Christianity might be expected. May the Almighty grant that our feeble efforts for the glory of His Name and the conversion of these heathen serve also for the profit and advantage of the Company !

19 May. The chief reasons which led the Governor and Council to make peace with the people of Longkiau are (1) their friendly relation to the Chinese, and (2) the fact that they themselves are waging war against a group of villages situated one or two days’ journey north of them, called Pimaba ; the tribe there being also engaged fighting with another tribe in whose territory a considerable quantity of gold is found. It is very desirable to obtain by degrees a clearer insight into this matter, to extend our name among these uncivilised people, and to enlighten them more and more ; so that, with the blessing of God Almighty, we may bring them eventually to accept the Christian faith.

25. Robertus Junius to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of Commerce of the East India Company.—5 September 1636. *To the most noble, equitable, wise, and very discreet gentlemen, Governors of the Chartered East India Company of the Free Netherlands, residing in Amsterdam.* GENTLEMEN, The Greek proverb, 'ta kala duscola,' that is, 'the beautiful is difficult to attain to,' generally applied to sciences, may be specially and most truly said of the conversion of the heathen. It is a glorious thing to convert the heathen, to narrow the Kingdom of Satan, and to enlarge the Kingdom of Christ; for those who have done so shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars for ever and ever. Not only does the history of all ages prove, but we who have been in the work many years, know by experience, how many difficulties, how many dangers, and how many perils attend the effort to make of carnal men, spiritual; and of heathen, Christians. Our experience truly has been *ab angustis ad angusta*: after many difficulties, we have had times of success; after many perilous and dark days, we have had quiet and happiness.

We hope to show you the truth of this assertion by the following events, stretching over a period of about twelve months. In order that you may know the plain truth we have discarded all eloquence; as the daily events were noted in our journal, in the same simple way are they now put down for you, so that we send you the following more in the form of a journal than of a regular epistle. If it only gives satisfaction to you, Gentlemen, I shall be more than satisfied.

It is well known to you all how some years ago the inhabitants of the village of Mattau most treacherously and shamefully killed sixty of your servants. On account of their great cunning they were most successful in their treachery, so that all of our people were killed without one of our enemies being even wounded. This was looked upon by them as a great unheard-of victory, and it filled them with pride. Not only Mattau but other villages, as Soulang and Bakloan, began to rebel against us, and matters took so serious a turn that we hardly ventured to set foot on Formosa. They even went so far as to hint that they would chase us from Tayouan. All this perplexed the Governor to such a degree that he scarcely ventured to leave the precincts of the Fort at night.

Twelve days after the wholesale murder of our countrymen, His Honour Governor Putmans arrived, and these sad tidings were the first that we received. Not wishing to do anything prematurely, His Honour first investigated the state of matters; and seeing the rebellious spirit of these people, especially those of Bakloan (who did not desist from injuring the cattle and cutting off the hair of the Chinese, and who even killed one of your servants), and how this spirit of rebellion daily increased, resolved to attack that village without any further delay. His success was such that their rebellious spirit was well-nigh crushed; the final result being that peace reigned till the year 1635, and matters were kept pretty well agoing till that time.

We say 'pretty well'; for as long as Mattau remained unchastised the inhabitants showed a bold face, imagining that we had not the power, and did

not dare to avenge the frightful crime that had been committed against us, by attacking their village. Consequently, we were regarded with very much contempt by all the people, especially by those of Mattau, who often showed how very little they were afraid of us, venturing not only to ill-treat the Chinese provided with our licences, but even tearing up Your Excellencies' own passports and treating them with contempt. Governor Putmans, seeing how insolent these people had become, and that such conduct was no longer to be borne, very earnestly begged Governor-general Brouwer to send hither a sufficient military force to humble them and adequately defend the settlement. This enforcement of law and order was also very desirable on account of the Chinese residing here; because the security and prosperity of their sugar plantations required our protection against the natives, who were continually damaging them, as appeared from the many complaints that were made to us. Again, we who were occupied in the spiritual cultivation, with the conversion of these people of Sinkan—from time immemorial enemies of Mattau—foresaw that, if the people of Mattau were not humiliated, it was probable that one day this village would be fired by them and the inhabitants chased away; we then being left as shepherds without their flocks. In order that the foundation of our building might be rendered firmer in the future, the Governor-general was also requested by us to send a sufficient military force, and in the month of August 1635 the troops happily arrived.

After some deliberation about the place which should be first attacked, Governor Putmans decided to assault Mattau first and foremost; because the people there had done us most injury, and because victory could more easily be obtained by attacking a village in our neighbourhood than one village situated at a distance. Hence, on 22 November 1635 we received a communication from the Governor in which he desired us to meet him with some men of Sinkan. We resolved to do so next morning. We also told the Sinkandians what our plan was, and urged them to join us, so that the friendly relationship between us might thereby be rendered closer. To this they agreed.

We had not proceeded far on our march when the Sinkandians joined us, armed in their usual manner, thus proving their allegiance. They reported that one of the chief men of Mattau had been captured and put in irons in Sinkan. Soon after, we approached the village of Bakloan, very near which we had to pass. In order to prevent its inhabitants from taking flight, we endeavoured to calm their fears, assuring them that no harm would be done to them. Not far from Bakloan, we received tidings that the Sinkan men had already cut off a head, which they came to show while the blood was still flowing from it.

The sun was beginning to set when we reached the river near Mattau, and as the locality was quite unknown to us, many considered that it would be more prudent to pass the night on the bank of the river. But on His Honour receiving further information about the place, and hearing from the Sinkan men that the inhabitants of Mattau were preparing to flee, so as to leave us nothing but an empty village in the morning, he resolved to make victory all

the greater by attacking Mattau that very night. Animated by the greatest courage, and heeding no obstacle whatever, we suddenly, to the great dismay of the inhabitants, appeared in the village, and the enemy did not venture to offer any resistance. Having passed along some of the streets, a rest was given to the men, a suitable place for passing the night was chosen, and the Sinkandians were securely placed in the midst of us. Next day the village was set on fire; and we found that in all twenty-six men of Mattau had been killed.

After firing the village, we left for Bakloan, which was reached in good time, and where the Governor decided that we should pass the night. The elders of this village being called together were reprimanded for their former misdeeds, told how badly they had conducted themselves against us, and that if they were now treated as we had treated the people of Mattau they would meet with their just reward; but that, considering they had shown themselves more obedient since the time their village was last attacked, His Honour would pardon their faults and therefore they need not fear. Pigs and strong liquor were not required of them, which they wished to present us with; but water for the troops was very necessary, which they willingly fetched.

On 25 November we left Bakloan for Sinkan, where we arrived in due time. The principal men were summoned once more; they were again admonished to be obedient and to behave themselves well, and this they all promised to do. After the forces had somewhat rested and had taken some food, we again left Sinkan for Sakam. Previously, however, the Mattau man Sambdau, who had been kept a prisoner by the people of Sinkan in their own place, was decapitated, and his head stuck on a pole.

On 26 November Governor Putmans with the captain-major again set out, having been prevented from doing so the day before by very bad weather. Hardly had they left us when an old Chinese who had long lived at Mattau made his appearance here in Sinkan. He had been sent by the people of Mattau to speak to us about the terms of peace. We listened to what he had to say, and as the Governor had given us directions how we were to treat these people, we gave him a favourable answer. Before the close of the day two men of Soulang also came. They had been sent by the Mattauers, and had brought with them a spear and a Japanese hatchet which they presented to us, thereby implying that they acknowledged us as their masters and consequently surrendered their arms to us. After we had taken the spear and hatchet they inquired if, in case some of the people of Mattau appeared before us as delegates, they could depend on their interests being made secure. We assured them that that certainly would be the case, whereupon they said they would return next day.

On 27 November we heard from Tapegei that the people of Tevorang (three villages situated in the mountains) were very much delighted at the victory we had obtained over Mattau. They informed us that they willingly would have joined us in the expedition as they felt great wrath against Mattau.

They also sent us a spear, thereby implying that they were well inclined to join their arms to ours, and that our friendship was all they desired.

On the same day, but towards the evening, two of the principal men of Mattau appeared. They were accompanied by our Sinkan allies, who had asked our permission for the two men to appear before us. When about two spears' length from us they bowed their heads three times to the ground, wishing thereby to imply how full of humility they were. This occurred in presence of the Sinkan people, who were well pleased; it being something strange and new to them that mountains should be turned into valleys, and that these proud and haughty people of Mattau should thus humble themselves.

On the delegates being taken to our church, we asked them what they came for, whereupon one of them, greatly embarrassed and with a trembling voice, replied that they had been sent by the people of their village, and now humbly begged that we would not molest them. They confessed their former misdeeds, promised amendment, and begged us to intercede for them with Governor Putmans, so that they might again live in peace with us. Our answer was that they themselves must go to the Governor and speak with him, but that we would give them a letter to him; they were first, however, to return to their village to fetch several more of their principal men. They had no objection whatever to this last condition, but raised many difficulties about appearing before the Governor unless we assured them that no harm should befall them. They therefore proposed that some of our people should accompany them. After we had consented to this, they returned to their village.

On 28 November four of them appeared, whom we brought to the Governor, then residing at Tayouan, to speak with him about the terms of peace between us and the people of Mattau.

On 29 November, towards noon, the delegates were received by the Governor, who named the terms on which he would make peace with them. If they were inclined to accept them, and promised to keep them faithfully, he was willing to make peace with them. They then said that they would have first to lay the articles before the elders of Mattau, and then they would return.

The contents of the articles were as follows:—

1. That all the relics which they still possessed, be it of beads or garments, should be restored to us.
2. That they were to pay a certain contribution in pigs and paddy.
3. That every second year they should bring two pigs to the Castle on the anniversary day of the murder.
4. That they should give us the sovereignty over their country, and as a symbol thereof place at the feet of the Governor some little pinang and cocoa trees, planted in the earthen vessels in the soil of their country.
5. That they should promise never again to turn their arms against us.
6. That they should no longer molest the Chinese.

7. That, in case we had to wage war against other villages, they should join us.

These conditions they accepted, except the second, which was left out, as being too burdensome for them, and because we were very desirous to make peace with them. The articles having been accepted, they returned with us to Sinkan, where they took leave of us, saying that they would soon again make their appearance.

On 2 December we saw them once more in great numbers at Sinkan. They brought pinang, with cocoa trees planted in some of their native soil, to be offered to the Governor as a symbol that the sovereignty of their country had now been given to the States. It being late, they passed the night at Sinkan.

On 3 December we went with them to Tayouan, where we arrived in due time. After they had put down their little trees, they were again asked if they had any objection to the proposed articles, but they replied that they had not. They were then commanded to appear another day with a double number of their principal men, of whom the half should be chosen by us to act as elders amongst them. They promised to do so.

It was at this time resolved to chastise the inhabitants of Takareiang, a village lying towards the south, and about two days' journey from Sinkan. These people had killed some of our own countrymen, and continued to be daily on the lookout to repeat their crimes. They were also enemies of our friends the Sinkandians, who had been dispossessed by them of a great number of their fields. Moreover, they had murdered several of the Sinkan men.

On 6 December we had long discussions with the people of Sinkan on this matter. It was agreed that they should not only provide themselves with a badge round the arm to serve as a means of recognition, but that they should take what measures were necessary in view of our very soon making war against the enemy. We also sent two of the principal men of Sinkan to Mattau in order to give instructions about the leaders who were to be our spokesmen, and to say that, if the people of Mattau would join us against the people of Takareiang, we should be well pleased to march with them against our common foe.

We also heard, not only from the people of Sinkan, but from a native of Soulang as well, that all the inhabitants of the latter village were sorely afraid of us, and had carried their possessions, their vessels, and even their paddy, into the bushes outside, where they had carefully concealed them, daily expecting that we should suddenly appear, and their consciences loudly crying out that they well deserved punishment for the evil they had done us. These Soulangians were guilty of having murdered not only some people of Mattau but several of our own countrymen. They had also shown great effrontery in stealing our goods, and in continually annoying the Chinese. They were therefore full of fear that we should unexpectedly surround their village, and that we only pretended to be about to march upon Takareiang, while our real intention was to attack Soulang. Our native informant also told us that they

had selected the pigs which they meant to offer the Governor in order therewith to appease him.

We then sent one of the elders to the three southern villages to acquaint their inhabitants with the expedition about to set out against Takareiang, to remind them that we expected them to join us, and to tell them that we would let them know where they should assemble. We also ordered a man of Soulang to go and notify our intention to his fellow-villagers.

On 7 December one of the elders returned from the small villages to which he had been sent and told us he had executed his orders, that all were eager to join us, and that they were even glad to do so, and hopeful that our action would secure to them the undisputed possession of their fields. At night, the Sinkandians who had been sent to Mattau returned, bringing with them six of the oldest inhabitants, with whom we conferred about sundry matters.

On 8 December we heard that some inhabitants of Soulang had sailed to the place where Governor Putmans was residing, taking with them seventeen pigs which they intended to present to him, expecting by this means to bring about an abandonment of the intended attack; but, for very good reasons, His Honour would not accept of their offerings.

Some of the people of Mattau also made their appearance, telling us that the inhabitants of Tirozen had shown themselves very inimical to them since the day we had vanquished Mattau, also that the people of Favorlang had been heard to say they would chase the Mattauers from their village as the Dutch had already done before.

I also went to Tayouan to conduct the Church service. On my way thither I met Tilagh, a principal man of Soulang, who said he was coming to tell us that he had been to Tayouan with a present of pigs for the Governor, but that the latter would not listen to him. He now begged my assistance. I spoke at great length about his village. He begged me to reveal our intentions concerning it, and said he would tell me all their secrets; giving me the names of the persons who had been guilty of the murder of our soldiers, and offering to point out the evildoers if I would accompany him to the village now.

On Sunday 9 December I remained somewhat too long with the Governor, too long at least for the Soulangian; for I found that during my absence he had taken his departure, either from fear or because he had something important to attend to. This induced me to go back the same day to Sinkan, leaving orders that the man of Soulang should return.

On 11 December he came and I returned to Tayouan with him. Communicating to the Governor the plan that had been discussed between me and this Soulangian, that, if the expedition to Takareiang were provisionally delayed, the village of Soulang should be attacked, I insisted that, in that case, the entire village should not be chastised, but only those persons whom this man pointed out, so that every one might know that we were just to the good, but full of wrath against those who were evil-minded. For several reasons,

however, the Governor could not give his consent to this plan; adding that he wished to delay the expedition against Soulang till we had first executed our plans against Takareiang.

We also heard at this time that the people of Mattau and Bakloan were mightily afraid and dejected because of some reports which the Sinkandians had been circulating; but we soon succeeded in quieting their fears.

On 18 December, towards evening, the people of Mattau, Soulang, and Dorko—which latter consists of two villages called Magkinam—and Bakloan, as also the delegates of the Governor, made their appearance, in order to witness the proclamation of peace between us and the people of Mattau.

This proclamation was made on the following day, in front of our church, and in presence of the delegates from the aforementioned villages. The articles they were to keep were read out to them in Dutch, in Chinese, and in the Sinkan languages, and fully explained to them, so that in future they might not pretend ignorance as to their contents. We drew their attention particularly to the article which declares that they gave the sovereignty of their country and of their village to the States of Holland, to His Highness the Prince, and also to Your Excellencies. We once more asked them if they perfectly understood this article, whereupon they answered, 'Tavouris,' that is, 'Yes, we do.' We then continued thus: 'You people from other villages now present, hear what the people of Mattau say. They have surrendered themselves to our lords, they do so once more as all have heard, while we now accept them as our friends, and bury all grievances that we may have had against them.'

After this part of the ceremony, four persons were appointed to be spokesmen for them on all occasions. These four had formerly exercised very much influence in their villages, and, being great warriors, they were held in high esteem. Their names were Tavouris, Fonksui, Tidaros and Luluch. Having promised complete obedience to us, each of them was presented with a velvet robe which he was to wear, an orange flag and a staff, the latter as a token of their dignity as commanders. The signification of these symbols of authority was fully explained to them.

In this way Mattau has been humbled, has fallen into our hands, and has again been pacified, all within the space of one month. The Lord be thanked for His undeserved grace!

About noon the people of Tevorang who dwell in the mountains appeared. They had been delayed on the road by the Chinese, who filled them with fear of us. We endeavoured, however, to allay their fears entirely by entertaining them according to their own manners and customs, and treating them very kindly, so that the lies of the Chinese—which have so pernicious an effect on these people—might be stopped. This deputation also brought two arrows which the people of Taraquang, who live in the mountains, had charged them to hand us. The people in Taraquang had been expelled from their village by some enemies living still higher in the mountains. Fearing this foe had sought shelter in the village of the Tevorangians, they begged us to grant

them peace and security, and said they willingly would have appeared in person, but they were busy transporting their possessions so that they were prevented from coming.

On 21 December. As the time was fast approaching when the expedition against Takareiang would set out, all the surrounding villages received warning thereof, and we repaired to Tayouan. Towards noon a great number of persons had already collected at Sakam. We bade the men of Sinkan to come and stand around us while the others formed an outer circle of hearers, and then we admonished them to serve the only true God, to cast away their idols if they wished to be blessed and obtain the victory over their enemies. We afterwards all knelt down, calling upon the one true God to assist us and to fight for us. At the close they separated, each one going to his own place. It having been decided that the expedition should proceed by sea, the inhabitants of Sakam had all to be put on board the vessels, which occupied half a day; but the wind rising, it was resolved to defer the expedition till next day.

On 22 December we were all early on board; but, as the weather became very threatening, and as it was feared the sea might turn out to be very stormy, we resolved that the expedition should proceed by land. Towards the afternoon we all again reached Sakam, and continued on our way till we reached a place called 'Den of Murder', where we passed the night.

On 23 December, which was Sunday, we early resumed our march to Takareiang. After travelling a short distance, we reached a good halting-place, where the Governor, to our great satisfaction, ordered prayers to be read. Here I addressed the people from 2 Samuel xxii. 31, and then we jointly called upon God, that He would give us the victory over our enemies. At the close of the sermon, I went to the natives who were sitting together, and also addressed them; and here, too, we called upon the Name of the Lord, before continuing our march.

Not long after, we saw our Sinkandians put down the burdens they were carrying and run in a southerly direction. The Governor decided to proceed alone in advance to examine into the matter. On his reaching the Sinkandians I learnt that they had seen some Takarelanders hunting, but that they had immediately taken to flight on the approach of the Sinkandians. We therefore continued on our way till we reached a forest, where we found fresh water, and determined to pass the night. It was also resolved to send back some of our people who had fallen ill. The Teopangians were appointed to accompany them and to be their guides.

On 24 December we again proceeded on our journey, and in the evening got so near to the enemy's village that by climbing into a tree we could easily discern it. This greatly encouraged us.

On 25 December we were quite close to the village, and our enemies made their appearance after we had crossed the river. At first, there was a skirmish between our Sinkandians and the foe, in which the native spears only were used, till our van came up and fired their muskets into the midst of them. The enemy took to flight, so that the road to their village lay open before us.

On our entering, not a single soul was to be seen. It was then decided to set fire to it, but we first secured a suitable place outside the village where the fire could not reach us. As the night was now fast approaching, we lay down to rest, after having taken the necessary precautions.

On 26 December, early in the morning, we resumed our march, passed through the village, and directed our steps back again to the north, whence we had come.

We were exceedingly surprised that the enemy, known to be such great warriors, should have left us perfectly unmolested during the whole night. Later, we were told that they were exceedingly afraid of the horses and dogs which we had with us, nor did they like our drums. It had been their intention to attack us in the morning, but on their hearing the *reveille* their fears got the upper hand.

When we reached the plain near the river, we saw several of the enemy, who were armed with shield and spear; but who feared our musketeers, and did not venture to approach. In order, however, to rout them completely, a charge was commanded; whereupon they took to their heels, and put such a distance between themselves and us that we never saw nor heard anything more of them. Thus, in the full glow of triumph, we marched from Takare-ang, not doubting that all the people of this region were now in such wholesome terror that they would soon come and humbly sue for pardon.

On 27 December we again returned to Sinkan. We heard that during our absence several persons had died there of small-pox.

On 1 and 2 January 1636 there blew a strong gale from the north, which prevented us from setting out till the following day, when the weather was much calmer. Before sailing, a Soulangian named Vedanga was brought away with us. When we reached Tayouan, he was ordered to search for the man Tilagh, and next day he returned, bringing Tilagh with him.

On 7 January the Governor sent the factor Caesar with Tilagh, to see if we could not arrest a certain Chinese, named Houvong; but this Chinaman, having a fast-sailing ship, escaped. We, however, laid hands on another person whose capture was as important as that of the Chinese we failed to lay hold of. He was one of the chiefs of Soulang called Tanghol, had participated in the murder of our countrymen, and had never ceased to show the wickedness of his heart against us whenever an opportunity arose. When his capture was made sure, the Governor resolved—in the face of great difficulties—not to delay longer than the morrow before marching against the enemy's village, to humble it as the others had been.

Our efforts were now directed towards punishing the evildoers, and protecting the well-inclined portion of the inhabitants; because the former were often showing their effrontery, and it was necessary to make it impossible for them to keep saying, 'The Dutch do not dare to come; they were afraid of us, else they would have come; for they know we are just as guilty as the people of Mattau.' Nor would they have refrained from destroying the possessions of the Company and of the Chinese whenever they got a chance. On the

other hand, it would have most materially damaged our good name if the people throughout Formosa came to know that we had marched into this village, and after having taken it, had punished the innocent as well as the guilty.

On 8 January we found that there was not a sufficient number of sampans to undertake this expedition by water, and resolved to go by land. We safely reached the village towards evening and entered it as friends. It would have been easy to shoot down many persons when we marched in, but we did not choose to molest any one. While we were lying down to rest, a native who was said to be guilty of a crime which had been committed, voluntarily came among us, and was immediately seized. At night, too, a Soulangian approached the sentinel in a stealthy manner and wounded him in his shoulder. This was the only one of our people who, on our many expeditions, was wounded by a spear. The incident caused us all to awake out of our slumbers.

On 9 January six other men were delivered up to us by Tilagh. They had been guilty of many misdeeds, and we therefore decided to detain them in safe custody, desiring at the same time not to make any more prisoners.

A message was then sent to all well-disposed men of Soulang, stating that we expected them to assemble in their usual meeting-place, which was not far from the spot where we were resting from the fatigue of the expedition. When they arrived, we fully explained the reason of our having appeared among them; and told them that we had not come to raze their village, which we could easily do, but simply and solely to arrest the evil-minded persons among them; those who had so treacherously murdered some of our nation, especially the catechist and his servant, whom they had put to death after having tortured so severely. We further reminded them of the crimes they had committed on the river conjointly with some of the people of Mattau. Therefore, it was but right they should suffer; and that, consequently, the Governor would condemn the eight prisoners to death, so that others might take warning by them. There were, however, others who had escaped, but these he would punish by firing their dwellings, and now he required them to point out those houses, and that they themselves should set them on fire. They who were not guilty of these murders had nothing to fear, as we should regard them as our friends and treat them as such.

After these words had been spoken, one of the oldest inhabitants got up and addressed the people, saying that he approved of what we had said, he himself accusing the people of the crimes laid to their charge, and declaring his readiness not only to point out the houses, but that he himself would assist in setting them on fire. 'Let us go,' he concluded; 'follow the example which I shall give.' Orders were then given to beat the drums and to enter the village.

After burning down the houses of the culpable, we left the place to return to Sinkan. Only one part of the force arrived there at night, the other having to remain over night on the road. The former company included Governor Putmans and those who had charge of the prisoners, those latter having been placed in close confinement when we arrived.

On 10 January all the forces were again assembled in Sinkan, where, in front of our church, seven prisoners of Soulang were decapitated. The executioners were not taken from among our Caffirs, but from the Sinkandians. The Governor's motive for thus acting was to unite the latter more and more to us, and to turn them from the people of Soulang.

In order to give the troops some rest, they remained that day at Sinkan. We had our reasons for this. Whenever difficulties arose between us and our Sinkandians and other villages, and they thereby incurred our displeasure, they were wont to say, 'We will go to Tevorang, there the Dutch cannot and dare not come,' and this idea hardened them in their wickedness. In order to show them that their threat was a futile one, the Governor resolved to visit the people of Tevorang, not as an enemy, but as a friend. Consequently, he sent some Sinkandians in advance to let them know of his intended visit, so that he might not come unawares upon them, and that they might not imagine we were coming as enemies.

This village is situated at a day's journey from Sinkan, and lies in the mountains. We succeeded in reaching it that same day. On our way thither, we passed through the village of Magkinam; the inhabitants of which offered us some of their beverages, to show they were well inclined towards us. After leaving this village, we turned straight in the direction of the mountains, and approached the place we wished to visit, where we halted and passed the night.

On 12 January at sunrise we entered Tevorang, a tolerably large village with an abundant male population. We were welcomed by the principal men of the place, who came forth offering us their beverage. Shortly after, we called the inhabitants together, told them the reason of our visit, that we came as friends for the reasons before mentioned, and that they had nothing to fear.

Having spoken thus soothingly, they invited us into their houses, where, according to their customs, they wished to entertain us; but Governor Putmans, perceiving the covetousness of our soldiers in taking things not belonging to them, declined this hospitality, and gave orders immediately to leave the village; as he did not wish to irritate these people and to make foes of our friends. Therefore, he begged the villagers to carry the jars of beverage to where we had passed the night, and where we intended again to rest. The Governor also requested that the principal men should repair thither, as he in his turn wished to entertain them. They willingly complied, bringing us about twenty-three jars filled with native drink; and after having made merry with them, we set out again for Sinkan. In the evening we arrived near a small wood near Magkinam, and there we passed the night.

On 13 January we proceeded on our way and reached Magkinam early in the morning. Here, one of the elders of the village, whose name was Ti Caseia, came forth to meet us with some beverage, wishing to entertain the Governor; and inside the village, many jars of this beverage were placed, but the Governor ordered them to be taken away, as, the day before, a great

number of our men had been thoroughly intoxicated. At about nine o'clock, our advance party reached Sinkan, the remaining troops arriving towards noon. After having partaken of some refreshments, the Governor embarked for Tayouan, and the troops went by land to Sakam.

Thus our expeditions by land on the isle of Formosa terminated so happily that not one of our people was killed, with the exception of one sick man, who, not being able to proceed further, was carried away by the natives according to our own instructions. Instead, however, of taking him to a place of safety, they put him down somewhere, and from that time he was seen no more, but was reported to have been killed by a Soulangian.

On 14 January we found many Soulangians and Tiroseennians awaiting us. The former came to obtain our friendship. We replied that we were quite willing to be friendly, if they would only expel their evil-minded fellow-villagers and punish them by seizing their belongings, and firing their houses. They promised to do so, and then asked us to send one or two Sinkandians back with them to their village. Three days after they returned, and we understood from them that they had set four houses on fire.

On 17 January the Soulangians again left for their village and we received some people of Tirose, a village lying two days' journey to the north of us. We allayed all their fears and went with them to Tayouan. Seeing that the Governor's chief object was to live at peace with these people, he honoured each of them with a little present; and thus, much encouraged, we again left for Sinkan.

At this time also four young men were engaged in the hope that they may in due time become capable teachers of this people. We placed all our Sinkan writings in their hands, and have given daily some instruction in the Sinkan language.

On 19 January Tilagh, a Soulangian, again came from his village. He brought with him the heads of two of the murdered men, also three hats, and told us he could hear nothing whatever about the lost sailor.

On 24 January we sent two of our countrymen to Dorko, which consists of two villages. It had been reported that they were full of fear lest we should attack them, as no Dutchman had ever yet visited the place. Our two representatives were very cordially welcomed, and were accompanied back by nine natives of Dorko, whom we also most hospitably received.

On 26 January the Chinese Siko, who had been sent by Governor Putmans with certain instructions to Takareiang, returned from that place, and assured us that the inhabitants were well inclined to live at peace with us. He informed us that these people had sent five pigs to Tayouan as an offering to the Governor. Another Chinese came to us in the name of all the inhabitants of Tarokei—a village still more to the north of Tirose—who begged to live at peace with us. At their request we sent them one of our staffs by the same messenger, as a sign that all their fears might be allayed. One was also given to Sinding, chief of Soulang, so that he might be able to entice his people—who had fled in all directions—to come back again to their village.

On 27 January several Chinese, living in the Takareian villages, appeared before us. They had been sent by the inhabitants to make a treaty of peace with us. We heard from them that the villages lying in the south were sorely afraid, the Takareiang people having had thirteen men killed—nine of whom had been beheaded—and eight wounded. Those Chinese, however, knowing their customs, did not doubt but that they would succeed in inducing some of the Takarelanders to show themselves at Tayouan, provided that several of the inhabitants went back with them, and especially if two or three Tivalukangians would do so, the latter being friendly with the Takareiangians and knowing their language. In answer to this request, Dika a Sinkandian and a Chinese were sent to Tivalukang to confer about this matter, and in the evening we learned that those villagers were inclined to visit the Governor.

On 29 January I therefore informed the Governor and he immediately approved of the plan, whereupon six Sinkandians and four Tivalukangians set out for that place. The Governor, moreover, ordered that four Dutchmen should accompany them; and they all left the following day in three sampans, so that everything might be done properly.

On 31 January the Soulangians came to acknowledge our sovereignty over their village and lands. They brought with them small pinang and cocoa-nut trees in earth of the place, and these were put on a table in presence of the whole Council. They also agreed to the articles of the treaty which the Mattau people had promised to obey, excepting that one which would bind them to bring two pigs on every anniversary of the day when the murder was committed; and this concession was granted on the ground that they were less guilty than the people of Mattau.

Towards the evening we again reached Sinkan, where we found some Tarokeians, people who had never seen a Dutchman, and whose village lay beyond Tirozen. As has already been said, they begged that we should allow them to live in peace with us. Their sincerity was shown in the offering they brought of four pigs. Wishing, therefore, to honour them and fully to meet their wishes, we entertained them in the evening at the house of a Chinese called Lampak.

On 1 February, having entertained the Tarokeians we dismissed them to their homes, assuring them at the same time that if they appeared on the day appointed for the assembly of all the village delegates we would regard them as our allies. They promised to make their appearance, provided we gave them notice in due time.

On 2 February the elders of Mattau appeared before us. They stated that the former inhabitants of the village were full of apprehensions; and as none of them had returned since the time the village had been burnt, they now requested us to send two or three of the Dutch to the place, which they said would quiet the apprehensions of the people. As they insisted that this result would be obtained if we granted their request, we sent three or four of our nation thither.

On 3 February the persons we sent to Mattau came back. They reported

that they had been entertained in the most stately way, and that the fears of the people had been appeased. Towards evening, the two Sinkandians who had been sent to Takareiang to make peace returned, and gave an account of the negotiations with the people there. They said that seven men of Takareiang were on board our vessel and would be already at Tayouan, and that three Sinkandians with a Dutchman had crossed to their villages. They declared also that the Takarelanders were well inclined to make peace with us.

On 4 February my services being required at Tayouan, chiefly for settling matters with these Takarelanders, I proceeded to that place. After going up to the Fort, matters were settled with them about noon; the Governor having drawn up a short treaty, as follows:—

1. That they were to surrender their country and their possessions to the States of Holland; in token whereof they were to bring some small pinang and cocoa-nut trees, planted in the soil of that place, to the Castle.
2. That they should no more turn their arms against us.
3. That on the day when all our friends and allies appeared before us, they too should appear.
4. That in future they should not molest the Chinese.
5. That at our desire they should join us in our wars.
6. That if the staff of the Prince were sent them they should appear before us.

After they had accepted all these conditions they returned with us to Sinkan, the inhabitants of which had formerly been their enemies, and had felt as embittered against them as we feel against the Spaniards. Although the people of Sinkan entertained them in a very friendly way, yet they preferred to remain with us; as they trusted us much more. It was indeed a most extraordinary thing for the Takarelanders to go to Sinkan and be entertained by the villagers there.

On 6 February, in the morning, the Takarelanders returned to their village, and our people who were present also returned home. Thus peace was made, and nothing was wanting but the formal announcement and proclamation thereof.

On 10 February the day was fixed whereon all the delegates of the villages that were living in peace with us should appear.

The victory we had obtained over the people of Takareiang had most important results; for not only the neighbouring villages but others also, lying far to the south, had learnt to fear our name. That group of seven villages to the south of Takareiang was called Pangsoia. They were very populous, and situated not far from the seacoast. Although their inhabitants had never done anything to displease us, yet, hearing of the fate of Takareiang, they sent a Chinese, who had a long time resided among them, with the prayer that we would live at peace with them. This petition was favourably received by us; but as the Governor had to be consulted about the matter, we accompanied several Sinkandians and the brother of Lampak to Tayouan, in the sincere hope that our mission would not be in vain. After listening to our statement, His

Honour expressed his great satisfaction and provided a vessel to take the petitioners back again. They left on the 11th, and on the 19th our Sinkandians, accompanied by three of the principal men of Pangsoia, returned and informed us that they received a very cordial welcome; and had been most liberally entertained, so much so that more liquor than they could drink was offered to them. Nothing seemed to please the people of Pangsoia more than the arrival of our delegates, the only thing they desired being to live on terms of peace with us. They also promised to bring small cocoa-nut trees as a sign that they were disposed to surrender their villages and lands, and later on they actually did so.

We learnt, as far at least as we could understand from the Chinese, that the principal men of Pangsoia exercised much authority over their people, having even the power to put a man to death. Indeed, their government seems to be very different from that which is seen in other parts of the island, where the chiefs may not and cannot take a man's life for murder or manslaughter; the matter having to be settled by the forfeiture of a part of his possessions—the only punishment it is possible to inflict for that crime.

And thus, the inhabitants of Pangsoia have been brought under our rule, to the great advantage of your dominions; inasmuch as the servants of your great and mighty Company may now safely carry on their trade as far as the Golden Lion island. Even if they were to be shipwrecked in a tempest—which God forbid—their property would be safe, and their lives not endangered. But we feel assured that Governor Putmans, who is acquainted with this place, will himself supply you with all further details.

In order, however, to avoid any further prolixity, let us go on to look at the events of 20 February, that day which was appointed for all the village chiefs to assemble around us. The names of the villages situated over two days' journey to the north of Sinkan and more than a day's journey from the mountains that sent delegates, were Tarokei, Tirosen, and Dorko (consisting of two villages). Three villages, Tevorang, Taiouwang, and Tusigit, and the large village of Mattau, with Soulang, Bakloan, Magkinam, Teopang, Tivalukang, and Tivakang, also sent delegates. Then, belonging to the south, and two days' journey from our villages in that region, we had representatives from Takareiang, Tapuliang, Pandel, Calivong, Sotanau, and Tourioriot; while still more to the south, and a day's journey from Sotanau, delegates came from the larger and the lesser Pangsoia, Kesangang, Tararahei, Jamich, Sangwang, and Flatla. Lastly there was Sinkan, making in all twenty-eight villages.

It was delightful to see the friendliness of these people when they met for the first time, to notice how they kissed each other and gazed at one another. Such a thing had never before been witnessed in this country, as one tribe was nearly always waging war against another. For example, the people of Pangsoia had waged war against Takareiang, those of Takareiang against Sinkan, those of Tevorang against Tirosen, those of Tirosen against Soulang, and so forth. Now, however, they were all not only loyal to us, but were friendly towards each other; and if we had not influenced them, they would

never have been mutually united ; for formerly no one dared to address the other, no one trusted the other, and to practise deception as much as possible was the general rule.

All the delegates having at length appeared, we looked out for the arrival of Governor Putmans, whose presence was expected at the ratification of the treaty. To our very great satisfaction, he arrived on the evening of the 21st escorted by a company of foot-soldiers. Although the delegates were already in their own quarters for the night, they immediately repaired to our quarters to welcome him, on hearing that he had arrived. That same evening, he received them with great affability, which they seemed to appreciate very much. Further, he told them that he highly valued the present state of peace, and that our wars, which we generally were obliged to wage, were not like the wars of the people before him, whose chief aim was to cut off the heads of their enemies.

On 22 February, in the morning, the ratification of the treaty of peace took place. All the eldest men, who were to be spokesmen for their respective villages, were placed in a row ; and we addressed them very circumstantially concerning the peace which was now to be confirmed, saying how desirable peace was, how they ought to strive after peace, and not murder one another as they had done till now. After having explained to them what the robe, the staff, and the national flag really meant, we broke a small piece of straw with them, which signifies the same as taking an oath among us. On command of the Governor they were called one by one to appear before him, each was invested with a robe, each received a staff, and each a flag. Each recipient then returned to his own place, and thus the ceremony continued till all had appeared before the Governor. It was a pleasant sight to see how they paraded in their black robes. Seen at a distance one would have imagined they were all popish priests joining in a procession.

The people of Bakloan, Takareiang, and Pangsoia gave the possession of their land and fields into your hands, as token whereof they brought small pinang and cocoa-nut trees, which they carried in their hands and placed at the feet of the Governor. After this ceremony, they were addressed at length about keeping the peace, not only with us, but also with one another ; we saying that, if they did so, they need not doubt but that the Governor would give them every cause to be contented.

In the course of the afternoon, the Governor received them as his guests, entertaining them with much graciousness, and to their perfect satisfaction.

Some of them having been a long time from home, requested permission to return to their villages. In the afternoon they came to take leave of the Governor, each shaking hands and returning many thanks for all the good things they had received. At the request of the delegates from Tirozen, the Governor allowed two or three of our countrymen to accompany them home, as no Dutchman had been seen in that village for a very long time. The people of Tirozen treated them very kindly ; and after having been there some time, they again returned to our place.

Before the delegates left, we informed them that ere long we should come to visit them in their villages, with the intention of explaining to all the inhabitants what had been said at the grand meeting of delegates in Sinkan, what the robe and the staff really signified, and how they were to act with the flag; the Governor being of opinion that it was necessary we should do so. They were also commanded, especially those of Takareiang and Pangsoia, in case any Dutch vessel should appear off their coast or in their neighbourhood, to go and display that self-same flag. They promised obedience. Further, as the Governor issued an order that the villages now united to us should be visited, we set about performing that task without any delay.

On 24 February, towards the afternoon, we left Sinkan in order to visit Soulang first, having apprised the people of our intention. Halfway on the road we saw a Soulangian, who displayed the flag, approaching us and bidding us welcome. Soon after, others made their appearance, bringing with them vessels filled with their peculiar kind of liquor and begging us to partake thereof. On reaching the village, at about sunset, we were immediately conducted to one of their largest houses, where they received us in their kindest manner, presenting us with pork, boiled rice, and *massichau*, and that in great profusion, as if they belonged to the richest of the rich.

We called for the widow of the chief who had been decapitated at our command, and spoke kindly to her, saying that she had nothing to fear, inasmuch as it was not our custom, like theirs, to punish whole households because one member had transgressed.

On 25 February all the inhabitants of the village were summoned to meet us at the appointed place; but before we ourselves repaired thither, we were obliged first to partake of their food and drink, which they again brought us in great abundance. After the people had now come together, we ourselves addressed them, telling them what had been said and spoken at the great meeting of delegates at Sinkan; what the robe, flag, and staff were meant to imply; that the elders whom the Governor had appointed should be duly respected and honoured, and their commands obeyed in all things honest and fair; that they should not break the peace that had been made between us; and that they finally should well consider how much grace and favour had been shown them, seeing that very few of their number had been punished for the murder committed. We also referred to their having formerly insulted, beaten, and robbed the Chinese who dwelt among them, and whom the Governor had sent to live in their village. We warned them that they must not repeat such acts of violence; and that if they did, punishment would surely follow. In short, we admonished them to do well; and told them that in doing well, they might expect our favour and grace.

After we had spoken these words, one of their newly-appointed commanders followed. He addressed them in eloquent language, speaking on nearly the same subjects as I had already done, saying: 'Ye evil-doers, cease your wickedness; for if not, we shall have to seize you, to bind you, and to deliver you over to the Dutch.'

At the close of this ceremony they again invited us to their houses, where they wished further to entertain us; but as we did not wish to lose any more time, and as we had warned the people of Mattau that we had the intention of visiting their village, we continued on our way, accompanied by a number of Soulangians, till we came to the banks of a river at about half an hour's distance. There we saw the flag of the Prince displayed; and on approaching, we were met by several inhabitants of Mattau, amongst them being the elders of the village. They had been waiting more than an hour for us, and had brought with them several vessels of their beverage, of which they begged us to partake.

Two of the principal men of Soulang accompanied us to Mattau. Near the village we were met by several Chinese, who welcomed us and begged us to accept of their hospitality. Now, although the Soulangians had shown us much friendliness, the people of Mattau showed us a still greater degree of hospitality; for if we had appeared there in far greater numbers, every one of us would have been quite satisfied. Pigs were slaughtered, they produced their very best kind of beverage, leading us from house to house: in short they did all they possibly could to please us. We addressed the inhabitants of Mattau in the same way as we had spoken to the people of Soulang, admonishing them to do well; that our wrath had been appeased; that the Governor would make peace with them; and that it was also their duty to respect and to honour their elders.

As many Chinese were living in Mattau, we appointed a place where they should all assemble, and seeing that the majority had lived there for several years, they could very well understand us. We upbraided them with the numerous acts of enmity which they had committed, and for having been the cause of our people being murdered by the people of Mattau. We also accused them of their continual efforts to incite the inhabitants of Mattau against us, and of their ungraciousness to the people of our nation when they visited that village. Finally, we assured them that if they wished to remain friends with us, they should behave as subjects, and not as enemies; and that if they would not, we should be obliged to expel them from the village. They promised amendment, and very urgently requested us to partake of their hospitality. For this purpose they had prepared a large table, loaded with many viands; in short, they entertained us with much friendliness and civility.

As time was speeding on, and as some who were with me were beginning to feel the effects of the liquor, we intimated to our hosts that it was time to leave, as we wished to reach Sinkan that night. They, hearing this, begged us to remain a little longer, to which request we complied; but as the elders of the place did not come, we decided to be off without further delay. On our leaving the precincts of the village, we found that many of the principal men and their wives had brought jars of liquor with them, and they begged us before finally leaving them to partake of the contents. At last we took our departure, well assured they would prove themselves obedient subjects.

Towards the evening we reached Bakloan. Here, too, the people wished

to regale us, but we forbade them to do so; and as very many inhabitants of that village were absent, we did not address them as we had done at Soulang and Mattau; but we said we intended to come soon again, and would apprise them in time, so that they all might be in the village when we returned. It was late in the evening when we reached Sinkan.

On 26 February we visited three villages to the south of us. We spoke with the inhabitants, telling them that they should not allow Sinkandians to settle amongst them, and that their fellow-villagers who had fled to other places should return. We asked them whether they did not feel inclined to forsake and cast away their idols, and like the Sinkandians, to worship the one true God in Christ? Did they not see that, since the time that the Sinkandians had forsaken their false gods, they had made much progress in temporal things and had been spiritually blessed, a state of things to which they surely would not object? Some said they would act on our advice, while others declared they would wait a little longer. As so many inhabitants of these three villages had died, we advised them to make but one village of the three, in which case we would send a teacher to instruct them. They agreed to accept our proposal, but said they would wait till the north monsoon before doing so.

We then spoke to the Chinese living there, rebuking them severely for not desisting from their attempts to cheat and deceive the inhabitants.

Thereon we begged the principal men to accompany us to a place where we thought they could build a beautiful village; and we were glad to see that they confirmed our choice. We thought it would be far better for them to live together in one village than separately in three; as in that case they could all be instructed by one person, and all meet in one church. We hope that ere long our wish may be fulfilled.

On 27 February we left for Dorko, two villages to the north of Bakloan and situated between Tirozen and Mattau. In the afternoon we again set out, and reached Bakloan in the evening, remaining there till midnight. Very early in the morning we resumed our course towards the north. At sunrise we reached the village lying to the south, where we abode a short time, being very desirous of inspecting the northern village. On our way thither we met two of our own nation who had been to Tirozen and Tarokei. They reported that they had been very well received, the people most friendly, continually asking when we might arrive. For this reason we decided on going thither.

After having taken some refreshment we set out for that place, and arrived towards evening, one of the principal men coming out to meet us. We passed by beautiful and fertile fields, full of stags and hinds, which we saw running about in great numbers. On coming into the village, we were conducted into the house of one Dalis, who offered us some food. The inhabitants were a fine class of people, men as well as women, the finest we had ever seen in this country. The women had very fair skins, and as we found, they remained principally within-doors, occupying themselves with weaving. After we had had some conversation with these people, we again left.

It had been our intention to pay a visit to the people of Tarokei; but we were prevented by the rain. In the evening of the 31st [*sic*] we again returned to Dorko, where we were most hospitably entertained.

On 1 March, in the early morning, we left for the southern village, where the people had prepared for us two large fires, a quantity of pork, and also an abundance of their beverage, with which they regaled us. After conversing with them, we left for Bakloan.

On our way thither we met several people of Magkinam, who asked whether we were coming to see them, and when. At Bakloan, the inhabitants did all they could to entertain us hospitably. In three different places they had spread three tables, and the quantity of liquor or beverage was so great that we really felt surprised. After having spoken with these people, we returned to Sinkan.

We also heard that some Teopangians had been in Takareiang, where they had been most liberally entertained, and that our Sinkandians had likewise met them in their hunting-fields, on which occasion they had kissed one another.

On 3 March we set sail for Tayouan in order to communicate to the Governor what we had experienced on our journey, and what we had said to the people of the three villages about casting away their idols and serving the one God in Christ, and how necessary it was that a person should be sent who could instruct them.

Some days later we heard that three women of Takareiang had been in the small villages in order to visit some of their friends. Two of them came next to Sinkan, and we presented them with some small gifts, they being the first women whom we had seen.

On 19 March we visited Magkinam, whose inhabitants had often invited us to come. We spoke to them about many things, especially about casting away their idols and serving the true God, a thing we had good reason for persuading them to do; because the surrounding villages, having abundantly seen the prosperity of the Sinkandians who cast away their idols five years ago, and wishing to enjoy the same prosperity, now declare that they are quite ready, even if it were on the morrow, to follow their example, provided we would only send teachers to instruct them. A wide door has been opened to us, and we sincerely regret that there are so few to instruct these people.

On 26 March the Tevorangians, who live in Taiwan, appeared here, and earnestly requested us to accompany them, as no Dutchman had ever been there before. They wished to regale us, but we excused ourselves on account of our many engagements. We however sent some others in our stead, who were most hospitably entertained by them.

On 4 April we thought it expedient to visit the villages lying to the south of us, especially Pangsoia, to see if we could not introduce the Christian religion among them, and to strengthen the peace made between us and them. Accordingly, on the 6th we left Sinkan and duly reached Tayouan, where we remained till noon of the following day, when we set sail. On board our vessel were twenty Dutchmen, among whom was lieutenant Johan Juriansen, who for

several reasons had been appointed by the Governor to join the party, as also Pieter Jansen Bottelier, to observe the state of matters. Six Sinkandians also went with us. Towards the evening we reached Tankoia, where we passed the night.

Early next morning we resumed our voyage, arriving about noon off Pangsoia. Here we saw many of the inhabitants running along the shore, who came so close to us that they could render us assistance in landing. We waited a short time for Takumei the chief, who soon made his appearance bearing the flag, and joined us on board of our vessel. On landing we found the village to be very long and narrow, very populous, and having a great number of children.

On 8 April we went to see several other villages situated not very far off. The people are very barbarous, going about perfectly nude; but the women wear some covering. We spoke to them concerning several matters:—

1. About serving the one true God in Christ, whom they declared they were willing to serve if we would send a person to instruct them. Again I say it is very sad we have so few teachers to instruct these people, who are well inclined to adopt our religion.

2. About the Golden Lion island. We desired to know on what footing the inhabitants of Pangsoia stood with the people of the Golden Lion island; whether there was any communication between them, and whether they were friends or enemies.

3. About obtaining further and more trustworthy information from the Chinese concerning the gold that, according to report, is found in the mountains, near the hostile village of Longkiau. We heard that a large quantity of gold dust had been obtained from a river there, the waters of which were extremely cold, and we are of opinion that this might in future prove a source of great profit to the Company. We therefore sent a Chinese who had long been with us to Longkiau, that he might offer to the people terms of peace in our name, and make minute inquiries about the gold; knowing well that such inquiries would very much please Governor Putmans, to whom we have often spoken on the subject, and who will very likely send to you full particulars regarding it.

Another thing that induced us to go to Pangsoia was to post up in public the agreement or treaty written in Chinese. The names of the seven villages have already been mentioned.

On the 12th we again reached Sinkan.

On 14 April we forwarded a letter to the Governor in which we urgently requested him to send a person, a Dutchman, to Pangsoia, to learn the language of the people and to prepare the way for converting them. This request being granted, Warnart Spoelmans was conducted thither; to whom we gave a vocabulary of three hundred Pangsoian words which we had collected on our recent journey. He left with the chief of Pangsoia on the 16th.

On 18 April, some people of Taraguang, desirous of living on terms of peace with us, came to Sinkan. Formerly they dwelt high in the mountains, but

now that they are living among the Tevorangians, we reckon them as belonging to that place.

On 21 April the Chinese Lampak returned. He had been absent about a fortnight, having been sent by us with some presents from Pangsoia to Longkiau, a place about two days' journey south of Pangsoia. He reported that the people of Longkiau inhabited fifteen villages, having only one chief whom they obeyed. They are enemies of Pangsoia. They were the most civilised people he had as yet met with, and were well clothed, the women wearing garments that reached to their ankles. The chief was well inclined to live on terms of peace with us, but he wished that one of our nation should first visit his place. He assured us that gold was found among the people who were enemies of Longkiau. We believe it is very desirable to make peace with these people, not only that we may get to know more about this gold-dust, but also to obtain command over a larger extent of the coast, and to convert the inhabitants.

There are five other villages to the north of Tarokei, situated two days from Sinkan. They are called Dalivo, Jarissang, Valaula, Tossavang, and Dovoha. The inhabitants of these places have several times expressed their wish to live on terms of peace with us, sending us with that object several arrows; and on the same occasions requesting that some of our people should visit them, with which request we have complied. They live at a day's distance from Tarokei, and said they would come to see us when our deputies sent to them returned to Sinkan. On the 22nd two Dutchmen repaired thither, and our hope is that the people to whom they are sent may become our allies, and that thereby the whole coast on this side of the isle of Formosa may be brought under our control.

On 26 April we went to confer with the Governor about Longkiau. He gave his ready consent to our sending deputies to that place, as, for reasons already mentioned, he was very desirous of living on friendly terms with the people there.

On 29 April, as the inhabitants of Tavakan had resolved to become Christians, we looked out for a fit dwelling-place for the catechist whom we intended to send out to them. Moreover, we spoke to them of their imaginary gods, whom they had till now served, and of the blessing that would attend them if they served the one true God in Christ as they now intended to do. Having thus addressed them, we asked on what day they would cast away their idols, and when all the inhabitants would be in the village. After receiving a favourable answer, we took an affectionate leave of them. The Lord be praised that so great a door has been opened unto us; the harvest is truly great, but the labourers are few.

On returning towards the evening to Sinkan, we found that Joost had returned. He had visited five villages lying three days from Sinkan towards the north, and informed us that the inhabitants had given him a kind reception, promising to come and see us when the weather became more favourable. Those people somewhat resembled the Tiroseennians, being also armed with bows and arrows, and having but few spears.

On 1 May Joost left for Tayouan, in order to proceed further to Longkiau ; and Carolus Agricola, catechist, left for Tavakan. The object of his going thither was twofold ; first, he desired to become more conversant with the language ; and, secondly, he went to instruct the people in the fundamental principles of our religion, after they should have first cast away their idols. We also endeavoured to open a school for our Sinkandians, and chose seventy boys whom we thought capable of receiving our instructions with profit.

On 5 May we left for Tavakan. Here the people brought all their idols, along with the altars erected to them ; they put them all in one place, and after having made a pile of all their gods, they themselves set them on fire. After having earnestly admonished them now to serve the one true God, we again returned to Sinkan. May our Lord, who can change the soul of man, convert these people when we instruct them. Especially the young men among them show a great desire to be taught. We also immediately instituted the keeping of the Sabbath as a holy day, providing the catechist with some papers, so that the service might be held in the tongue of the people. On the 18th, we kept the Sabbath for the first time, nearly all the inhabitants attending divine service.

The day before yesterday, sixteen persons arrived in Sinkan from Longkiau ; namely, the brother of the chief of that place and fifteen attendants. On their way to us they had visited Governor Putmans at Tayouan who, to their very great satisfaction, had most kindly received and entertained them. After they had been regaled in Sinkan also, we accompanied them to Tayouan and waited upon the Governor, in order to speak with him about a treaty of peace with these people ; and this object was partly, though not quite, obtained. Further, we took this occasion of speaking to them about serving the only true God, a proposal they did not entirely reject.

When at Tayouan the chief of Pangsoia, named Takumei, most luckily arrived, and the opportunity was seized to make peace between him and the people of Longkiau, formerly their enemies.

On 26 May we opened our school. As the little books had not yet been prepared, we gave each boy a sheet of paper on which we had written the alphabet, denoting separately the consonants and vowels. We trust our instructions will prove to be serviceable to the young natives, and that we may be able to continue this school without meeting any obstacles, as has been hitherto the case.

On 1 June a messenger from Sotanau arrived. He begged for peace in the name of three villages situated towards the east of them, belonging to a group of eight villages called Dal. We accepted their spears, but said the inhabitants of those villages must come themselves ; then we would accompany them to the Governor, who would without doubt make peace with them. The names of the three villages are Pororei, Sovageiangeiang, and Sakasakei.

On 10 June the native of Sotanau again appeared, bringing with him the chief of Tivalukang. The latter informed us that the inhabitants of the eight villages had received him very kindly, and that they desired to make peace.

We have also again visited Bakloan, and have once more spoken to the people about casting away their idols, and serving the true God. As the elders had not yet assembled, they could not give us any answer; but they said they would come next day to us in Sinkan, which they did. Their village contains nine hundred and ten souls, and a hundred and seventy-six houses. Within a short time, we hope to receive an answer to our proposal about casting away their idols, which we told them were devils. If now, we said, they rejected the devil they would also cast away their idols, and if they did not do so they could not be delivered from the bondage of Satan.

On 21 June the inhabitants of Bakloan accepted our proposal to do away with their idolatry and to cast away their idols, but said they would defer doing so till the rice crop was gathered in. They, however, consented to our opening a school ere long for the Bakloan youths, and declared themselves quite ready to build a house for that purpose provided we would send a school-master to their village, which we hope ere long to do. O that there were a sufficiency of labourers!

On 25 July the chief of Tevorang, one of the three villages lying in the mountains, came to see us. He said that many of their people had died of smallpox, including two of the chiefs whom we had appointed along with him. He also brought us an iron spear which was held in high estimation among them, and which he now begged us to accept. At the same time he desired that we should renew the treaty of peace, saying that we then should become as one body.

Our answer was that we desired nothing more than to live at peace with them, but that there could not be any real union with us till they cast away their idols; whereas if they did so, and served with us the one true God, then we would be friends indeed. We also embraced this good opportunity to speak to them of the Lord of the universe, who had so gloriously battled for us in our late wars, and who had so abundantly blessed us in temporal matters. The chief replied that they were willing to serve God if we would send a person to instruct them. I said this was not in my power till I had first spoken to the Governor, but that if His Honour had a person fit for the work, he would surely send him to their village. This village is the largest of a group lying in the mountains. Again I say it is very sad that ours is the fault that these poor souls are not converted. Alas, the labourers are so few!

On 26 July a Chinese living at Magkinam came here. He declared that he very much wished to dwell in this country and to marry a woman of the place; and that, if we would afterwards instruct both of them, they would embrace our religion and become Christians. Not long ago a Chinese living in Sinkan made a similar declaration, saying that he was ready to forsake his own country, and inclined to accept our religion. There are other cases like these, and we trust that all such persons may be brought to the light of the Gospel.

As to the two large villages of Mattau and Soulang, we do not doubt that it would be an easy task to persuade their inhabitants to renounce idolatry, the

more so as they see the prosperity of Sinkan, where the people began many years ago to serve the true God, and whose crops of rice every one sees to be plentiful, being abundant year after year and promising now to be as plentiful as ever. This test is looked upon as being of great importance by the inhabitants of Formosa. Many old persons in Sinkan, especially among the former priestesses, ventured to prophesy to the people at the time of their conversion that, if they neglected their idols and began to serve the God of the Dutchmen, their fields would no longer yield them their crops of rice. Not only, however, have they seen that the contrary has happened, but that the crops have been even much more abundant than before their conversion. This fact has seriously interfered with the native forms of worship, so much that the people themselves now laugh at their priestesses, whose words were formerly received as oracles, and were believed with the same certainty and conviction which we have as regards the Gospel.

From what has been already said, you will see that we have established a school for the young natives of Sinkan. We teach them not only the first principles of our religion, but also to read and write; and because they are still young, without requiring to do much out-door work, they can the more easily attend our schools. We have also opened a school for girls of fourteen or twelve years of age, and even younger. Every morning we instruct them for two hours in the first principles of our religion; and we find that this school, containing about sixty girls, has been productive of much good. This entails no expense on us; for the girls attending it receive nothing. Nor has the school for boys yet cost anything; and if help be required later on, this cannot be great, at the most not more than a hundred *reals*. We hope to follow the same system with all schools which may be opened in other villages.

On 31 August the messenger from Sotanau—who had been sent by the three eastern villages already mentioned, and which form a group called Dal—returned. He again brought a number of spears, and this time in the name of five other villages, whose inhabitants also wished to live on terms of peace with us; to whom we now returned the same answer as we had already given to the other villages. They sent word that, at the end of the rainy season, they themselves would come, whereon we promised to conduct them to Governor Putmans, who would then make peace with them.

These eight villages, added to those of Longkiau situated in the mountains, make fifteen. Add to these, five villages in the north, whose inhabitants have been visited by us, and who sent a number of spears some time ago; with those belonging to Veroverong and Takareian, whose inhabitants sent some of their number as deputies to us, but who have not as yet received the national flag; and we have twenty-nine in all; which, added to the former twenty-eight, make a total of fifty-seven villages.

From this you will see the favourable results of the war, and how well it has been that Mattau and Takareiang were burnt for the evil committed against us. How great has been your acquisition of territory! How wide a door has been opened to us for the conversion of the heathen! Surely your

assistance will not be found wanting; having begun so well, you will certainly persevere. Be assured that the Lord has given Tayouan and the dominion over these lands into our hands; not only, however, for the purpose of trade and the export of articles amounting in value to the sum of many hundreds of thousands, but that you should bring to the inhabitants those unspeakable riches of Christ which abide unto all eternity.

Therefore, honour God with your possessions and you will be honoured by the Almighty. 'Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days.' The clouds when they are full send down rain; and so, if you are abundantly blessed and well filled, let the rain of your goodness descend upon this arid land. Do not imagine that what is given for the good of these poor erring souls is spent in vain. It is lent unto the Lord, who has already repaid you, and who will still daily repay you with abundant blessing; so that you may every year draw thousands, and again thousands, yea even hundreds of thousands, from this country. Is not this the doing of the Lord who governs and directs all things? If you desire that this blessing be continued to you, give richly; send zealous men to this country to convert the inhabitants. That you should do so, many reasons might be given, whether you look upon the Lord, upon yourselves, or upon your neighbours.

1. Look unto the Lord and set Him before you as an example. Do as He does; be merciful, as your Father also is merciful, and doeth good unto man and cattle.

2. Take heed unto the command of God, who bids us convert the sinner from the error of his way.

3. Consider the recompense of reward. How rich a reward, what a crown of glory is laid up for you, if you prove yourselves zealous in the work of the conversion of the heathen!

4. Consider the punishment which God pronounces against the unmerciful, against those who possess the means to convert the heathen, but who neglect to employ them. Thus, not only the bonds of nature but the ties of consanguinity teach you to be guided by the example of those around you.

There are other motives. Consider the uncertainty of all earthly possessions, and the uncertainty of life. Consider all the benefits you have received and let them move your hearts—especially when you think of the great profits your trade with this island has produced. Let no consideration of expense deter you from the good work. Let there be no lack of teachers; do all you possibly can; send hereafter more men of God, more zealous and pious men; because then the Lord will more abundantly bestow His blessing on your commercial enterprises, and still more reward all you have done and spent for the conversion of the heathen.

But, Gentlemen, we do not wish to say that, till now, you have not given us your assistance. We render you thanks for what you have already done, and we thank His Honour Governor Putmans, who has assisted us in the same measure as he has been faithful in your service. We merely wished to

say that, the field having become so much larger, we require so many more labourers to cultivate it, and to gather in the abundant harvest.

We have now mentioned to Your Excellencies some of the occurrences here from November 1635 till September 1636, and given you, more especially, an account of our wars against some villages, and of the peace we have made with them. This account—compared with other documents containing weighty matters, which, God willing, we hope to send you in due time—is but a series of extracts. For not only have we to manage affairs connected with the Church, but are obliged also to attend to judicial matters, which are very numerous, seeing that they refer not only to things daily occurring in Sinkan, for in other neighbouring villages we are daily called upon to administer justice among the people who have accepted our protection.

As regards those judicial duties, they cause more labour and trouble than the holy service to which we have been called. Often have we requested to be freed from them, but till now without success. And even although our request were immediately granted, two years must elapse before, according to your statement, we should be allowed to lay down the duties of this judicial office. And, no doubt, it is the case that we cannot judge these people according to our own laws, but must also take their language, customs, and manners into consideration, because, if we did not do so, they would rise and endeavour to expel us from the country. Therefore, we think it very necessary that a person should be sent out who would bind himself to remain on the island eight or ten years, one who in two or three years would render himself capable of attending to these duties. We trust the Governor will eventually agree to this proposal—he too knows the necessity—else the cause here will suffer much; as we intend, God willing, to return to the Fatherland when our ten years of service have expired. Meantime, our earnest wish is to be exempted from this judicial office, and to be placed in a position where we should have to attend to spiritual things only.

Some time ago, and still considering how our work could best be promoted, we begged His Honour's permission to take four or six of the most promising young natives from this island, to conduct them to Holland, and there give them such instructions as would fit them in due time for returning to teach their countrymen. We pointed out to him the advantage of this plan; that those qualified natives would never wish to leave their own country after returning from Holland, that they could speak their native tongue better than we could, and that their own people would be better pleased to hear them than us. But our words failed to carry conviction, so far at least as we saw at the time; while later on, we were given still more clearly to understand that the proposal would not be carried out. It was not to these young men that the Governor and his Council objected; but they did object to granting our dismissal and causing us to leave this country.

We believe that such a native clergyman could effect more than all our Dutch ministers together could do; and, therefore, we beg you for the love of Christ, and for the salvation of those poor creatures, to grant that we may

leave for Holland with four or six young natives under our care. I will take upon me to instruct them, and to keep them in my house till they shall have finished their course of studies. I assure you that by so doing you will act well. I know that you may remind us of the Amboinese children; but no man undertaking a great work is satisfied with one attempt. Does he not try again and again? What, too, about any enemy who wishes to capture a town? If he is beaten back and the attack fails, will he at once give up in despair? If unsuccessful in one way, will he not attempt another? Act, Gentlemen, in the same manner. Seize what Satan claims to be his; destroy as much as possible the kingdom of the Adversary; do not fail to adopt the excellent means that we have proposed. Even although the attempt with the children of Amboina did not succeed, make another with the children of Sinkan. As regards ourselves, we can wellnigh give you the assurance that this good work will at last be crowned with success. These children would not be regarded as the children of kings, but as the children of poor men. In their case, the expense would not be so great as with the Amboinese; for, knowing their temper and habits, we could educate them in our own house. We think they have capacities for study, a sound understanding, and an excellent memory. If you agree to this proposal, you would be doing more for Sinkan than you have ever done before. May our Lord move your hearts thereto!

Governor-general Brouwer gave us permission to engage some of these young natives with a view of instructing them for the ministry, but for many reasons, we do not think it possible to make capable ministers of them in the midst of their present surroundings.

Till now the inhabitants of Sinkan have shown themselves very obedient. The greatest difficulties have been overcome; they have abandoned their idolatrous festivals; the Sabbath is solemnly observed, and generally we have from five to six hundred hearers. Our marriage ceremony has now become general, more than fifty couples having been married by us according to the ordinance of God. Moreover, eight hundred and sixty-two persons have been baptized.

If, Gentlemen, there has ever been an opportunity offered you to do anything among the heathen, then surely it is here. It will not be, as we hope and trust, another Amboina; it will not be another Banda. We find the older inhabitants are slow to learn, but the young natives are full of zeal. Yes; there are many among them who can pray extemporarily, so well, and in so orthodox a way, that it is a pleasure to hear them. To judge from external appearances, we have every reason to believe that these are moved by the Spirit of Christ. We began work about six years ago, and do not doubt that if it be continued twenty or thirty years longer, a glorious community will be established here.

The foregoing is what we thought it necessary to communicate to you at present. The whole narrative of occurrences as they took place has been extracted from our daily journal. We first communicated with Governor

Putmans on those subjects which required most consideration, or which we deemed of the greatest importance, and then acted according to his orders.

We commend you, most honourable, equitable, and noble Gentlemen, to the protection of the Almighty. May He richly bless you in your commercial undertakings!—I am, etc.,

ROBERTUS JUNIUS.

26. R. Junius to the Council at Batavia. . . . *Most noble, wise, and equitable Gentlemen,*—We are truly convinced and we maintain that, if some Sinkan youths were properly instructed from their earliest years, they might become schoolmasters, and even ministers to their fellow-countrymen. Such a movement would greatly benefit the work; it would materially tend to build up the church of God in this place, and probably be the only way to establish it for good. But we now wish to show that as long as these young natives remain in this island, the plan of thus training them would meet with so serious obstacles and hindrances that ultimately it would have to be abandoned. We therefore consider it very necessary, if any good results are to be expected from such instruction, that these youths should be taken to Holland, and there become pupils of a good and pious school. It would not be difficult, but very easy, to accomplish this.

As to the other method, that of instructing them here, we do not regard it as being a feasible one, even although the lads were to live under our own roof, according to the proposal made to us by the Governor. Our reasons for thinking so are the following:—

1. The young natives to be selected and trained for becoming ministers of the Church require not only to know the alphabet, the Lord's prayer, the Articles of faith, and the ten commandments, there being another thing that is exceedingly important, if not the most important of all, for them to learn. We must endeavour to bend those young branches in the direction we desire, to act upon the injunction of Solomon, who says, 'Train up a child in the way he should go; and when he is old, he will not depart from it' (Proverbs xxii. 6). Thus, every effort should be directed towards inspiring our pupils with the fear of God; teaching them true piety; and leading them to live honest Christian lives. See Proverbs xvii. and xi. 10 [*sic*]. But how can such training be carried on if our students be kept in daily contact with the uncivilised people around them? Even if they were to become inmates of our house, they could not always remain in-doors, but would occasionally wish to visit their own and other villages for the sake of recreation; in which case it is very much to be feared that all our efforts to teach them the fear of God would turn out to be in vain; especially when we consider their evil natures, and how exposed they would be to the wiles of Satan.

Is it not therefore very necessary that they should be taken to a place where such contamination is impossible, and where other and severer measures could be employed to fill their hearts with the fear of the Lord?

2. It is also most desirable that they should be trained to observe the ordinary amenities of life, for their own customs are still utterly uncivilised

and barbarous, not only as regards their way of eating and drinking, but of clothing as well. We should have to teach them obedience, politeness, kindness and affability. If they remained here, this would be an exceedingly difficult task, as even a very slight departure from their native way of acting would expose them to the ridicule of their fellow-villagers; for which reason we strongly advise you to have them taken from this country.

3. In order to make them ministers of the Word, they must not only be able to read and write correctly, but have some knowledge of the Dutch, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. Now, it would be very difficult for them to acquire this knowledge while living here, but not if they resided in Holland; although there, too, they would require to study hard during eight, nine or ten years without any interruption, in order to crown our efforts with success. We may liken those youths to vessels that are continually leaking, into which fresh liquid must ever be kept pouring. Our opinion is that they will not derive any profit from instructions which are continually interrupted; and that, for years, they should be with their teachers during several hours of every day. In short, the education of these young hearts and our endeavour to fill them with good and excellent precepts suggest to us the brooding of a hen over her eggs, which would soon become rotten were they always being taken from under her wings. In like manner, no good educational results can be looked for from the present condition of things in this island; because, if our self-willed scholars need not remain longer with us than they choose, what guarantee have we that they will continue their studies here? Therefore, they must be sent elsewhere, if the Church is afterwards to derive any benefit or advantage from them.

4. Again, in order that these wild trees may be engrafted and made good ones, yielding much fruit in the field of the Lord, they must be lopped, pruned, and trimmed; they must be transplanted from this wilderness to a fair garden; their crooked branches must be made straight; and care must be taken to prevent those branches from again becoming crooked and wild. Such a process cannot be done without the rod; for the rod is like the plane wherewith they have to be planed and polished. If they do not behave properly, they must be scourged, else no good result can be expected. But this we may not, and cannot do here. Were we to scourge a boy here, even if he quite deserved it, our school would soon be emptied of its scholars, whereas it seems to us impossible that these youths, or any youth whatever, can become acquainted with arts and sciences, or study theology, without castigation. Therefore they must be removed from Formosa and sent to Holland, where castigation may be, and is applied.

5. There is another peril. We fear that if they remained on this island, although we should succeed in filling their hearts with good and orthodox doctrines, they would not entirely forsake their former idolatry, but would still cleave to it; being incited thereto by direct encouragement of their parents. A still greater source of danger arises from the presence of many loose women who are found among the people here; and the fact that if our young men

did not seek the women, the women would seek them ; which would certainly be a cause of great offence, and prove very hurtful to those who should be sanctified to the Lord. All this shows that they must be quite removed from the risk of such contamination.

6. We also fear that after all our trouble and after all the expense that might be incurred, they might suddenly abandon their studies if by chance we were to offend them, or if they could not easily understand what we taught ; especially if any among their own people should encourage them to leave us.

Therefore, it would be difficult ; indeed, altogether impossible, to give a proper education to these youths, if they continually reside in this village. On the other hand, we believe that this would be both a profitable and an easy task were they taken to Holland ; provided one of us could accompany them to superintend their studies and their conduct ; for while residing there, they would inhale the very air of our country, they would adopt our manners and customs, and would, in short, become Dutch in every respect. And His Honour the Governor agrees with us in thinking that many good results would flow from such an arrangement. The parents and other relatives of the young men would become more closely united to us. On returning from Holland, they would willingly render life-long service to the Church here, as they would then be living in their own native country. They would also be satisfied with a smaller salary than is paid to our present Dutch clergymen. Moreover, they could express their thoughts far better in their own tongue than we can ; declaring to every one the great works of God with an amount of clearness which we could not attempt without difficulty and much stammering. Their fellow-aborigines would also take to them more kindly ; preferring them as belonging to their own people, and receiving the Divine message from them more willingly than from a stranger.

The Spaniards have been aware of this for fully a hundred years, as the system we propose of instructing the natives was followed by them in Japan, and hence they can rejoice in having made so many thousands of converts. The natives they taught on this plan were well instructed, and suffered for Christ's sake all manner of pain, torture and torment ; and had their teachers only been more prudent in other matters, all Japan might have been Roman Catholic by this time.

The Portuguese do the same as regards China. They select the most intelligent children, and take them to another country where, without much difficulty, education can be carried on under their own immediate direction and control. On reaching manhood, those students are fit for service in any part of China, recent letters referring to some who have penetrated even into the Court of that realm, where they are now occupied in converting the great and principal men. We cannot but praise such self-denying zeal, even though shown by our enemies.

It will thus be seen that the method we are now discussing is the surest and best that could be employed for the conversion of a nation ; one whereby very much might be effected, one for reforming the people of this village,

and imparting the saving knowledge of Christ to all the surrounding country.

As to expense, that ought not to be an obstacle when the glorious object is kept in view. Nor do we think the expense can be very great, seeing that it will be unnecessary to incur more than is positively required. And if there still be some fear of being involved, let it be remembered that your outlay for other things will be lessened, owing to the great service which would thus be rendered to the church of God, and to this people. Another way would be to allow those native ministers a nominal salary equal to that of the Dutch clergymen, but deducting twenty or thirty *guilders* a month from each, and thus making it possible in a few years to be recouped for all your initial expenses.

May our Lord, who governs all things, enable you to understand and grant us our request. May He inspire you to form such resolutions as may tend to His honour, and to the salvation of these and other peoples living in error; and finally may His blessing rest upon the traffic and commerce of the general Company, not only here, but throughout all India.

(Signed) ROBERTUS JUNIUS.

27. Extract from first Letter of the new Governor of Formosa, Jan van der Burg, to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Tayouan Office, 5 October 1636. *To the honourable, equitable, wise and very noble gentlemen, Antonius van Dieman—Governor-general—and Councillors of India for the State of the United Netherlands, residing in Batavia.* . . . Let me next refer to affairs at Sinkan and neighbouring villages on the island of Formosa. As is already well known, we lately subjected some of those villages by force of arms, while others came and sued for peace; but we know now, not only from Mr. Putmans' own dispatches, but also from letters sent by Rev. R. Junius, that the first efforts to introduce Christianity into these villages were successful, resulting in the conversion of thousands of men and the winning of many souls.

On 25 August last we proceeded, in company with Governor Putmans, to Sinkan, where Mr. Junius is occupied in imparting to the inhabitants sound instruction in the fundamental principles of the faith. It is pleasant to see how fair a beginning has been made in the school which is there established. Mr. Junius daily instructs about seventy boys of ten to thirteen years and older, in the Christian religion. He does so in the Sinkan language, writing the words in Latin characters. The number of scholars is daily increasing, and they are very zealous in attending the school. The parents themselves incite the children to attend regularly, and at the appointed time.

About sixty girls are also daily instructed in the prayers and other subjects, the Sabbath is duly observed, and more than seven hundred persons come to hear the sermons. Led by Mr. Junius and other Dutch residents, the school-boys sing before and after sermon, in the most edifying way, a hymn in the Sinkan language according to the melody of the Hundredth Psalm of David. May our Lord bless this good work, and increase it more and more.

One Carolus Agricola, a catechist, has been appointed to the village of Tavakan, situated about half a mile from Sinkan. We hear that he is making every effort to become acquainted with the language, being exceedingly zealous in his endeavours to explain the fundamental principles of Christianity to the inhabitants of that village, who listen to him with much avidity, and for whom he tries to open the door of light.

Two other villages lying to the south, as also Bakloan and Maginam to the north, of Sinkan; and Tevorang lying among the mountains, with its two adjacent villages, have also resolved to embrace the true service of God and to abandon their superstitious rites. The same can be said of the seven villages of Pangsoia, which are exceedingly populous, the children especially being very numerous.

It is the opinion of our predecessor, fully confirmed by Mr. Junius, that the inhabitants of Mattau and Soulang, as well as those of the seven Takrian villages and Longkiau, fifteen in all, with eight more villages lying to the east of Takareiang, show great inclination to become converts to our religion.

We therefore perfectly agree with Mr. Junius that we shall be far more successful among these heathen, who have neither written documents nor books, than among the Moors, who remain but too faithful followers of Mahomet and the Koran. Nothing is wanting but labourers in the vineyard of the Lord.

Since our arrival at Tayouan, we have had ample opportunity of seeing in the person of Mr. Junius, a man full of zeal of the right kind, filled with the love of Christ, doing all he possibly can to extend the kingdom of God, and giving us much hope that his expectations will be realised. He seems inclined to remain some time longer in India after his term of ten years has expired, provided we exempt him from his political or judicial duties. He very much complains of being charged with them, saying they are out of keeping with his clerical vocation, and cannot be discharged by him with a willing heart. After consideration, his objections seem to us to be reasonable, and we call attention to the matter in order that Mr. Junius may be freed from attending to those judicial duties. However, as we have no capable person to take his place, no change will be made in the meantime. . . . Your most obedient servant,

JAN VAN DER BURG.

28. From Hans Putmans to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 7 October 1636. . . . The progress of the work among the inhabitants of this country is, thanks to God, most glorious and most promising. With the exception of Favorlang, all the inhabitants of the villages which we shall now enumerate are obedient and tractable: Sinkan, Soulang, Mattau, Tirozen, and the surrounding villages; with Takareian, Tapouliang, Dolatok, Pangsoia and their little dependencies, making in all fifty-seven, when we add the sixteen hamlets belonging to Longkiau. There is, however, one thing wanting which has been already mentioned by us; more teachers are required to do the work of the Lord.

As to Sinkan, we may safely say that the progress in conversion of the heathen and in knowledge of God's Word is daily becoming greater. According to your orders, the young natives are taught reading and writing in our school. They make fair progress. It is true that the parents would prefer their children to labour in the fields instead of attending school; for which reason it is often necessary to give those children who are very diligent some little present of rice or of a garment, thereby encouraging them to be zealous in learning. The funds for this are obtained by selling licences to the Chinese to catch deer, whether with traps or by other means.

At present, no considerable subsidies are made to the inhabitants; any small ones granted being met by fines which the people have to pay when they break the laws. With regard to collecting taxes from these poor people, as Your Excellency thinks we might, it is quite out of the question; for such a thing would only irritate and estrange them from us, as was the case at Kelang.

It was our intention that Mr. Assuerus Hogensteyn should be stationed in one of the before-mentioned villages to learn the language and convert the heathen, but as Mr. Candidius will be leaving soon, it will be necessary to employ Mr. Hogensteyn in the Dutch community at Tayouan till other arrangements can be made. According to your orders, we have debited his account to the amount of f. 580 2 12. . . . Your most obedient servant,

HANS PUTMANS.

29. Robertus Junius and Assuerus Hogensteyn to the Consistory at Batavia.—27 October 1636. *Most revered, beloved, and very learned Brethren of the Consistory in Batavia: Grace and peace be unto you in Christ.* It was with very much pleasure and satisfaction that we received your letters of 29 May last with the annexed copies, also some letters addressed to the Directors and several of the *Classen*. We then also received the two private letters addressed to Rev. Mr. de Roy and Rev. Mr. Holtenus.

Your letters inform us of the state and progress of ecclesiastical matters in India. We thank you, beloved brethren, for these communications, and hope you will continue to favour us with many more.

As regards ourselves, we are of the same opinion as you are, and, on this account, we now send the accompanying papers to your address under flying seal, so that you may not only peruse them, but have copies of them taken, if you wish. We would most willingly have sent you these copies, but our secretary could not find sufficient time to make them, for which failure upon our part we trust you will kindly excuse us.

We now commit these papers to your care; begging you, after having perused them, to seal them up and forward them by a safe opportunity to Holland. They consist of three missives, all of the same contents and sent to different *Classen*. From their perusal you will see how wide a door is opened unto us, and how necessary it is to send out more clergymen to the island of Formosa.

Along with these, are two letters addressed to the Directors of the Company, one of them having been submitted to His Honour Governor Putmans, and containing an exhaustive account of our successful expeditions in Formosa, given in the form of a journal. We do not doubt but you will be kind enough to forward them with the other documents.

We have also sent to you a small primer, which is written in very clear and distinct characters. It is our wish to get this printed, for we are sadly in want of little books for teaching young natives the art of reading. We sincerely trust you will use your influence in obtaining a favourable answer to our request in this matter.

Another enclosure you will find is the manuscript of a vocabulary for those who desire to learn the language; but as many errors might be made by the compositor, it will be better to defer the printing of it till I visit our beloved native country in person. In the meantime, I forward it to Holland to show our brethren the kind of work which occupies us here.

We think that if you make a parcel of these documents and hand them thus to Mr. Putmans, he will see that they are safely delivered at the correct address in Holland. Nor do we doubt that he will do everything he can for this work when he meets the Directors of the Company. Mr. Putmans is well acquainted with the matters we have been writing about, has been a diligent servant of the Company, and has also been very zealous in the cause of Christ. May the Lord our God safely conduct him!

From our papers you will see that the progress of the Church of God in this island is most promising and successful. Here there is no lack of persons who could be taught, had we only the teachers. The harvest is truly great, but the labourers are few. We trust you will do your utmost to send us zealous and pious workers, be they clergymen or clerks in Holy Orders, readers or schoolmasters; men who lead a life of faith and are desirous to convert those who err.

As to the political service, it is a burden that still rests heavily on our shoulders. At last, however, we have succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Government to a proposal we made that Lieutenant Johann Jurieansen should soon come here to learn the language, and thus qualify himself for relieving us. We think he is a man well fitted for the office. It is his intention to repair to Batavia in one of the last ships sailing for that port, in order to personally lay his request before you, and at the same time look out for a good wife who would be willing to stay in Formosa for several years. His appointment would prove a great relief to the clergymen residing here.

According to our opinion, his request is not an unreasonable one. He is willing to fill the office for five years without an increase of his present salary, and only asks that he should be allowed to bear the title of Captain and be addressed as President. Still, although Governor Putmans thought these terms very advantageous for the Company, he would not decide the matter, nor propose it in Council as a subject for deliberation; so that Jurieansen resolved to proceed himself to Batavia in the hope of obtaining sanction from the Governor-general.

It is quite certain that if the Brethren can anywise contribute towards the realisation of this plan, the Church of God here would be much benefited, for then the clergymen would no longer require to interfere with police affairs. Mr. G. Candidius was the first one who consented to undertake this additional work, and we have therefore been obliged to follow his example. It requires great care and circumspection, exposes us to several dangers, and hampers us exceedingly in our vocation as clergymen. The Governor and the Councillors know how manifold our attempts have been to obtain exemption from it. Indeed, we well-nigh became importunate and said at last that, if our demand were not complied with, we would leave the place for good when our term of ten years had expired. This declaration of ours seems to have had some effect; for the result has been that the lieutenant already mentioned has, provisionally at least, been intrusted with the office.

Our position here will not be immediately affected by this change, as Mr. Jurieansen cannot yet speak the language, and is also unacquainted with the manners and customs of these people, or the way in which they are to be treated. After he has resided here for some time, he will learn all this; and whenever he is fit for duty, it is our intention to leave. This will probably be in about two years hence; so I may safely say that my successors will derive more benefit than myself from the new arrangement.

Till now, Mr. Hogensteyn has been staying with us in Sinkan, and assisting us in conducting service in the Dutch church there. He is now occupied in learning the language. God grant that in due time he may bring many souls unto Christ.—Your most obedient and affectionate brethren and fellow-labourers,

ROBERTUS JUNIUS, ASSUERUS HOGENSTEYN.

30. Governor van der Burg to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 14 November 1636. . . . After having visited Wankan and inspected the redoubt that is being erected there, we proceeded early on 24 October to Sinkan, where we arrived the same day.

We had sent Rev. Mr. Junius orders that all the elders of thirteen villages should come together in Sinkan on the 25th, which they did. In due order our predecessor took leave of all the elders of these villages, thanking them for their strict obedience during his government, and wishing that the Divine blessing might in future rest upon them, so that after his departure, peace and tranquillity might reign in their villages under our rule, which he hoped might be extended. Each of the elders then shook hands with the Governor and returned him thanks, wishing him at the same time happiness and prosperity on his voyage.

The Governor recommended each in particular and all together to regard the new Governor as their father in his stead, and to be loyal to him, as they had been under his own government; and this they all promised to do. After this, the elders one by one approached me, expressed their best wishes, and shook hands as a sign that they would respect the wishes of my predecessor, and prove themselves faithful and obedient subjects. For all this, I sincerely

thanked them, promising to rule over them in the same parental way as my predecessor had so laudably done before me.

This solemnity we closed with a festive meal, at which all the elders were present. After the repast, my predecessor and I took a final leave of them and continued our journey, reaching Tayouan in the evening of the same day, 25 October.

It is impossible for me to refrain from praising the docility and tractability of these folk; they are so easily governed, so willing to submit to the decision of those whom we have charged with the settlement of disputes, so ready to wage war against our enemies, and so willing to be taught by Mr. Junius the doctrines of the Christian faith, especially when they have already profited by his instruction; those who have not yet received any such instruction being also very docile when Mr. Junius asks them if they do not feel inclined to cast away their idols, in order to serve the only true God. All this is truly surprising, and even amongst good men there are many who would hardly believe it. No one can judge of this matter without having seen what these people were in their natural savage condition.

In order that things here should be managed in a proper way, Mr. Junius has, till now and to our entire satisfaction, superintended all political or judicial matters; but he insists on being discharged from doing so as soon as possible. And although, according to Your Excellency's earnest recommendation, we would most willingly grant his request, and might be able to find another person for that office, it is really very difficult to find one who could discharge its duties to our perfect satisfaction. He must lead a sober, quiet, and pious life; be an example to these heathen of good manners, of justice, of humility and of truth; he must rule over them with a willing mind, with kindness, and without any ulterior object, rendering to each his due according to the dictates of a sound judgment. And not only so, for he must also bind himself to remain here seven or eight years, so that he may do the work with greater zeal and efficiency. Without all these qualifications, we consider the duties cannot be satisfactorily performed, and the object in view cannot be completely attained. Three years' study and practice are required for a person to become well acquainted with the language. . . . Your obedient servant,

JAN VAN DER BURG.

31. Extract from Paper by H. Putmans which he handed to Governor van der Burg before leaving for Batavia.— . . . The people are very much inclined to wage war, not only on account of the honour they may thereby acquire, but also for the sake of booty, although to us its intrinsic value might be very insignificant. So eager are they to obtain booty that, when we even hint our intention of marching against a village, they are immediately ready to set out on a long expedition or attack their immediate neighbours, as they did in the case of Mattau and Soulang. Hence the necessity for minute inquiry into the various claims and demands they bring forward. Of course, this very cupidity may be turned to great account in promoting the interests of the

Company, inasmuch as they will not readily refuse us their assistance whenever it may be required.

We firmly believe that, if these people receive daily instruction in school and congregation, and see in us the example of a sanctified life, they will become civilised, and many be made true members of the Church of Christ. To attain this object, however, we require capable and pious clergymen; we must also educate young natives to become schoolmasters, readers and interpreters; and, lastly, we must maintain good order among the soldiers who are garrisoned in Sinkan and other villages, or who only frequent these places from time to time.

The inhabitants of Bakloan, Tevorang and the three little villages lying to the west of Sinkan, as well as those of Pangsoia, seem to be quite willing to adopt our customs and to embrace our religion; and we do not doubt but the inhabitants of Mattau and Soulang, after having been admonished to do so, will be found willing to follow the example of the villages just mentioned; so that we again say there is but one thing wanting to complete this glorious work, namely, a greater number of zealous and devout ministers.

According to the good intentions of His Excellency the Governor-general and Council of India, as well as of the Consistory in Batavia, it would indeed, if it were possible, be a great gain to exempt Mr. Junius from the burden of his judicial office, in order that, without further let or hindrance, he might be able to dedicate himself entirely to his spiritual office. Nevertheless, seeing that there are so few persons here who possess the necessary qualifications, so few who have a thorough knowledge of the language, and who also lead a sober and virtuous life, it will be necessary—in deference to our wishes, and in keeping with your resolution of 6th instant—to continue Mr. Junius some time longer in the position he now occupies to our satisfaction. Meanwhile it should be clearly understood that, in the management of affairs here, it will soon be necessary to set the clergymen free, by appointing a capable person to discharge the duties of this judicial office, inasmuch as the cause of God—to which due precedence should be given in this vexatious question of combining the two offices—is prospering so much as to render the duties of our resident clergymen more arduous and more difficult than ever. . . .

32. From H. Putmans to Governor-general Antonius van Diemen and Councillors of the Indian Government.—Castle of Batavia, 6 January 1637. . . . The same may be said of the plantations on the island of Formosa. . . . We shall here only add that the conversion of the poor benighted heathen there will tend more and more to the advantage and prosperity of the Church of Christ. For, without doubt, the Giver of all good aids your undertakings in order that they may tend to the glory of His name, the increased knowledge of His Word, and the greater extension of His Church. Hence we pray that the Almighty may more and more bless and prosper them. . . . Your most obedient servant,

HANS PUTMANS.

33. Extracts from the Formosa Day-Journal, 1 November 1636—17 October 1637.—6 December 1636. This day the Rev. R. Junius and Lieutenant Jan Jurieansen were commissioned to visit the villages of Soulang, Bakloan and Mattau. To give more importance to this visit, six or seven horse-soldiers and fifteen or sixteen foot-soldiers were ordered to accompany them. The object was to ascertain the attitude of the inhabitants, and to examine how far they were inclined to embrace the true doctrine of Christ, we having heard from time to time of their desire to do so; and, lastly, to admonish them to cast away their idols.

10 December. To-day Junius and Lieutenant Jurieansen returned from their journey. They reported that on the 7th they commenced their journey with the object of visiting the three neighbouring villages, Bakloan, Soulang and Mattau, situated towards the north, and admonishing the inhabitants to cast away their idols. They first visited Soulang, where they arrived in the evening of the same day. The people received them very kindly, and entertained them according to their customs.

Next day, after having settled some questions and matters of dispute between the people of Soulang and the Chinese to the general satisfaction of all parties concerned, they continued their journey to Mattau, where they found everything in good order. They were most cordially entertained in that place, and after having taken a kind leave of the inhabitants, they again proceeded on their way, reaching Bakloan in the evening of the 8th.

The chief object of their visit was to know how the inhabitants were inclined, to induce them to forsake their idols, to persuade them to embrace the true doctrine of Christ, and to open their eyes to the true light of life everlasting. The people willingly, and with a joyful heart, listened to them, so that they all—to the number of a hundred and sixty households, constituting the whole village—shortly after delivered up their idols and their other idolatrous belongings into the hands of our envoys. This result was indeed everything that could be desired, and the inhabitants were assured that within a very short time they would have an opportunity afforded them of being further instructed in the Christian religion.

On the very urgent appeal of Mr. Junius, the Governor and Council have considered it necessary to send Mr. A. Hogensteyn to his assistance, in order to advance this glorious work, and to instruct the people, so that they may be able to understand and appreciate the glad tidings proclaimed to them. Mr. Hogensteyn is to remain at Bakloan till he has acquired the necessary experience, and is able to do the work alone; and when this stage is reached, he will be appointed to that place and begin his endeavours to increase the flock of Christ. For this purpose Mr. Junius is authorised to have a bamboo house built immediately at the expense—which it is hoped will be moderate—of the Company. Mr. Junius himself can superintend this piece of work, so that a fit abode may be erected for his colleague in good time.

20 December. To-day the chiefs of seven neighbouring villages lying among the mountains arrived in this place as delegates. Of their own free

will, they transferred the sovereignty of their country to the Dutch East India Company, in token whereof each village sent a small cocoa-nut tree, and an intimation that they desired to live under the rule of the Governor, in the same way as the inhabitants of other villages which own our sway, and according to the articles and conditions which Governor Putmans framed. After each of the delegates had received a small present, they left us on the following day.

The names of the principal of these villages, which lie among the mountains to the east of Takarcian, are as follows: Taraquang, Honavahey, Hovongoron, Goroy, Dedakiang, Hosakasakey, Houagejagejang, Hopourourey.

12 January 1637. This day a letter was sent by Mr. Junius from Bakloan, stating that the church and the house for the clergyman—which was to be built of bamboo according to the plan previously adopted—are now finished. The inhabitants of Bakloan of their own accord gave their labour in the erecting of these buildings, so that the Company has not been at any expense whatever; except for the plaiting of the required mats, which will probably amount to something like thirty *reals*.

Mr. Junius also reported that on 4th instant the Sabbath was publicly kept at Bakloan for the first time, and on this occasion the Word of God was proclaimed to the people in their own tongue. They listened to his preaching with much fervour and simplicity, and showed the same spirit when they were being instructed in the fundamental truths of Christianity and in the daily prayers. May our good Lord more and more bless this promising beginning among these benighted heathen.

In addition, the aforesaid letter contained an expression of opinion from Mr. Junius on the planting of rice in Formosa, and on several other matters affecting the social condition of the people.

16 January. To-day the sad news arrived from Bakloan that the Rev. Assuerus Hogensteyn, after having suffered long from a lingering disease, had died at that place.

31 January. It was decided by the Governor and Council that Lieutenant Jurieansen should be permitted to take steps for encouraging the cultivation of rice in Formosa; and to comply with Mr. Junius' request for an advance of four hundred *reals* in cash, which sum he wishes to distribute among some Chinese living in Sinkan and the surrounding villages, who seem willing to cultivate rice.

10 April. Yesterday Governor van der Burg, Paulus Traudenius, and the secretary, Corn. Fedder, left for Sinkan to visit the villages lying in its immediate vicinity. To-day they returned, after having visited Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan. They report that the conversion of the heathen is progressing favourably, and that the schools in charge of the catechists and under the continual superintendence of Mr. Junius, are flourishing; order and discipline being well maintained. They also report that the number of candidates for Christian baptism is steadily increasing, and that all the inhabitants are very desirous of being instructed in the principles of our faith, so that their eyes may be opened, and their desire for the blessings of the

Gospel may be fulfilled. This is a good beginning, and it fills our hearts with pleasure and joy. May the Lord continue to bless this work !

22 April. Mr. Junius has arrived here from Sinkan. In his deliberations with the Governor and Councillors of this factory, he declared that, considering the manifest and satisfactory results which had been obtained in our efforts to convert the heathen in the villages lying to the extreme north of those which are now allied to us in Formosa, namely Sinkan, Tavakan, Bakloan, Soulang, and Mattau, it was their duty to extend this good work to the south of the island, beginning with Pangsoia and the surrounding villages, so that there also the Church of God might be extended unto the consolation of many souls. For this purpose he pointed out certain persons who were qualified to act as schoolmasters in those places, namely, Jan Michiels, catechist ; the soldier Marcus Thomas of Bergen-op-Zoom, Huybert Trebbelij of Gorcom, and Corporal Warnar Sprossman, who had been living a year and a half in Pangsoia, and who spoke the language tolerably well.

It was consequently resolved by the Governor and Council that Mr. Junius should proceed to the South, and that three or four soldiers should accompany him for his protection. To-day therefore they set out on board a small Chinese vessel, with orders to establish in the villages of Pangsoia, Dolatok and Verovorang, the persons already mentioned as schoolmasters, to erect the necessary schools, and to take such measures as would serve to give a prosperous commencement to the undertaking. May our good Lord richly bless this work !

30 April. This day Mr. Junius returned from the southern part of the island, and reported that, according to the orders of the Governor and Council, he had visited the populous villages of Pangsoia, Dolatok and Verovorang. In these places he had addressed the inhabitants, saying they should cast away their idols and learn to serve the one true God ; he told them what was necessary for the salvation of their souls, how needful it was that their eyes should be opened, and their hearts inclined to accept the Word of the only one true God. The people listened to him with willing mind and joyful heart, and were exceedingly glad to hear that we would send a Dutchman to each village, who would be capable, both of teaching the young natives attending the school, and of imparting Christian instruction to the more aged.

As it was necessary, for the commencement and carrying on of this good work, to build a school and a house for the teacher, the inhabitants immediately set to work with much zeal, and both buildings have already been erected without involving the Company in any expense.

We hope that this work may continue to progress. The difficulty is not to win souls, but to find sufficient labourers to do the work, as many other villages are asking for teachers to instruct them in things belonging to life everlasting.

7 May. To-day Mr. Junius forwarded a letter by special messenger from Sinkan. It was addressed to the Governor and contained the following items :—On Mr. Junius' return to Sinkan from the South, he was informed

that the chief of Tossavang, one of the five villages of Tirozen, lying in the North, had in his absence visited Sinkan to confirm the peace between ourselves and those five villages; but failing to meet Mr. Junius, he returned to his village without having attained the object of his visit.

The letter also stated that several delegates from Tevorang had been staying a few days at Sinkan. They testified their joy at meeting Mr. Junius, and most urgently asked him to accompany them to their village, where they would provide very liberal entertainment. Mr. Junius said that just then he could not comply with their request, but promised instead to send two of our people with the same object to Tevorang. After receiving this assurance, the delegates left for their village.

The villages of Teapouling and Panendal, lying somewhat to the south of Takareian, have also sent a most urgent request that a suitable Dutch person be sent to give them instruction, to convert them from their heathen blindness, and to open their eyes to the true light; for which purpose they offered to build us a proper house and school.

In like manner, the inhabitants of several villages situated among the mountains towards the east desire to live on terms of peace with us; and in token thereof, have sent the customary spears and several arrows in advance.

Finally, Mr. Junius requests that some capable and unostentatious persons be placed under his superintendence for study of the Sinkan language, in order that they may ultimately be employed in the work of the Lord among these benighted heathen.

34. Ex-Governor Putmans to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber.—On board the *Banda*, 2 August 1637. . . . After having spoken with the two chiefs of the village already mentioned about casting away their idols and serving the only true God instead, they declared that they were prepared to do so, provided we would send a person to their village to instruct them; but at the same time they requested that we would give them our assistance against their enemies living high up in the mountains. We promised to do so when an opportunity occurred, on condition that they remained obedient children, as they had been till then. . . .

The expeditions we have already mentioned have served not only to increase the renown of the Dutch nation, but also to give the people of Sinkan a wider and better repute. For at present they behave with sobriety and are very industrious. They have cast away their idols and abolished their heathen festivals, and they now keep the Sabbath holy. Moreover, they have a school in which the young natives are taught; and, with the exception of a few aged people, all the inhabitants have become Christians, by receiving daily instruction in the Christian faith, and by having received Holy Baptism. . . .

Mr. R. Junius has shown very great zeal for the conversion of the heathen. Mr. G. Candidius, his colleague in Sinkan, has the intention of returning next year to Holland, and seeing that the number of Christians has much increased—as we have already mentioned—and is daily increasing, it will be very

necessary for you to provide the place with some intelligent young clergymen; men of a thoroughly moral life, who are neither stiff-necked nor debauched.

A short time ago two young clergymen were sent out to us from Batavia, namely Assuerus Hogensteyn and Johannes Lindeborn, both rather given to drinking; and the younger, so far as we could see, of an obstinate character. We fear lest it may be found out when it is too late that neither of them is of any use whatever; although we hope that our forebodings may not be realised. The example of a sober and moral life is more required than great learning to teach those ignorant heathen the discipline and knowledge of Christianity; hence we request you to be very careful in selecting the persons for this service, so that the beautiful and glorious work may not be impeded, but good progress made, without any such obstacles being placed in its way.

In Formosa we have no subtle, crafty Moors or Mohammedans, Princes or rulers who, for the sake of lucre, endeavour to thwart and prevent this glorious work; but the natives are eager to know and become acquainted with the truth, they look to Sinkan and see how it prospers, knowing well that the Sinkandians are our most beloved children.

A long time ago great efforts were made to convert the inhabitants of Amboyna, of the islands of Uliasse, of Banda, of the coast of Ceram, and other places in India; but owing to the cunning of the Moors, those efforts most unfortunately met with but little success. Here a wide door can be opened unto you by your works of charity. Be not lukewarm or indifferent; but let your hearts be filled with burning zeal, so that the talent intrusted to you by the Lord may largely increase, and your magnificent dominion in that island, as well as throughout all India, may day by day become more and more prosperous.

We trust the blessing of God Almighty, the dispenser of all good things, may attend you all, to your general welfare, to the extension of the glory of His name, and to the conversion of those benighted heathen.—Your most obedient servant,
HANS PUTMANS.

35. Governor van der Burg to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Tayouan, 17 October 1637. . . . The Rev. Robertus Junius is continuing his work, and converting the heathen with unabating and most praiseworthy zeal. During April last he visited the southern part of the island. In Pangsoia a house has been built for the catechist Jan Michiels, one in the village of Dolatok for the schoolmaster Marcus Thomas, and another in Verovorang for the schoolmaster Cornelis Huyberts. The expense of erecting all these buildings has been voluntarily borne by the inhabitants; for they much desired that their children should attend school and be instructed in the true doctrine of Jesus Christ.

Jan Michiels, mentioned above, has however been obliged to return on account of illness; and as we found he showed but very little zeal in the work, we have placed him on board the ship *Amsterdam*, and taken the catechist of the same vessel instead. This catechist evinces more zeal, so that matters are

improving in the south; and we have good cause for hope that the work there will make satisfactory progress before long.

With our approbation Mr. Junius has ordered the dispersed inhabitants of Teopang, Tivalukang, Tagupta and Ritbe to settle in Tavakan, where there is a school attended by fifty children, who are instructed in the true doctrine of Jesus Christ by the catechist Carolus Agricola.

Agricola considered the burden of having to attend to this school in addition to the one at Tavakan,¹ to which he had been previously appointed, was too great, and made himself guilty of such gross impertinence that Mr. Junius was obliged to complain to us about the matter. In the meantime, another very serious accusation was brought forward against Agricola, so that we were obliged to suspend him for some time from his functions, and to withhold his pay and rations. After some considerable time he expressed great regret for his impertinence, and solemnly promised amendment; and on the intercession of Mr. Junius he has been reinstated and his former faults forgiven him. At present his conduct evinces such zeal that Mr. Junius is much pleased.

Nothing but pure pride actuated this mannikin. He fancied that he was in no manner bound to obey Mr. Junius, and was audacious enough to ask our permission to live in Tayouan; another reason for lecturing him most severely, so that he might know what his proper position really is.

The schoolmasters Jan and Merkinus have been labouring with much success in the villages of Mattau, Bakloan and Soulang, and Mr. Junius reports to us that there are some children so well instructed in the fundamental principles of the Christian religion that they would put many Christians to shame. When, some time ago, I visited Bakloan, I heard Mr. Junius ask the children to give an account of their faith, and it was a real pleasure to hear the extemporary answers they gave. God be praised that He has deigned to bless this work so abundantly, and that there is every prospect of many heathen being brought to a knowledge of the true faith.

Mr. Junius daily endeavours to induce the people of Magkinam to visit either Bakloan or Sinkan, so that they may have the opportunity of being instructed by him. For want of clergymen we have been obliged to leave Tevorang as yet under the influence of heathenism; but we hope that, among the young natives whom Junius is preparing for the ministry, some will be found fit for the work there.

In company with the Rev. Mr. Livius we paid a visit to Sinkan; and after having made most minute inquiry into the state of matters in that place, we very seriously asked his opinion as to what his hopes were regarding these young Christians. Mr. Livius informed me that he met on Amboyna some aged persons, and also some children, who pretended to be Christians; but never had he found such docility, such a desire to be instructed, as among these heathen. Their zeal is so remarkable that Mr. Livius has requested per-

¹ *New-Tavakan* is referred to at the beginning of section 64.

mission to visit Sinkan from time to time during the week after holding the usual service here, so that he might not only become better acquainted with the language, but more familiar with the customs and manners of the inhabitants, and thus fully qualified for the duties of his vocation. Not wishing to cause any hindrance of the good work, I have permitted him to do so.

Mr. Junius has been requested by me to serve the Company some considerable time longer, but he excused himself by saying that there was still a year and a half more of his present term of service to run. He again expressed his desire to be freed from the judicial office; but as the Council judged that his services were absolutely required, we have persuaded him, by increasing his salary a hundred and twenty *reals* a year, to remain in office; provided, however, that this sum be defrayed from the amount which the licences for hunting yield, so as not to charge the Company with any fresh expenses. Mr. Junius proves himself to be a truly zealous labourer for the conversion of the heathen, giving them a most excellent example. He is of a truly upright character, a person whom, humanly speaking, one can rely upon. We incline to the opinion that when his term of ten years' service has expired, he will be found willing, if his salary is increased, to serve the Company some time longer.

On request of the brethren, we consented to give the catechist Johannes Lindeborn another trial, although we very much feared he would not prove himself worthy of the favour; but a short time after he was again found to have been intoxicated and to have assaulted his wife. In consequence of his bad conduct, the clergymen came to us seriously complaining of him, saying he was a stumbling-block to the heathen, and not only this, but he refused to learn the Sinkan language. We have therefore thought it expedient to send him back by one of the ships as being perfectly incorrigible. Under such circumstances he is not required, and he does us very little credit. We send also an official account of his dismissal from office as clergyman, from which you will be able to see that nothing very satisfactory is said of him. Out of Christian compassion for his wife and children, we have refrained from saying the whole truth, leaving it to others to find out his true character.

A clergyman like Schotanus will be required in this place; for, when Mr. Livius is thoroughly acquainted with the language, he will have to reside at Sinkan; in which case Mr. Schotanus will be requested to preach in the Dutch church instead of him, so that we shall be well supplied by having an additional worker, especially if you send us from time to time some pious young men to act as catechists. . . . Your most faithful and obedient servant,

JAN VAN DER BURG.

36. From the Tayouan Day-Journal, 18 October 1637—14 December 1638.¹— . . . Our Governor and the Rev. Robertus Junius, accompanied by

¹ On account of the damaged condition of the Dutch Ms. it was impossible to decipher several sentences, and those sentences had to be omitted, but their omission does not affect the chief contents of this paper.

seventy-five soldiers as a bodyguard, leave to-day for the large village called Mattau. They go by land, and will take Sinkan and Bakloan by the way. The inhabitants of Mattau of their own accord have repeatedly requested the Governor to visit them, and to-day he repairs thither to destroy their idols. They take this way of expressing their desire to embrace the true doctrine of Jesus Christ for the consolation of their poor erring souls. A school and a church are to be erected also. We pray that God may give His blessing.

7 February 1638. Report of the factor Cornelis Fedder to Governor Jan van der Burg, by whom he was charged to visit, in company with the Rev. Robertus Junius and the Rev. Gerardus Livius, the extremely populous villages of Soulang and Mattau, and inspect the progress the work there was making, and also to report on the increase of Christ's flock in the other villages of Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan.

4 February 1638. After having taken leave of the Governor, we left Tayouan in company with Rev. R. Junius, for Sinkan. When we reached that place, a Chinese named Sabuko appeared before us. He said that he had expressly come to complain to Mr. Junius, and through him to the Governor, about scandalous proceedings which had taken place in Pangsoia since the time of the Governor's visit, and which were a direct contravention of the orders then given. In particular, this Sabuko declared that corporal Warnær Sprosmán, living in Pangsoia, connived at this unlawful state of things by all sorts of illegal action. His concluding statement was to the effect that those persons who fled through fear of punishment when the Governor was there, on hearing that a proclamation of pardon had been issued, expressed their intention of going to the Governor to thank him for his leniency and to promise amendment, but were prevented from doing so by Sprosmán under various false representations; so that a general revolt was to be expected unless the Governor asserted his authority—and so on.

5 February 1638. We went to see the school in Sinkan, which is attended by forty-five boys. These youths are daily instructed and taught singing. They are taught the doctrine of God, the morning and evening prayers, to read their books, and sing in the Sinkan tongue the Lord's Prayer and the Creed to the melody of the 100th Psalm. We found that there was a want of books for teaching more extensive subjects. Daily instructions are given in the catechism to fifty or sixty girls and young women. All the inhabitants of Sinkan, consisting of about one thousand persons, have been baptized and recognised as Christians, after having properly made confession of their faith.

On the same day we went with Rev. Mr. Livius to Bakloan, where we informed the inhabitants that next day a meeting would be held early in the morning. We also sent word to the inhabitants of Soulang that they might expect us in a few days, in order to keep the Sabbath with them.

6 February 1638. We examined several young natives who had been instructed by the catechist Andreas Merkinus in the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. We examined them separately, and assured them we

were extremely satisfied. After the firing of muskets—a sign for the people to come to Church—the inhabitants came to hear Mr. Junius preach. They were very orderly and decorous. Before the service concluded, three young girls were baptized, after having made a confession of their faith in Christ.

Bakloan has a population of nine hundred and ten souls, and the neighbouring villages, whose inhabitants attend the Church there on Sunday, number ninety-eight souls—Magkinam sixty-eight and Amamoliang thirty—making a total of one thousand and eight hearers. Among them are a hundred and fifty who are baptized, and eighty-four school-children, who are not only taught the fundamental principles of our faith, but also reading and writing, and the morning and evening prayers. This is also done in the other villages.

Four black velvet robes are required for the chiefs of Bakloan as a recompense for the zeal they have shown of their own accord in the service of the Church and school, and to encourage them to continue to do so. The names of the four chiefs are Takavier, Tirasou, Gavail, and Tavadingh.

After leaving Bakloan, we arrived at Soulang. Here we found a Church building one hundred and sixty-five feet long, by thirty-six broad; also a very convenient school for the young natives, with a dwelling-house eighty-five feet broad by . . . for the catechists, Willem Elberts and Hans Olhoff. These buildings are situated in the middle of the village, and were erected by the inhabitants, causing therefore no expense whatsoever to the Company.

We then visited the village, and took down and destroyed the idols which were still fixed to their places of worship. We also conferred with the chiefs, recommending them to be zealous in admonishing all the inhabitants under their rule to appear without exception to-morrow at Church, and as a beginning, to listen with deference to the proclamation of the Sabbath, and to the teaching from the Word of God.

7 February 1638. We visited the school and found a hundred and forty-five children in attendance, who have already made fair progress in repeating the Christian prayers and in the catechism. The firing of muskets, which is a sign that the inhabitants must repair to Church, followed. One thousand three hundred persons were present, and the Sabbath as a day of rest was proclaimed. A sermon was delivered by Mr. Junius, in which he spoke of the true and living God. To this sermon the natives listened in a most orderly manner and with due deference.

After the sermon, their own chiefs in our presence declared that from henceforth the people were to desist from all lewdness and fornication; that the women when pregnant should no longer practise abortion; and that polygamy, which is most shamefully practised, should be done away with. Further, that the men should cover their nakedness, and henceforth live as Christians and not as beasts. All the people listened to these words in a respectful, humble way.

The Soulang chiefs are six in number, namely Daveya, Aravang, Tikaropo, Tilach, Didingh, and Valongey. They are all very zealous in the service of their churches and everything pertaining thereto. One of them pressingly

invited us to his house, and on arriving there, we were pleasantly surprised at being presented with food prepared according to the Dutch manner. After this repast, we left Mattau by way of Bakloan, where one of the chiefs named Tirassou lay very ill. On arriving, we were told by a Chinese who lived in one of the Takareindian villages, that one of the serfs of Sakam, belonging to the Company, had taken flight, and while hiding in the villages already mentioned, had been caught and killed by one of the inhabitants. The chiefs now declared themselves ready to inflict the same punishment on the perpetrator of this murder, provided they first obtained the consent or order of the Company to do so.

Lastly, Mr. Junius and Mr. Livius proposed that the following persons should either be advanced in rank, or have their salaries increased; namely, Hans Olhoff in Soulang who has now *f*26 a month, Jan Pieterzoon in Mattau *f*16 a month, Caesar van Winschoten in Sinkan ten *guilders*, and Lambert Simons in Bakloan also ten *guilders*, a month. All these are schoolmasters, and are in possession of excellent testimonials. They also proposed that the orphans coming from Batavia, namely Jan Wesevelt, Pieter Muldert, and Anthony Crieq, should receive some assistance.

In Mattau and Bakloan, two small cannons instead of bells, are required to call the people to Church on Sunday. . . .

In Tavakan, containing four hundred souls, . . . boys attend the school. According to Mr. Junius, the work of the Lord is progressing very fairly in this place. He also says that Carolus Agricola shows much more zeal than he did before, and now gives much satisfaction. Mr. Junius abides by his intention to preach here on Sunday next as well as at Sinkan.

8 February 1638. I resumed my journey from Sinkan to Tayouan.

(Signed) CORN. FEDDER.

24 February 1638. On his arrival from Sinkan, Mr. Junius communicated the following. . . . He further says that the school opened in Pangsoia with the object of encouraging young natives, is not attended; but, on the contrary, is regarded with much indifference. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Tapouliang have earnestly requested that a Dutchman should be sent to them who could act as schoolmaster. They offer to build suitable school buildings in that village. Mr. Junius also informs us that lately the inhabitants of Tivorang have been at Sinkan, urgently requesting that one or two Dutchmen be sent to instruct them in the true doctrine of Jesus Christ.

13 March 1638. On 10th instant Governor van der Burg ordered Rev. R. Junius, Rev. Gerardus Livius, and the factor Coenraet Salomons to proceed to Tapouliang, as the inhabitants had most urgently requested us to open a school in that place. To-day they returned, reporting that, on their arrival in Tapouliang, the people had declared their willingness to build a suitable school and a house for the use of the catechist, and that the work could very soon be finished. This village is very populous, much more so than the villages of Mattau and Soulang, about . . . The parents offered to send their children to school. . . . Abortion, which was formerly practised to a frightful extent in the

northern villages, was not practised in Tapouliang. To make a beginning, they had left the catechist Willem Elberts there, with the object of opening a school.

23 March 1638. To-day Governor van der Burg, accompanied by some councillors of the factory and a guard of forty soldiers, leaves overland for Tapouliang, one of the Takareliangian villages, which are among those we have recently united under our sway in the south. To make a beginning, we had opened a school there, as we had done with so much success, God be praised, in the northern villages. But they did not go simply to inspect the school. They also wished to see the village itself, to find out how it was situated, what was the disposition of the inhabitants and the condition of their rice plantations, and what measures were necessary for its future government.

27 March 1638. To-day the Governor and those who accompanied him, returned from the village of Tapouliang, whither they had repaired on 23rd instant. They visited the school and found everything in good order.

12 April 1638. To-day Governor van der Burg returned from the northern villages of Soulang and Mattau. At the request of the clergyman Junius, he had proceeded on the 10th instant to those villages, accompanied by a bodyguard of forty soldiers. He personally inspected the commencement of the holy work which the Christian Church had begun among the heathen of those places. At Soulang, one thousand three hundred, and at Mattau, more than two thousand persons, had come together to hear Mr. Junius preach the Word of God, listening to him with great deference, humility, and obedience. The Governor, praise be God, found everything in good order.

3 May. To-day Governor van der Burg received a communication from the catechist Willem Elberts, residing at Tapouliang. He informs the Governor that the number of children attending the school remains much the same as when it was first opened, and that the elders, who are much inclined to intoxication, do not evince that degree of zeal in the welfare of the school, and in the desired extension of the Church of God, which they promised to do. It will therefore be necessary, while urging and inciting them to fulfil their bounden duty, to censure them severely.

He further relates that, not long ago, there was great danger of a bloody encounter between the inhabitants of Tapouliang on one side, and the people of Favorlang, assisted by the men of Calivolivong, on the other. Both parties had armed themselves and had already taken the field to fight, when the said catechist was informed of the state of things. He hastened to the scene, and by placing himself between the two parties, happily prevented them from coming to blows. He insisted on their ceasing hostilities if they did not wish to incur the supreme displeasure of the highest authorities, for as unfaithful allies and breakers of the peace, they ran the risk of being punished. They, fearing the consequences of this displeasure, laid down their arms. The whole quarrel arose from some slight misunderstanding.

Lastly, he informs us that, a few days ago, the chiefs of some villages or bandits lying among the mountains, called Talkavus, Cabiangan, Caborongan,

Vangasou, Rarukduk, and Takumub, requested the aforementioned catechist that they might be permitted to live, as they desired, at peace with the Company, and be regarded and acknowledged as allies. As a token that their desire is granted, and is confirmed by you, he requests us to send each chief a velvet robe and the flag, as has been done in the case of other villages which are now living under our sway.

29 May. Renewed the placard issued by Governor Putmans about keeping the Sabbath; and in conformity therewith have expressly prohibited every one, the Dutch as well as the Chinese without any exception, from exercising any handicraft during the time of the sermon, much more from retailing any beer, on penalty of confiscation; all of which is expressly stated in the aforesaid placard.

37. Governor van der Burg to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Tayouan, 12 December 1637. . . . With the approbation of our Council, we left on 17 November last for the villages of Soulang and Mattau, in company with the two clergymen Robertus Junius and G. Livius, and with an escort of seventy-five soldiers as a bodyguard. For it had been the urgent and repeated request of the inhabitants of these villages that we should be present and witness the casting away of their idols, whereby they testified that they would then begin to serve the only true and living God. This took place, first at Soulang on 19th instant, and then at Mattau on the 20th, on which occasions the elders addressed those present in name of all the inhabitants in the following words:—‘The Governor has now personally appeared among us as an everlasting memorial to our children and our children’s children, that on this day we have cast away our idols as a sure and certain sign that, in the presence of His Excellency, we have sworn to forsake our gods and declared ourselves willing to be instructed by these venerable clergymen in the true doctrine of Jesus Christ; which doctrine we promise to implant in the hearts of our children, whom we pledge to send regularly to school. This we here promise to do and perform, in all sincerity and without dissimulation, in the presence of the before-mentioned Governor.

‘Hereby, too, we solemnly renew the oath of fidelity which we have sworn to the State of the Netherlands, having received the assurance that, if we prove ourselves obedient subjects, we shall be permitted to gather our rice and carry on our work under the wings of our Netherlands father—the protecting care of the Dutch Government.’

Thereafter the Rev. Mr. Junius preached a sermon in the Sinkan tongue; in which he said that, from henceforth, the people should no more remember the idols they had cast away, that they should raise their hearts to heaven, whence cometh all good. All this he said to our edification, and to the honour of God.

Having remained till the sermon was ended, we again set out for Tayouan; which place we reached on the 21st of the same month, to find everything affecting the Company in good order. Your most humble servant,

JAN VAN DER BURG.

38. Governor van der Burg to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Tayouan, 17 October 1638. . . . Having communicated the foregoing to you, we now desire to speak of the duties which the clergymen have to discharge. We thank you sincerely for having sent out to us the Rev. Mr. Schotanus, whom we welcomed in much love on his arrival here by the *Zeelandia*.

We requested the brethren to give us their opinion as to the best place in which Schotanus could serve the Church of God, and any further advice in the matter. Thereon the Rev. Messrs. Junius, Livius, and Schotanus appeared before us in the Council, expressing the desire that Mr. Schotanus might be appointed to assist Mr. Junius in Sinkan, where he would acquire a knowledge of the language, and at the same time be employed in the work of converting the heathen; so that, should Mr. Junius depart or any other contingency arise, he might have acquired the necessary experience to take his place. We ourselves, and the members of Council, considered that as the Rev. Gerardus Livius was officiating as clergyman of this community, the services of Schotanus were not required here; and we therefore resolved to send him to Sinkan, where he could be instructed by Mr. Junius in the language and be rendered fit for the work of converting the heathen. Your Excellency very justly observes that he is yet but a youth, very fond of company and what is connected with it. We trust that our admonitions and the lack of company in Sinkan will do him some good, and lead him to abandon such a gay life; but we fear this will require time. Meanwhile we hope things may turn out for the best.

It has also been decided that Josephus Balbiaen shall be appointed to assist Mr. Junius; so that, through the example of his conduct and excellent life, he may render eminent services in the work of converting the heathen.

We have decided, too, that Pieter Janss, coming from Swol, shall be appointed to assist Hans Olhoff residing in Soulang, and to send one Adriaen Bastiaens—whom we took from the vessel *Broncoort*—to Tapouliang.

We believe that we may now consider ourselves well supplied with clergymen and catechists who will be able to do all the Church work required in this community, and also attend to the conversion of the heathen, so that nothing more could be done even if you sent additions to our staff. In the meantime, we desire to thank you for your paternal care, and pray without ceasing that the great Builder will give His abundant blessing on the work, so that the labour on this house of the Lord may progress and prosper, to His own honour and the conversion of these poor erring heathen, so that our Lord and shepherd Jesus Christ may rejoice at many mourning souls being brought unto Him. . . .

Mr. Junius had not expected such a communication from us, although we had warned him beforehand in so paternal a manner, from which it appears that man does not perceive his faults till it is too late. His trial is all the greater seeing that he feels himself very weak, having been for more than six months a prey to tertian fever. We do not doubt but that as he recovers we

shall be able to persuade him to remain two years more. Truly he is a most useful instrument in the conversion of the heathen.

The condition of the territory united under our rule, taking everything into consideration, is prosperous, and daily many villages are brought by our residents in the north and south of this island under the control of the Company. Less important matters can be adjusted by exercising a proper measure of discretion, and important matters do not arise, so that we have no reason to have recourse to hostile measures. Your most humble servant,

JAN VAN DER BURG.

39. From the Tayouan Account-Book.—The following is a statement made by Rev. R. Junius of moneys received from the sale of hunting licenses and of outlay made from those receipts on behalf of the villages of Soulang, Mattau, Bakloan, Tevorang, Tavakan, but more especially of Sinkan, from November 1638 till October 1639—as entered in the Account-Book at Tayouan.¹ In connection with these accounts, it should be remembered that, as we could not obtain any *cangans* (a kind of garment), rice was given to those who attended the schools at Soulang, Mattau, Bakloan, Tavakan, and Sinkan. Seeing that the children were poor and needy, each was allowed one-eighth of a *real* monthly, in the hope that this gift would induce the parents to keep them out of the fields by sending them to school, and encourage the children themselves to greater punctuality and diligence in their class work. Accordingly, each child received half a *picul* of rice during three months, beginning with October last, as follows:—

¹ As regards the *real*-of-eight, that is, eight shillings Dutch (one Dutch shilling being equal to sixpence) a word of explanation may be useful. When the Dutch arrived in India, they found that Spanish and Portuguese coins were in general circulation, and that great preference was given to the silver *reals*, which were taken at a higher rate, seeing that the silver they contained had more value in India than in Spain or Holland. Jan Huygen of Linschoten had already taught our seamen that they could realise a profit of forty *per cent.* on the Spanish *reals*, at that time so well known in India; and when Houtman visited Bantam, he introduced a great quantity of silver money; while Van Nek, Heemskerck, and others preferred to introduce Spanish *reals*. In consequence, however, of the eighty years' war between Holland and Spain, communication with India became very difficult, and the supply of *reals* diminished proportionately; for which reason the Amsterdam 'Compagnie van Verre,' in the year 1600, presented a petition to the States of Holland, in which permission was requested to coin some Indian pieces, so that the want of Spanish *reals* might be supplied. The States of Holland granted this request, and made an agreement with the 'Compagnie van Verre' as to the alloy which these coins were to contain, an express condition being attached that they were never to be used as current money in Holland. These coins had the value of eight shillings Dutch (equal to four shillings English), and were to go by the name of *real*; this name being retained because the Indians were so familiar with it. In 1601 they were coined for the first time in Amsterdam; and smaller pieces, of the value of one-half, one-fourth, one-eighth, one-sixteenth, and one thirty-second, of a *real*, were coined at the same time.

To the Soulang school 65 <i>piculs</i> . This school is attended by 130 boys. The amount, reckoning the <i>picul</i> at $1\frac{1}{4}$ <i>reals</i> , is . . .	<i>Rls.</i> 81 $\frac{1}{4}$
To the Mattau school attended by 141 boys, 70 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>piculs</i> , amounting to . . .	88 $\frac{1}{8}$
To the Bakloan school with 87 boys, 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>piculs</i> . . .	54 $\frac{1}{8}$
To the Tavakan school 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>piculs</i> , amounting to . . .	26 $\frac{3}{8}$
To the Sinkan boys, 70 in number, each receiving 1 <i>picul</i> during six months, that is, from October to April 1639, . . .	87 $\frac{1}{2}$
On 16 November 1638, paid for the hire of a sampan, which conveyed the catechist Adrian Bastiaensen from Tapuliang with his goods, according to order of the Governor communicated to me through the Rev. Mr. Livius, . . .	6
During the months of October and November the catechist Merkinus spent for transporting the chattels of Lambert Simonsens and Jochem Tialks; for a cangan given to Lulug, and for liquor and candles, . . .	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Jan Pitersen spent at Mattau during October and November; for liquor, tobacco, and candles 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ <i>reals</i> ; for 500 bundles of paddy to feed the horses which remained overnight at Favorlang; and for rice, salt fish, and 2 small pigs for the Dutch and black servants who took care of the horses; all according to the accounts in his own handwriting, . . .	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hans Olhoff paid for a sampan in which the goods of Piter Jansen were transported, for liquor and candles, for provisions handed to the soldiers who had several times been at his station in the service of the Company, and for paddy given to the horse, . . .	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
The Governor made me a grant in money for November, December and January of 10 <i>reals</i> a month, making a total in three months of . . .	30
Hans Olhoff paid for transporting the goods of Mr. Balbiaen, and for sundry expenses in November and December, . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paid to Agricola for liquor and for making a window, . . .	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
On 1 January 1639, gave Willem Neer for attending so diligently to the horse, . . .	6
3 January. Sergeant Struis handed in his account, from which it appears that he paid for a jar of arrack given to the soldiers for their good services, . . .	$\frac{3}{4}$
Paid for provisions supplied to the soldiers who attended the magistrate to this place on the occasion of Rupeling being scourged, . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
For provisions given to the crew of the sampan, . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$
Paid sampan for the soldiers who went from Sakam to Favorlang, . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$
Paid sergeant for a pig slaughtered for his soldiers when the Governor was here, . . .	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Paid sampan that brought the money required for salaries and soldiers' pay in January, . . .	1
On 6 January, Jan Blankert of Tevorang handed in his account. He paid for four jars of cheap arrack, for two catties of tobacco, and for four staves given to the chiefs of that place, . . .	2 $\frac{1}{4}$

On 8 January settled with Lampak. His charges are as follows :
Two cangans to buy some thin bamboo to be used in making a sail for the junk; and two more given to the natives who carried Mr. Lambert's goods from Bakloan to Tavakan, total 4 cangans, *Rls.* 1½

For a cangan given to Vedado and one to Tarila for services rendered by them when they went to Favorlang, and for sticking plaster purchased from the surgeon, 1½

For 2 sampans that brought the money required in November and December to this place, 2

For a sampan in which I went to see the Directors on matters of business; for another that took Mr. Balbiaen's goods to Soulang; and for a third loaded with paddy-husk sent to Tayouan, according to the orders of the Governor, 2¼

For 2 sampans that brought the Favorlangians who came to make peace, ½

For paddy given to the horses which proceeded to Vovorolla, and on several other occasions since November, 300 bundles, 3

For Chinese beer when the Governor visited this place and at other times, 2½

Paid interpreter Siko, who went to Vovorolla in the service of the Company, and for his visit to Pangsoia, this not having been settled before, 6

One black silk turban given to Lapis, a Tevorangian, for services done, ¼

For 4 jars of arrack used since November, ½

For 81 cangans sent on 7 January to Tevorang to be distributed among the school-children for reasons already mentioned, at ⅔ each, 30⅔

Paid wages to the Chinese for deepening the cellar, pulling down the kitchen, and making some benches, in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Livius 1½

8 January. Paid to Jan Holthuisen, who, for seven months and with the approbation of the Governor, had attended to the school in addition to his other duties, 8

Extraordinary grant of money given to me for February, March, and April, 30

Jan of Mattau spent during December and January in liquor, tobacco and candles 3 *reals*, and in rice and other provisions for the soldiers who were with us when we preached there, half a *real*; making 3½

On 9 February settled with Lampak. He makes the following charges:—

Twenty cangans for the ground on which the church has been built, 8

One sampan that brought the soldiers' rations for February, 1

One robe presented to a chief in Dorko who had entertained us and who often went to and fro for us, 1

For paddy given to the horses which have been here several times,	<i>R/s.</i> $1\frac{1}{2}$
For deepening the well used by the soldiers, 4 days' wages,	$\frac{1}{2}$
Two sampans which transported the goods of the sergeant on leaving this place,	$1\frac{1}{2}$
For 250 candles used,	1
To the Chinese carpenter, occupied 2 days in repairing the small house,	$\frac{1}{2}$
In March, Jan Tambder handed in his account. He charges us with several payments which he has made during two successive years. To the villagers and soldiers who came down with us, he paid	23
Joost, according to the orders of the Governor, bought at Tayouan for the village of Takuvong, whose inhabitants sued for peace, two robes, one flag, and two staves, amounting to	$4\frac{1}{2}$
For five staves; of which one was given to the chief of Vovorolla, and one to the chief of Tirozen; the other 3 remaining on hand,	2
For 4 cangans given to several Sinkandians for sundry services they rendered, and to encourage them to serve us in future,	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Given to Davalak, the chief of Tirozen, who came here with his wife, one robe; and for liquor spent on that occasion,	$1\frac{1}{2}$
One pig slaughtered for the soldiers who accompanied the Governor to this place,	1
One sampan that brought the soldiers' rations for March,	1
Given to Sinkandians for pulling down the old house, two jars of cheap arrack and tobacco,	$\frac{3}{4}$
Two sampans in which we crossed the large river in company with the Governor, and which took us back again to Sinkan,	$\frac{1}{4}$
Given to the chiefs of Vovorolla, eight persons in all, who had not come to see us for a long time, one silk turban and a cangan each, as also one pig, and entertained them with liquor,	7
For Chinese beer given to soldiers who accompanied the Governor when he visited this place,	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Given to Joost when his house was finished, in honour of our nation and for the many good services he had rendered us, ten jars of cheap arrack, with which he treated the inhabitants,	$2\frac{1}{2}$
For 7 large jars which were fetched when the Governor was here last time,	$\frac{3}{4}$
For paddy given to the horses which had been here several times,	2
For 300 candles which we have had,	1
Hans Olhoff charged us with the following. In January, February, and March, he spent in tobacco, liquor, candles, paddy for the horse, expenses attending to the soldiers who accompanied me, and for carrying boats across the sandbank, also 4 jars of arrack for the chiefs, besides one cangan for Kalei, a chief,	$6\frac{1}{2}$
For four staves given to the chiefs of Soulang,	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Lambert Simonsen handed in his account on 2 April. During the	

months of December, January, February, and March, while giving evening instruction, he spent in candles to the amount of *Rls.* 1

11 April. Settled with Lampak. He had used in the month of March and 12 days of April, 300 candles, 1

Given to the people of Longkian, for several reasons when they were last here, one good cangan, and four ordinary ones to the servants of Lamlok, with one catty of tobacco. Total, $2\frac{1}{2}$

Paid to Kalei for cutting the straw under roof of the church, $\frac{1}{2}$

For killing a pig given to soldiers who accompanied the Governor, 2

For strong liquor given on the same occasion, $2\frac{1}{4}$

For one sampan which brought the money required for April, for another which brought down the chattels of Mr. Schotanus when he left Sinkan, and for a third which brought down Mr. Livius, who became ill when he went to Mattau to hear us preach, 3

For paddy given to the horses on several occasions, $1\frac{1}{2}$

Merkinius has spent, according to his account, in the months of December, January, and February, for liquor, tobacco, candles for the use of the evening school, for a table in the school, and for 4 new windows, 5

Paid Jan in Mattau. According to his account handed to us at the beginning of May, he has spent during February, March, and April, in arrack, candles, and tobacco, for two pigs when he entertained the chiefs, and for making six windows in the house, $8\frac{3}{4}$

On 10 May gave to Dika for his excellent services rendered to us here and in other villages, 3

On 18 May paid to Jan Blankert for his expenses in Tevorang; from January to June 1 *real* per month, and for extraordinary expenses $1\frac{1}{2}$ *reals*. Total, $6\frac{1}{2}$

On same day settled with Lampak. He declares that he advanced to Willem Neer as extra pay for attending to the horse, 4

For a staff given to an inhabitant of Tossavang, $\frac{1}{2}$

Given to a Sinkandian (who was sent to Mattau) one cangan, one to Tapitas, who is blind and needy; one to the surgeon, and one for bamboo required to make palisades, $1\frac{1}{2}$

Slaughtered a pig when His Excellency was here, $1\frac{1}{2}$

For 34 jars of arrack distributed among the soldiers, 4

For 300 candles burnt in April and May, 1

For a sampan which brought the money required for May, 1

Hire of a sampan when I went to speak with the Governor, $\frac{3}{4}$

Hire of a sampan which transported a sick man, $\frac{3}{4}$

Hire of a sampan in the service of the Fiscal; of one which took Robijn across, and of another which conveyed the Governor to the river; making altogether 1

For paddy given to the horses, 2

Garments distributed among the children attending school, who

had received nothing since October 1638: in Sinkan 70, in Bakloan 87, in Tavakan 43, in Mattau 146, and in Soulang 130; total 476 garments, each of which cost $\frac{3}{8}$ of a *real*. Total, *Rls.* 195 $\frac{1}{2}$

Extraordinary grant in money given to me in May, June, and July, 10 *reals* per month, 30

Paid in June for rice given to Vagiau, who is very poor, $\frac{3}{8}$ of a *real* and one cangan to a native of Vovorolla, who brought a letter to this place, $\frac{3}{4}$

Hire of a sampan in which Rev. C. Agricola at Easter went to Tayouan and returned, after having preached there, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Paid for one *picul* of paper for the use of the schools, 6

For candles used, 1

For the hire of 2 sampans in which I went on two different occasions to speak with the Governor on matters of business, hire of a sampan that brought the money required for June, and of another which brought the mason here and took him back again. Total, 4

According to the orders of the Governor gave to the soldiers who accompanied him as a bodyguard when the house here was finished, 8 *reals*, and for a tree 3 *reals*, total 11

For 80 bundles of paddy given to the horses, $\frac{3}{4}$

On 29 June paid to Chinese carpenter for making four benches for use of the children learning to write, $\frac{3}{4}$

July. Hire of a sampan which brought the money required for July, 1

Hire of another sampan which took me to the residence of the Governor, on which occasion I spoke to him about my leaving the island, and pointed out how desirable it was that the Rev. Mr. Livius should learn the native language, 1

On 10 July paid to Lampak for some cotton stuff given to Dika for his services, 2

Hire of a sampan which took me to the Governor's when I spoke to him about the incendiary in Bakloan, 1

For candles used, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Arrack for the use of this place; of which, however, Joost took a part when he went to Sotenau to sell licenses in that place, 1

12 July. Hire of a sampan which transported a sick soldier, 1

25 July. Hire of 2 sampans which fetched 2 jars of arrack which was required here from time to time, 1

For provisions given to the people of Favorlang who came here, $\frac{1}{4}$

August. Hire of a sampan which brought the money required for August, and of one I went to see the Governor in, to confer about the house which had suffered from the storm, 2

Grant or donation given me in August and September, 20

9 August. Distributed among the children attending the school in Sinkan 68 garments, 25 $\frac{1}{2}$

Given to Takarei for his services teaching others in the school,	<i>Rls.</i> 2
Hire of a sampan which transported a soldier and his chattels from Tayouan,	$\frac{3}{4}$
Paid to Charel the cook for different things he had advanced to several Favorlangians,	1
Hire of a sampan in which the farmer-servant of Traudenius left, and in which one of the soldiers returned,	1
23 August. Paid to the corporal for provisions—such as rice, meat and bacon—given to the soldiers who had been here several times with the Governor, coming from Takousan (Tayouan?),	3
The same when the president was here on 28 February,	$\frac{1}{2}$
Paid to the Chinese smith for arrack, tobacco, and rice which he gave to the natives of Tevorang, who brought the chattels of Blankert to this place,	$\frac{3}{4}$
Paid to Sinkandians for making privies,	$\frac{3}{4}$
For a sampan in which the catechist Cornelis, who was ill, left this place,	$\frac{3}{4}$
22 August. Paid for a sampan that took me to the residence of the Governor, as I had to speak to him about several matters,	1
For a sampan which took the Rev. C. Agricola back to Tavakan, after he had been desired to visit this place,	$\frac{3}{4}$
Given as alms to the people of Sinkan—who are now very poor—for sundry services they rendered us, 25 sacks of rice, which Joost distributed among them on 29 August,	30
29 August. Given to Caesar in Tevorang for the months of June, July, and August, one <i>real</i> ; and for necessary expenses incurred at Taglemei, half a <i>real</i> . Total,	$3\frac{1}{2}$
9 September. For a sampan which brought the money required for September,	1
Same day. For a sampan when I sent to speak about Schotanus, who was to be suspended from his office,	1
On the following day, distributed among children attending the school at Tavakan 34 garments,	$12\frac{3}{4}$
18 September. Hire of a sampan when I went to pay my respects to the Commission,	1
Paid for two jars of cheap arrack given to the natives who cut down the bamboo before our house,	$\frac{1}{2}$

Making a grand total of *Rls.* 1004 $\frac{3}{4}$

ROBERTUS JUNIUS.

40. Receipts from the sale of licenses [by Rev. R. Junius] to catch deer by means of snares, from October 1638 till March 1639—each license costing one real per month.

The Chinese Songo has hunted with thirty persons in the Tiroseennian fields from 8 October to 8 November. He was, however, chased away from those fields by the Favorlangians, but he purchased again 35 licenses, with which he hunted from 22 December to 22 January. Thus there was produced

Rls. 65

Theiting purchased 30 licenses and hunted in the Tiroseennian fields from 8 October to 8 November. He also was chased away; but he began again on 22 December and continued hunting till 8 February, for which time the amount for licenses sold to him was 45 *reals*; which, with the former 30, make 75 *reals*. He then returned 12 licenses. The remaining 18 he kept till 18 February, and gave for them 6 *reals*, so that the total amount received from Theiting is

81

Jan Soetekau, for hunting in the Tiroseennian fields. He took 20 licenses running from 8 October to 18 January, that is, 3 months and 10 days; the amount being 67 *reals*. He also took six licenses dated 15 October, which he kept 3 months, making 18 *reals*. Total amount,

85

Sapsiko took 20 licenses to hunt from 8 October to 8 November in the Tiroseennian fields. He was chased from them by the inhabitants; but began to hunt again on 12 December and continued till 19 February, which two months and 7 days amount to 45 *reals*; and this, added to the former 20, makes a total of

65

Schitko purchased 20 licenses to hunt in the Tiroseennian fields from 11 October to 11 November; amount 20 *reals*. He, too, was chased away by the inhabitants. He began again on 22 December and continued hunting till 8 February; which amounts, during one and a half months, to 30 *reals*. He then paid 50 *reals*, and received 8 licenses, but kept 12, which were dated 8 February. He kept them till 26 March, amounting to 10 *reals*; so that he paid in all

60

Sold to Gwitsick 10 licenses. He hunted in the Tiroseennian fields from 11 October to 11 March, and took 8 licenses more from 12 December to 12 January. Total,

58

Given to Kokong 20 licenses from 14 October to 14 January, that is, for a space of 3 months,

60

Sold to Kokong on 13 December 10 licenses, permitting him to hunt in the Soulangian fields. He kept them $3\frac{1}{2}$ months,

35

He also kept a license dated 14 January, which was returned on the last day of March. For those $2\frac{1}{2}$ months he paid

$2\frac{1}{2}$

Jauchijm had 25 licenses and hunted from 21 October to 21 February, amount 100 *reals*. On 14 February he returned 14 licenses and kept 11, beginning with 22 February. These he kept till 22 April, amount 22 *reals*, so that he paid

122

Jauchijm took 10 licenses on behalf of Theitiau, beginning 22 January. He kept them $3\frac{1}{2}$ months. Total amount, . . .	Rls. 35
To Thetia 25 licenses to hunt in the Tيروسennian fields from 21 October to 21 January, a space of 3 months, for which he paid . . .	75
Sold to Zinkik 25 licenses to hunt in the same fields from 25 October to 25 January, amount 75 <i>reals</i> . Then he returned 10 and kept 15, with which he hunted for 2 months, from 25 January to 25 March; amount 30 <i>reals</i> . With the former 75 <i>reals</i> this makes . . .	105
To Suia 4 licenses, with which he hunted during 1 month, . . .	4
To Watbang 14 licenses to hunt in the Tيروسennian fields from 11 November to 26 January, $2\frac{1}{2}$ months; making . . .	35
To Tongo 5 licenses, from 22 December to 22 April, . . .	20
To Tinsiak 13 licenses to hunt in the Tيروسennian fields from 14 December to 14 April; that is, a space of 4 months. In all he paid . . .	52
To Watbang 12 licenses from 25 December to 25 January, amount 12 <i>reals</i> . He returned 4 and kept 8, valid from 25 January to 5 February; which, added to the other 12, made together . . .	15
To Lakko sold 10 licenses for hunting in the Tيروسennian fields from 3 to 18 January; that is, during half a month, . . .	5
To Sinco 12 licenses, permitting him to hunt in the Takareiandian fields from 13 February to 2 March; that is, during half a month. He returned 8, and kept 4 from 2 March to 2 May. Amount, . . .	14
To Kastvat 5 licenses to hunt in the Soulangian fields from 19 March to 19 April, a space of one month, making . . .	5

The following persons have hunted in the Favorlangian fields:—

Sold to Saptia 25 licenses from 25 October to 10 November; that is, half a month. Being chased away by the inhabitants, he began again to hunt on 22 December and continued till 22 February; that is, during 2 months. He kept 2 licenses during 2 months and some days, and thus paid a total of . . .	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sold to Swantai 10 licenses, dated 25 October. He hunted half a month, but was chased from the fields, till he worked again from 22 December till 22 January. He had also 2 licenses from 22 January to 22 February. Total, . . .	17
To Simkoi 40 licenses from 26 October to 10 November; that is, for the space of half a month. He was then obliged to flee. On 22 December he began again and continued hunting till 22 January, with 34 licenses. Amount, . . .	54
Sold to Simsiang 20 licenses from 26 October to 10 November; that is, for the space of half a month. He too was obliged to flee, but began again on 22 December and continued hunting from that date till 22 January; amount 20 <i>reals</i> . He also hunted from 22 January to 5 February, or during the space of half a month. Then he bought 3 licenses from 5 to 22 February. In all . . .	41 $\frac{1}{2}$

Scheiang took 20 licenses from 26 October and kept them half a month, when he was obliged to flee. He began again to hunt on 12 December, having bought 20 licenses, which he kept during $1\frac{1}{2}$ months. All these different amounts make a total of . *Rls.* 55

To Sina 25 licenses from 22 December to 22 January, for which he paid . 25

To Bauwia 10 licenses from 22 December to 22 February; that is, for the space of 2 months, . 20

So that the sale of licenses for hunting deer with snares, from October 1638 to March 1639, produced . 1278 $\frac{1}{2}$

Your Honour is well aware that only 24 pitfalls were allowed during the two months in which the deer were hunted; because if we allowed any more, the deer would very soon totally disappear, the more so as the hinds were with young, and the latter would also perish with their dams. These 24 pitfalls produced every month 360 *reals*, each pit paying 15 *reals* a month. This multiplied by two, as hunting was not permitted any longer than two months, produced . 720

Add to this the amount obtained by the sale of licenses for catching deer by means of snares, so that the total amount received from October 1638 to May 1639 amounted to . *Rls.* 1998 $\frac{1}{2}$

41. From the Tayouan Day-Journal, 6-10 October 1639.—On 6 October, His Honour Governor van der Burg and Mr. Commissioner Couckebacker left on board a Chinese sampan for Sakam, situated on the mainland of Formosa, with the intention of going by land to visit the villages of Sinkan, Bakloan, Soulang, and Mattau. A company of 70 soldiers escorted them thither, in order to give more importance to their visit.

About noon they arrived in Sakam, and after a slight repast started on horseback for Sinkan. At some distance from that village, the Rev. Robertus Junius and the elders were waiting to welcome them, and accompanied them to the village and the residence of Mr. Junius. It was raining very fast, so that they could do very little indeed that day.

In Sinkan. On the 7th, at eight o'clock, all the inhabitants, men, women and children, young and old, assembled in the Church. Instead of bells being rung, three muskets are fired as a sign to come together. In presence of the honourable gentlemen, Mr. Junius preached in the Sinkan language, and the natives devoutly listened to him.

After the sermon, Mr. Junius called together all the inhabitants and the Lameyers who dwell there outside the gate of his house, and informed them in the name of the Governor that His Honour was much pleased with their zeal and readiness in adopting the only true saving Christian faith. The Governor, he said, admonished them to strive to attain to greater perfection and not to slacken in their zeal; for their faith would give them not only much peace in this life, but also eternal joy in the life hereafter. His Excellency the Governor-general would also rejoice exceedingly to hear through

the medium of his delegate the Honourable Commissioner, whom he had purposely sent to inquire, of their obedience and submission. Mr. Junius added many other admonitions.

The eldest or chief of the village thereon spoke to the inhabitants, and earnestly admonished them to take to heart the words of the Governor. For they all surely knew, he said, how visibly they had been blessed by God since they had inclined their hearts to the Christian faith. They should therefore persevere, and not deviate from the right way; more and more would they then experience the mercy of God.

Thereon, while the rest were sent home, the elders and principal men of the village, with their wives, were called in, and each received from the Commissioner a Paris ring. Immediately after, they returned home, feeling grateful and very much pleased.

In the afternoon, Their Honours rode to Bakloan. Some of the elders, carrying the Prince's flag, came out to meet the Governor and Commissioner about a quarter of a mile from the village, and welcomed them, presenting them with sirih pinang. About two hours before sunset they arrived in the village, and went to the house of the catechist Andreas Merkinus, where the remaining elders immediately made their appearance to welcome Their Honours.

At sunset, about ninety of the inhabitants assembled before the house of the aforementioned catechist, in order to be examined in his presence in the things they had learnt from two of the inhabitants who were employed as schoolmasters, and who were fairly fitted for that task. Mr. Junius declares that the inhabitants meet together of their own accord for this purpose every evening. They were very prompt in their answers to the questions put to them concerning the chief principles of the Christian faith, and showed much aptitude in their reading of the prayers. At the close of the examination each person returned to his own home.

Early on the 8th, a great number of the inhabitants of the village again assembled in the same place, and requested Mr. Junius to examine them to see if they were fit to receive holy baptism. The clergyman did so, and found they gave so excellent answers to all the questions put, that he wrote down the names of a number of those he promised to baptize after sermon. The baptism of the others he delayed till another opportunity should present itself.

Shortly after, three muskets were fired as a signal for the people to come to church. In a very short time they assembled; and after having preached to them, Mr. Junius baptized fifty-eight persons, men as well as women, and dedicated them to the service of the Lord Jesus Christ.

After they had finished the work that was to be done there, lieutenant Riviere was ordered to proceed in advance with the soldiers to Soulang. In the meantime, the Governor and the Commissioner dined at the house of the abovementioned catechist, and afterwards set out on horseback for that village. The heat was so very great, that many of the soldiers, who had marched on

in advance, were lying along the road, having been overcome by the heat. They were immediately removed into the shade, where they might recover.

While Their Honours were resting under some trees, about an hour's distance from Soulang, the catechist and elders of the village came out to welcome them, and accompanied them to the village. As darkness was already setting in, they could not do much that evening, except send out some of the inhabitants to inquire about the soldiers who had been left behind.

Early on the 9th, we heard from the Soulangians, who were sent out the day before, that two of the soldiers had died during the night, our informants having remained with them all night. The death of those fellow-countrymen was probably caused by their drinking much water with too great avidity. Immediately a party of soldiers was sent back to bury them, before the beasts of prey seized their bodies.

Mr. Junius preached here, about one thousand and four or five hundred persons, men and women, assembling to hear him. At the close, twenty-six persons were baptized on their giving correct answers to all the questions of Mr. Junius on the principal articles of the Christian faith.

This solemnity having been concluded, the elders called the inhabitants together and admonished them that they ought now to think of their salvation, to treasure up in their hearts what Mr. Junius had preached to them, and to show in all their actions that they did not disregard the goodness God had shown by delivering them from darkness and idolatry, but appreciated it as true Christians.

After having done all that was necessary, Their Honours continued their journey to Mattau. Half-way to that place they came to the broad river of Mattau, where the elders of Sinkan, Bakloan, and Soulang, who had till now followed and accompanied Their Honours, took leave of them and returned to their respective homes.

After they had crossed the river in a couple of Chinese sampans, and the horses had been brought over to the other side, Their Honours were welcomed by some people of Mattau, who had brought the Prince's flag and their sirih pinang with them. Thereupon they mounted their horses, and arrived about noon in Mattau, where they were welcomed by the elders.

After divine service had been held, eight persons were baptized, having been first examined in the principal points of the Christian faith, as had been also done in the other villages.

Having dined, the Governor admonished the principal chiefs of Mattau to persevere in their obedience to the State of the Netherlands, while the Commissioner presented each with a small ring. They then took leave of them and rode to the river Wankan, at which they arrived towards the evening. Here they found a number of Chinese sampans, on which they and the soldiers embarked, and sailed down the river.

On 10 October the Governor and the Commissioner spent the morning in inspecting the redoubt called Flushing, and towards evening they again embarked and proceeded to Tayouan. When about half-way the sampans had to be

carried over a sandbank, and here they were informed by Captain Joan van Linga that the Rev. Gerardus Livius had peacefully passed away in the Lord.

On the 11th, about three hours before sunrise, they arrived quite safely, God be praised, at the castle Zeelandia.

42. From Governor van der Burg to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Tayouan, 4 November 1639. . . . On returning from the southern parts to the north, I travelled in company with the before-mentioned Commissioner Couckebacker to the villages of Sinkan, Bakloan, Soulang, and Mattau, in order to inform myself by personal inspection of the state of matters.

We found the work of the conversion of the heathen by the Rev. R. Junius and the catechists much advanced and progressing very favourably. For wherever Mr. Junius spoke the inhabitants in great numbers earnestly listened to the preaching of God's holy Word, while the parents had their children diligently taught in the principles of the Christian religion. Twice a week they received religious instruction at school; on the other days they are taught reading and writing. Some of them can repeat fluently the morning and evening prayers, the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, and the articles of faith; making confession of their belief in such a way as would put many a Christian to shame. They keep the Sabbath very strictly, and allow no one to go into the fields that day to labour. Many of them are so versed in prayer that they could pray aloud extemporarily on whatever subject was proposed. When they go out hunting they first kneel down, and one of the most intelligent among them prays aloud to God to give them success in their hunting expedition; and they are already so sincere in their faith as to feel convinced that, without such prayer, they will not be successful. In the same way they also pray for a plentiful crop, kneeling down in their fields, with much fervour.

Trustworthy statements show the population of the villages to be:—

In SINKAN there are 1047 souls, men, women and children who are baptized members of the Church of Christ; of whom one hundred and fifty-four men are able to bear arms, and one hundred and nineteen couples are married according to our rites. The catechist Joost, who is married to a Sinkan woman, resides there, and with him Mr. Junius is much satisfied.

In BAKLOAN there are 1000 souls. Of these, one hundred and fifty are able to bear arms, two hundred and sixty persons are baptized, and eighty-seven are schoolchildren; twelve of the latter now receiving instruction in penmanship, so as to fit them for becoming schoolmasters. The catechist Merkinus is stationed there. He is married to a Dutchwoman, and shows great zeal in his vocation.

In SOULANG there are 2600 souls; of whom five hundred men are able to bear arms, and two hundred and eighty-two persons are baptized. Four native schoolmasters reside there, to instruct their own people; and one hundred and thirty children attend school, some of whom can read and write.

In MATTAU there are 3000 souls; of whom two hundred and fifteen persons are baptized, while one hundred and forty children come to school. Two catechists, Jan and Jan Symonsz, live there, who also perform the duties entrusted to them in a satisfactory manner.

In TAVAKAN there are 1000 souls, collected from the villages of Tavalikan, Teopan, and Tagupta; and there are thirty-eight schoolchildren under charge of the catechist Carolus Agricola.

These form a total of 8647 souls.

After having made the necessary arrangements, we desired Mr. Junius to tell them that Your Excellency had sent the Commissioner to inquire about their conduct, that he had found them very zealous in their religious duties, and wished them to continue so; but especially, that they should remain loyal and faithful to the Netherlands; which latter exhortation they promised faithfully to obey if the Commissioner would only give Your Excellency a good account of them. On his promising to do so, they seemed to be quite satisfied. They then prepared to regale us in their usual way, but we excused ourselves by saying that we were obliged to depart. From all these circumstances, it is evident that we can obtain from these people the services we may require; with which assurance, it will be well for us to be quite content.

We did not visit Tevorang—where there is a large school—as the road was impassable; but we were told that the conduct of the inhabitants is satisfactory. So also is that of the people of Favorlang, who, since they were last attacked and punished, have remained submissive to the State of the Netherlands.

In addition, the Commissioner will give you the names of several villages, situated in the north and among the mountains, which live on a footing of peace with the Company. . . .

We have ordered the account of the *paccan* hunting, kept by Mr. Junius, to be inserted in the books of the Company, dating it from the last day of September.

From 24 pitfalls, the use of which has been granted to the Chinese and other inhabitants of this place during two months, from February to April 1639, at 15 *reals* per month each, *Rls.* 720

From licenses to hunt with snares, granted to 1278 persons during one month, and to one person during half a month, at one *real* each *per* month, 1278½

Total proceeds from hunting licenses, 1998½

From this sum must be deducted different expenses charged by Mr. Junius for the distribution of 270 *piculs* of paddy, and 659 cangans, given to encourage the school-children of Sinkan, Bakloan, Soulang, Mattau, and elsewhere; further, eleven months' salary for his political duties, payment of sampans, freights, *etc.*, 1004¾

So that the net surplus remaining in the hands of Mr. Junius, and placed, according to Your Excellency's orders, to his account and to the credit of the office of Tayouan, is, as Your Excellency will be able

to see more clearly from the enclosed specified Accounts signed by the
aforementioned Junius, *Rls. 993 $\frac{3}{4}$*

As to the clergymen, Your Excellency will be pleased to learn that the Rev. Robertus Junius has shown himself a zealous servant of the Church of God; one who devotes himself with heart and soul to the work of converting the heathen. It is very desirable that he should remain some years longer among us. He intends to request Your Excellency to relieve him next year from his duties here; but I am still of opinion that he will not leave his flock in such circumstances, but will remain perhaps two years longer from this date.

The clergyman Geraldus Livius, after having spent some considerable time in learning the Sinkan tongue, and having become, according to the reports of Mr. Junius, tolerably proficient therein, did good service to the community here by his preaching; but he passed away from this world on 10 October. The clergyman Junius was therefore obliged to come over to this place every week to conduct the service; inasmuch as Schotanus, agreeably to the advice of the brethren, had been suspended from office and deprived meanwhile of pay and rations by the Council, on account of bringing discredit on the Church of God and giving offence to the community by his debauched life. On this subject, Your Excellency will please consult the resolution passed by the Council on 7 September.

Schotanus being meanwhile kept confined in his house, requested some friends to intercede for him, and sent a letter to the Commissioner begging that one more trial should be given him. He promised that he would behave in future as behoved a godly clergyman, and said that he repented most sincerely of his misdemeanour. Moreover, Mr. Junius pleaded for him, and declared that the service at this place, in addition to that at Sinkan, would be too great a burden for one man. For these reasons, the matter was again taken into consideration by the Council.

However, the report given of him after his confinement induced the Council not to enter further into his case; but to rid themselves of him, and send him back—suspended from office and deprived of his pay—to Your Excellency, as they judged he could not be of any further service to the Church of God and the community here, after having committed such serious offences. The Council more readily came to this resolution, because Your Excellency had given orders that he should be sent back by the first ship, if he could not be employed with advantage in the work of the conversion of the heathen. And we therefore now send him back, in order to rid the Church of this stain, and the Company of so useless a servant.

Mr. Junius hereupon promised to perform faithfully the service of the Church in Formosa, on condition that a certain catechist named Merkinus should receive further instruction with the view of becoming his assistant. And we ourselves have great hope that this catechist will be animated by the example of Junius, and walk in his footsteps. He has had a good education in Holland, is well acquainted with the language, and leads a very religious life,

as the late Mr. Livius also told me. We judge it to be better that the Church of God be served by pious persons, than by a clergyman who fancies he knows a great deal, but who is devoid of the spirit of true Christianity.

We fix our hopes not so much on Agricola as upon a catechist called Jan, who lives in Mattau, and who has been educated from his earliest youth by Mr. Junius. Further, there is the catechist Josephus Balbiaen, whose ship the *Banda*, when he was on his way out, lost her bearings and sailed past the island of Pehoe. He, also, leads a pious life. Thus, we believe, there will be no lack of persons fit to be employed in the glorious work of converting the heathen, without more clergymen being sent out; unless it pleased Your Excellency to send the Rev. G. Candidius as soon as he arrives from Holland, to relieve Mr. Junius; because that worthy pioneer, we can assure you, did good work here before. We refer you for other matters to the report of the Commissioner.
 . . . Your Excellency's obedient servant, JAN VAN DER BURG.

43. From Commissioner Nicolaas Couckebacker on his mission to Tonking and his visit to Formosa.—On board the *De Rijk*, 8 December 1639. . . . As I have before enlarged on the number of men able to bear arms, I will now enumerate the villages whose inhabitants have not only rejected idolatry, but by baptism have become members of the Church of God; and further I will explain what instruments have been employed in this glorious work.

But, in the very first place, I wish to say that it has been a real pleasure for me to visit the villages of Sinkan, Bakloan, Soulang, and Mattau. Since my departure from Tayouan for Japan in 1663, the adoption of the faith of Jesus Christ has become very general. The natives devote themselves night and day to learning the true faith with an amount of zeal that puts many of us to shame. All this is greatly due to the Rev. Robertus Junius, who is well versed in the Sinkan language, which language is also spoken in three of the neighbouring villages.

The natives strictly observe the Sabbath, and never absent themselves from the exposition of God's holy Word, whether given by the clergymen, or when one of the catechists holds a Bible-reading. Twice a week they attend catechetical meetings in the school. On the other days, they are instructed to repeat the prayers, and to read and write in Dutch characters. They are nearly all so well versed in the prayers that they can repeat them aloud extemporarily, and pray on any subject proposed to them, as we have often heard them do.

They are so pious and devout that they never commence their daily labour without first calling upon Almighty God. When they go hunting, all kneel down, and the best instructed amongst them prays that they may be successful in their expedition. So, also, when they go to sow their fields, they pray for God's blessing, and in other ways show the devoutness of their hearts.

In Sinkan, one hundred and nineteen couples have been married according to our rites, and live together in a godly manner. The young women no

longer practise abortion, and their priestesses are now as much despised as they were formerly honoured; for it is now seen how they used to extort the villagers' possessions under the pretext of serving their idols. According to a recent census:

In SINKAN there are 1047 persons, men, women and children, who are baptized. The Rev. Robertus Junius and a catechist attend to this church.

In BAKLOAN, 261 persons are baptized of the one thousand inhabitants of that village. Eighty-seven children attend school, of whom several are instructed in writing. The inhabitants are very zealous, and every day about ninety or a hundred assemble before the house of the clergyman to be instructed in the Christian religion. Instruction is given by the catechist, who has a Dutch boy with him. Moreover, there are three native assistants who are quite able to teach them the prayers, and who are of great service to the before-mentioned catechist.

In SOULANG, 282 of the two thousand six hundred inhabitants have been baptized, and have adopted the Christian faith. The school-children number one hundred and thirty. Every day from fifty to seventy persons come to the house to be instructed. A catechist, with a schoolmaster and a boy, live here, besides four native schoolmasters.

In MATTAU, 215 persons are baptized of the three thousand inhabitants; and one hundred and forty children attend school. Instruction is given by two catechists.

In TAVAKAN, 209 persons are baptized of the one thousand people who constitute the population. Thirty-eight children come to school. To this village belong Tavalikan, Teopang, and Tagupta; formerly they were separate, but now they are united. They are instructed by a catechist and a schoolmaster.

All these make 2014 persons, members of the Church of Christ. Praise be rendered unto God in all eternity, that by the shining light of the Gospel He has dispelled the darkness of heathenism, and has till now so richly blessed the work. May His blessing continue to rest thereon!

In Tevorang there is also a large school, and several persons have been baptized. They are instructed by a schoolmaster and a young assistant.

The Sabbath is observed in these villages in the same way as in Sinkan.

In Tapouliang a house has been built, and eighty-six children are daily instructed by the schoolmaster.

The inhabitants of Takareiang, Verovorang, Pangsoia, Katya, and Sotanaya, all large villages, show themselves disposed to reject idolatry; but from want of proper teachers the work has not yet been commenced, but delayed till some time later. Between Mattau and Tirozen, there are two more villages called Dorko, the inhabitants of which have also rejected idolatry; but, as in the case of other places, nobody has been stationed there from dearth of catechists. . . . I am, etc.,

N. COUCKEBACKER.

44. From President Paulus Traudenius to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Tayouan, 20 March 1640. . . . As regards the Rev. Robertus Junius, we have spoken to him about the late Governor's¹ remark in his letter of 3 November, that he (Mr. Junius) was willing to remain at least two years longer in Formosa, and we requested that he would now himself give us a distinct statement upon this point, in order that it might be forwarded to Your Excellency. He said he was exceedingly surprised that the late Governor had made such an assertion to Your Excellency, as he himself had never expressed such an intention; that, on the contrary, if it pleased God and met with Your Excellency's approbation, he meant to return to his native country as soon as he could be relieved from his duties here.

His principal reason for leaving is that he is so often laid up with illness. Moreover, he is convinced that the catechist Merkinus, who has satisfactorily conducted service for the Dutch community during the past few months, and who is well acquainted with the Sinkan language, will be able to carry on the work. Therefore, Mr. Junius requested us to advise Your Excellency that this catechist should be made a clerk in Holy orders, the late Governor being also favourable to his promotion; and as Merkinus himself urgently pressed us to write on his behalf, we could not refuse, but promised to fulfil their wish. Your Excellency will thus please act in this matter with your usual prudence.

As regards Merkinus, we cannot deny that he leads an honest and pious life, and will be able to continue in an adequate way the work of Mr. Junius. But should Your Excellency approve of Mr. Junius being relieved, it would be desirable to send another clergyman in his stead to conduct the service for the Dutch community, as otherwise both Formosa and Tayouan would remain in sole charge of Merkinus. . . . Your Excellency's humble and respectful servant,

PAULUS TRAUDIENUS.

45. From R. Junius to Governor-general Antonius van Diemen.—Tayouan, 23 October 1640. *To His most noble, wise, and equitable Excellency, the Governor-general.*—Your Excellency's letter, dated 23 July, came duly to hand through the Rev. Mr. Bavius, and we were pleased to see that our last safely reached Your Excellency.

Especially from my last letter, Your Excellency would understand how much I desire to leave by the first ship sailing, as my time has already long expired, and I am continually afflicted by illness, which renders me so weak that I have been unable for some months to pay the necessary visits to our villages—which fact also induced me to insist so urgently on leaving. Your Excellency now gives me permission, but only on condition I shall still remain some time longer, to give the necessary instruction to Mr. Bavius, so that this work may proceed with the more certainty in my absence. This has made

¹ Governor van der Burg died on 11th March, and was interred at Fort Zeelandia on the 13th, according to Christian rites and with the honours due to his rank. His grave is next to that of the late Governor Martinus Sonk.

me change my plans about departing, as I would not and could not refuse to accede to Your Excellency's kind request, though very desirous to return to my native country and my mother.

Moreover, Governor Traudenius has repeatedly and most generously requested me to remain some time longer. During the last few months I have also enjoyed tolerable health—thanks be given to the Lord—and have gained fresh strength. Nor can it be denied that the divine nature of the work here requires much circumspection. In the hope, then, that my presence may be helpful, I shall, by the Lord's mercy, do what I can during the north monsoon, trusting that the cause of Christ will be much advanced thereby.

I am sanguine that the linguistic studies which Mr. Bavius is carrying on under me will enable him before long to judge for himself if the catechists are faithfully working according to the best methods, and if the people are being sufficiently instructed to qualify them for receiving holy baptism. And I do not doubt but that, soon after, he will have made such progress in the language and peculiar character of the people, that he will be quite able to take my place when it becomes vacant.

In order that Mr. Bavius might become sooner acquainted with these people and their language, it was decided that, when he arrived, he should take up his abode in Sinkan for a time at least; and, till now, he has indeed been residing there, and has done good work.

Merkinius has not yet been promoted, but the Governor intends to see to this at the first opportunity. Agricola, who has publicly preached here in Tayouan, will not be promoted till he also can preach in the native language, as his work will be chiefly amongst those who use it.

The schoolmaster, Gerrit Damiaens, whom Your Excellency sent out, is stationed at Mattau, where the largest school is established; and we hope that in time he will render us good service.

Jacobus Viverius, who till now has resided in Tayouan, and has worked well as a medical doctor, is studying theology with much zeal, in the hope of becoming a minister. For some time we have been instructing him, and there is reason to believe that he will be able to conduct service at the Dutch Church in a few months hence. He could then render the twofold service of preaching the Gospel and practising medicine; which latter would much please the Governor, and make it unnecessary for Bavius to come down here every Sunday.

Some days ago we visited the villages of Sinkan, Tavakan, Bakloan, Mattau, and Soulang, where we preached and baptized many of the inhabitants, who had been receiving instruction for some time. I found them to be very zealous. They come regularly every day to the house of the masters for instruction until they are able to repeat the prayers, *etc.*, without mistake.

The largest number of persons—one hundred and twenty—were baptized in Soulang. Among them was a grown-up man who, according to the catechist, had never been instructed, but who earnestly begged to be baptized,

saying, 'Examine me, for I wish to be baptized'; and he answered the questions so well, that the hearers were delighted. Next day he was baptized.

I hope that all worthy candidates in Soulang, Mattau, Bakloan, Tavakan, and Tevorang will soon be baptized. Up till this time, one thousand and seventy persons have been baptized in Soulang, and a proportional number in the other villages.

If there is room for special commendation anywhere it is in Sinkan, this being the strongest and most influential of the villages. For a long time now its inhabitants have worshipped our God, and have been an example to other places. To our surprise, we daily see young people there not only marrying according to Christian rites, going together into the fields, and bringing children into the world, but even living together, while formerly they would rather have died than live thus. Even in Mr. Candidius' time, it appeared almost impossible to bring all this about. More and more their former customs and manners are disappearing, and they are conforming to our ways; which shows that it requires both time and proper instruction to convert the heathen.

It is very desirable that the example of Sinkan as regards Christianity should be imitated by the other villages; whose inhabitants, however, are all baptized, and most of them married according to Christian rites. They also regulate their conduct in every respect according to the Christian church in Holland, and are very punctual in attending God's house on Sabbath; in the morning, to listen; and in the evening, to repeat what they have already learned, and thus remember it the better.

During the north monsoon, I hope Christianity will make great progress among these villagers, so that, if they do not come to equal the people of Sinkan in knowledge, they may at least nearly do so. Their harvest has been very abundant this year, which greatly delights them, and which will also promote the cause of Christ.

The priestesses, who were so great an obstacle to our work, have now lost all power, and are treated with contempt, on account of the many falsehoods they formerly promulgated. They are not allowed to enter any houses except their own, and are thus prevented from practising their former idolatry.

The schools continue to flourish; many of the people being able to read fluently, and to write fairly well.

Although the inhabitants of Dovale annoyed us very much during the last hunting expeditions, and drove away many Chinese who had hunting licenses, still, 1941 $\frac{7}{8}$ *reals* have been received from that source. The expenses have only amounted to 627 $\frac{1}{4}$ *reals*—as your Excellency will see from the accompanying statement—so that the surplus is 1315 $\frac{5}{8}$ *reals*; which sum has been debited to my account.

The season has again commenced in which the Chinese begin to hunt, and several have already applied for licenses; but I am of opinion (and have said so to the Governor, who I wish could agree with me) that it would be better not to grant any hunting licenses this year, for the following reasons:—

First : Because the Company has still—if I am rightly informed—several thousands of skins here, which have not been sent to Japan, owing to a lack of vessels.

Second : Because the deer have been considerably decreased by constant hunting ; and if this were prohibited during the next twelve months, they would again multiply very fast, thus greatly delighting the owners of those fields over which the Chinese hunt every year.

Third : Because—and this is the most important reason—if we allow the Chinese to hunt, our influence and reputation will greatly suffer thereby ; for the inhabitants of Dovalé (perhaps also of Favorlang) will be constantly coming out of their villages to chase away, to rob, and to murder these hunters—attacks which we shall not be able to prevent, seeing that they will be made at so great a distance from Tayouan.

Many Chinese, who were too poor to pay for the licenses, requested me to advance them the money ; promising that, when the hunting season closed, they would sell the skins to me, large and small, at ten *reals* a hundred ; and the late Governor permitted us to do so, on condition that we held ourselves responsible for any loss that might be sustained when the Chinese ran away or became insolvent. He was the more inclined to make this concession as there would thus be brought to us all those skins which they were formerly in the practice of having secretly smuggled to China. A stipulation was added to the effect that we should ourselves advance all the money which would be required in making preliminary arrangements. The Governor approved of the whole scheme, as the accounts presented by us would show exactly what profit the licenses yielded, and because the funds thus obtained could be used for defraying expenses connected with support of the clergymen in Formosa, and extending the work of education.

The Chinese are very desirous of borrowing money from us, as otherwise they must borrow from their countrymen, who show no mercy in their dealings with each other, and charge four or five *per cent.* for monthly interest. If, therefore, the hunting licenses are sold again this year, we shall advance them the money on the terms I mentioned before ; and will insist that the *quarter* they give above the *real* is not paid in *cash*, as formerly, but in skins. In this way the hunting will bring in from eight hundred to one thousand *reals* a year ; thus adding four thousand *reals* yearly to the income from Formosa ; an increase which will no doubt greatly please Your Excellency.

Those Chinese, however, who live in the villages are very poor, and may not be able to pay a quarter of a *real* every month. If Your Excellency had allowed the one thousand *reals* of the collection to remain in our hands, they would have given very willingly ; whereas if they are made to pay a quarter of a *real* monthly, they will certainly attempt to recoup themselves by cheating the poorer class of our people ; whom they daily defraud, and who, on that account, can never better their condition.

Governor Traudenius will not disobey Your Excellency's commands. He has already ordered a contribution of half a *real* to be levied towards the expense

of building our house at Sinkan. We have collected three hundred *reals*, which the Governor estimates has been contributed during two months, so that the Chinese villagers in Tayouan and elsewhere will scarcely require to pay the quarter of a *real* mentioned in Your Excellency's instructions. Time will show how difficult it would be to collect it.

We still live on a friendly footing with the people of Takareiang, our allies in the south. Though not a single Dutchman has lived amongst them since the death of Joseph Kover, who was stationed in Tapulangh, they often come over to Tavakan and Sinkan, and our people also visit them.

The inhabitants of Pangsoia, who live still further to the south, between Takareiang and Longkiau, continue to be friendly. Some time ago they came here to complain about the people of Takumei, who were inciting their chiefs against us; but as we heard no more about the matter, we suppose they have settled the dispute amongst themselves. If Christian labourers could only be found for that region, they would find abundant opportunity for making converts to Christianity, as it is long since the people resolved to abandon their idols. The unhealthiness of the place and the insalubrity of the air deter many of our people from settling there. May God have pity upon those sheep without a shepherd!

Matters in the mountainous region of Tevorang are also proceeding according to our wish. The difficulties of the road, and my weak state of health, have prevented me from visiting the place for some time; but I hope to do so when the rivers which have to be crossed become passable. If I am rightly informed, more than two hundred persons there are waiting to receive baptism upon confession of their faith.

The inhabitants of Dorko, Tirozen, and other places, remain obedient. Only the Favorlangians will not keep the peace; seeing that, incited by our enemies at Dovale, they have killed some of the Chinese belonging to our villages. For some time, however, they have again been quiet. If the people of Dovale were punished next year as they deserve, the other villages situated far to the north of us would be sure to submit and promise obedience.

As in former times, the elders or chiefs of the respective villages settle all minor questions, and this appears to us to be a very good arrangement. If there is anything of importance to be decided, they request the assistance of the Governor Traudenius, who is always willing to give his assistance; for he is a friend of God's church, and leads a pious, godly life. Beyond doubt, therefore, he will continue to honour that great God who has honoured him and raised him to his high office; this being another consideration which is inducing me to remain here longer than I intended.

The foregoing is all I have to communicate to Your Excellency at present; but, by next ship, I hope to give you further tidings.

May the Almighty protect and richly bless your most noble, wise, and equitable Excellency,

ROBERTUS JUNIUS.

46. From Captain H. Harouse, Commander of the Expedition sent to conquer Kelang and drive away the Spaniards from Formosa, to Governor Traudenius.—Fort La Sanctissimo Trinidado, 4 September 1642. . . . Moreover, Mr. Merkinus has behaved most insolently to us, and thereafter wished to leave; but we could not allow him to do so. He said, ‘I shall certainly leave, and render an account to the Classis, to whom alone I am accountable,’ *etc.*, which of course is intolerable.

47. From the Governor and Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Council of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 5 October 1642. . . . As there is nothing further to answer in Your Excellency’s letter, we shall now say something about the progress of the spiritual work. Mr. Junius reports that it continues to make most glorious progress; as, indeed, we ourselves can see. The younger people are regularly and easily instructed in the principles of our religion, as well as in the art of writing. We have greater difficulty with people who are more advanced in years. It seems they cannot abandon the nature of the first Adam, and that they still secretly retain their old superstitions; an evil tendency which it will be difficult to root out. But many of those old people keep dying away, while receptive young people are growing up, on whom all our hopes must be fixed.

On 26 July three persons in Soulang who had murdered some young children, were by our orders strangled till death followed, their bodies being left bound to a post at the entrance of the village. This punishment has occasioned great terror among the people, so that some of the older people, and others living in Mattau, Bakloan, and Tevorang, taking advantage of this, and of the absurd rumours which were spread, have endeavoured to incite the inhabitants against us, saying the Dutch would kill still more of them, besides carrying away and making slaves of others. The result was that several families fled; but they were afterwards called back by Mr. Junius, and have all returned. The principal ringleaders have been arrested, and we shall have them punished as they deserve.

According to our opinion, Gentlemen, this work is still shrouded in many dark clouds; and these people are so weak that it will require much planing before their rough surfaces become smooth. For this purpose it is urgently necessary to send here pious and godly clergymen, candidates of divinity, and other assistants. Mr. Junius complains that he receives but little assistance from the candidates of divinity who are here, namely, Merkinus and Agricola, seeing that they both sometimes commit grave offences. If they continue to act thus, we shall take the necessary measures to prevent the Company’s money from being uselessly spent upon them.

The Rev. Jan Claesz. Bavius is learning the native language, and is making fair progress, as we are informed. Ere long he will leave for the villages in order the better to acquire the language. The service for the community here, however, will be conducted by the Rev. Messrs. Junius and Bavius, and the two candidates of Divinity. . . . We are, *etc.*, PAULUS TRAUDIENIUS,

M. LE MAIRE, CARL HARTSINCQ, CORNELIS CAESAR, ADRIAEN VAN DER BURG, IAN BARENTZ. PELS.

48. From the Governor and Council of Formosa to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber.—Castle Zeelandia, 3 November 1642. . . . When we consider the aspect of the spiritual field in Formosa, we still find many weeds growing there. For, according to the nature of the first Adam, the older generation still secretly practise their former idolatry, and in their blind zeal endeavour to stir up the others. On the other hand, the conversion of the young people is progressing gloriously. Mr. Junius makes this report to us, but we ourselves can see, that the progress of those youths in the principles of our faith, and in reading and writing, is really remarkable and worthy of admiration. It should also be mentioned that Junius himself has shown the greatest zeal; and we do not doubt but that when the noxious weed of evil example from the old people has withered and fallen off, those young lilies will flower luxuriously, and be watered by the refreshing dew of God's blessing. We hope, too, that the present imperfect work will then be in a state of satisfactory completeness; but for this purpose, pious labourers are very necessary.

When Mr. Junius leaves, his place should be occupied by a suitable person, in order that there may be no danger of a work which has been accomplished with so much labour having been done in vain. Moreover, the one sent out must be a person who is able to gain the respect of the Dutch community here. It is essential that work for the natives be carried on, but we ourselves should also be attended to. The community here has a right to this; the people there require it. . . . Your faithful and obedient servants, PAULUS TRAUDENIUS, M. LE MAIRE, CORN. CAESAR, ADRIAEN VAN DER BURG, IAN BARENTZ. PELS.

49. Governor Traudenius's instructions to President Maximiliaen le Maire, which he was to follow during the temporary absence of his Chief from Formosa.—Castle Zeelandia, 25 February 1643. . . . In the third place, we wish to speak about the spiritual field. According to the Rev. R. Junius' reports, and as we ourselves can see from the conversion of the people of Formosa, the seed that has been sown is shooting up rapidly, and there is every hope that the harvest will be most satisfactory, if only zealous labourers are employed in the work.

The Rev. J. Bavius, who has occupied himself in learning the Formosan language since his arrival—in which he has made considerable progress—besides occasionally conducting divine service here, will be ordered to leave soon for Sinkan, in order that he may perfect himself in the language; but on condition that he comes every week to conduct the service at Tayouan.

Mr. Junius persists in his desire to leave for Batavia towards the time of the north monsoon, his intention being to return to Holland a little later on. Bavius, however, we do not consider able, on account of his imperfect acquaint-

ance with the language, to undertake the political duties which Junius performed in addition to those of his spiritual office. Moreover, Junius and Candidius have repeatedly requested to be discharged from this political service; on the ground that it was contrary to their spiritual vocation, and brought them into contempt. Indeed, Mr. Junius having asked us to relieve him now, and to send a fit member of our Council to settle all minor differences among the inhabitants—until further orders from Batavia—without troubling the Castle, we have provisionally granted his request by resolving to send shortly to Soulang the factor Polsen and his family, and we have ordered a proper house to be built for him there.

Further, we desire you faithfully to assist the brethren in their spiritual work as far as they are entitled to assistance, and to uphold them against the unruly natives; taking care, however, that they neither exceed the bounds of their authority, nor question the supremacy of our official authority, as several of them have sometimes done, under the promptings of a most improper political and worldly ambition. In all things we wish justice and equity to be observed. . . .

PAULUS TRAUDENIUS.

50. From Minute-Book of the Council of Castle Zeelandia. . . . Friday, 16 April 1643.—President Maximiliaen le Maire having assembled the Council of Castle Zeelandia, communicated to them that the Rev. Robertus Junius and Jan Bavius had purposely come over here from Soulang and Sinkan to lodge a complaint against Abraham van der Dussen, Nicolaes van der Meulen, and Samuel Minnes, schoolmasters residing in the southern villages; who, instead of giving instruction in the fear of God and showing an example by their own godly lives, had been guilty of drunkenness, fornication, and ill-treatment of the inhabitants; thus greatly offending these weak Christians, so that they had complained to the candidate of divinity Merkinus. On account of all this, the President now asked the Council if it was not desirable, on request of the beforementioned clergymen, and by way of preventing further scandal, to recall these schoolmasters, and to inflict exemplary punishment upon them, according to their deserts. After due consideration, it was unanimously resolved to send the fiscal with several commissioners there on Monday next, that they might examine into these matters, to arrest the delinquents, and to bring them to the Castle.

Friday, 11 September 1643.—On the urgent and repeated request of our Consistory, the usual allowance for board and lodging, namely 10 *reals* per month, was granted to Hans Olhoff, who was recently examined by that body and promoted to the rank of candidate of divinity. His application, however, for the salary of that rank, and confirmation in his office, have been referred to the authorities in Batavia.

On urgent demand of the clergymen, two young schoolmasters have also been definitely appointed, and their salaries increased, on certain conditions. These two young schoolmasters are: Daniel Hendricksz of Rotterdam, who arrived here in 1635 on board the ship *Maestricht*, as cabin boy, at six and a

half *guilders* a month. On 30 January 1641 he was promoted to be assistant schoolmaster at ten *guilders* a month; and on 24 July 1642 three *reals* per month were granted him as an allowance for board and lodging. Seeing that for about two years he has performed the duties of schoolmaster in the villages to the entire satisfaction of the Rev. Rob. Junius, and because the Company is well served by him, he has been promoted to the rank of schoolmaster by resolution of the president and Council, in order to encourage him in the zealous performance of his duties; his salary to be twenty *guilders* a month with an allowance of five *reals* for board, this being the same amount which the other schoolmasters receive. The increase is to date from 1 May last—he having already received certain sums—on condition that he undertakes to serve the Company three years after the expiration of his ten years' engagement as cabin boy. . . .

Friday, 25 September 1643.—On the proposal and urgent request of the clergymen residing here, the following fifty native teachers—who, according to the Rev. gentlemen, are all thoroughly instructed in the principles of the Christian religion and can nearly all read and write—have been allowed one *real* monthly for their maintenance and to encourage their zeal. They are to reside in the following villages, namely: In Soulang, 12; Mattau, 10; Sinkan, 7; Bakloan, 12; Tavakan, 5; Tevorang, 4;—in all 50 persons.

51. From the Formosa Consistory to the Classis of Amsterdam.—Tayouan, 7 October 1643. *Reverend, learned, and very pious Brethren*, We do not doubt but that you will have received long before now our last letter of 1 October, with the annexed papers from Rev. Messrs. Rob. Junius and Johannes Bavius, which we entrusted to the charge of captain Karel Hartsinck, and which were sent on by him to you.

From that letter you will have been able to judge of the whole state of matters, and of the progress of the spiritual work here, in which our beloved brother and colleague Rev. Rob. Junius has been hitherto engaged, not without much trouble and many difficulties.

What has happened since, Mr. Junius, who is now going to leave, will be able to tell you verbally; and you can learn particulars also from the letters which he successively wrote to the Governor-general, copies of which he will take with him to Holland; so we consider it unnecessary to be prolix, as nobody can speak of these matters with more thorough knowledge and experience than Mr. Junius, whose last twelve years' laborious work here has been like rolling a heavy stone.

While writing this, everything is progressing favourably, the Lord daily adding to His church those who will be saved.

The schools are prospering. In these six villages there are about six hundred school-children, some of whom can write tolerably well in Latin characters, as you will be able to see from their own writing, which our Rev. brother will take over with him. But, alas! while the harvest here is great, the labourers are very few. We sadly want zealous, pious, and experienced school-

masters to instruct these promising, docile, and very intelligent children. Oh may God grant that more schoolmasters may be sent out to us!

The daily instruction is regularly continued, and much progress is made. The brunt of the work falls upon some native teachers, who perform their duties most admirably, for which reason we have induced the Governor to grant them a *real per* month each; but we trust the Rev. Robertus Junius, on arriving in Batavia, will be able to get their salaries raised. There are fifty of them in these six villages, who are all thoroughly instructed in the principles of the Christian faith, and able to communicate to their countrymen the saving knowledge in such a way that even many of the catechists cannot be compared with them.

Little confidence can be reposed in the Dutch schoolmasters. Some of them give very great offence to these weak Christians; and though not long ago one of them was decapitated on account of his misdeeds, others refuse to take warning from this punishment, and persevere in their wickedness, so that lately we were obliged to deliver another, who misbehaved scandalously, into the hands of the civil authorities.

Our brother, the Rev. Rob. Junius, has baptized in these six villages upwards of five thousand four hundred persons, of whom all that are living, with the exception of the young children, can repeat fluently the law of God, the articles of belief, the Lord's prayer, the morning and evening prayers, the prayer before and after meals, and our catechism of the Christian religion, a copy of which Mr. Junius will show you.

More than a thousand couples have also been united in marriage by Mr. Junius; and, as far as we know, they all live in conformity with their marriage vows, a thing quite unheard of among the heathen.

Some months ago, our beloved colleague administered the Holy Communion to the chiefs of Soulang and more than sixty people of Sinkan, who all with proper reverence partook of the Lord's bread and drank from His cup. By their decorous conduct, we feel assured that they really partook of the blessings which the Holy Communion holds out to us.

Not only has a school been opened in Dorko and a teacher from Mattau stationed there, but the inhabitants of Tirozen also have abandoned their idolatry. As we had no Dutchman at our disposal for this service, we were obliged to employ a native as schoolmaster, who attends to the school, gives morning and evening instruction in the catechism, and celebrates the Sabbath by reading selections provided for him by the clergymen.

We consider it unnecessary to tell you what our brother, the Rev. Robertus Junius, has effected during the months of November and December 1642 in the villages situated to the south of us, about twenty-three in number; how he induced the people to abandon their idols, to adopt our religion, and observe the rules we have laid down. No doubt he will personally give you all particulars.

Truly we cannot render thanks enough unto God for having so abundantly blessed the work of His zealous and devoted servant, even although he had so

few faithful assistants belonging to our nation. By his untiring labour and important services here, he has rendered himself very dear to us. We and all classes of the people would have been very pleased had he remained in Formosa some time longer; but it appears that the illnesses to which he was subject, a longing to see the Fatherland and an aged mother once more, with constant desire to report to you personally about the mission work, were so strong inducements that he could not consent to prolong his stay. May God Almighty be his guide, and holy angels guard him! May he be rewarded for all the good he has done to this poor people!

The candidate of divinity Agricola has not served the church faithfully, and his wicked way of acting has led to his having been discharged from office and severely punished.

The Rev. Mr. Merkinus now behaves better, and the supervision of the southern villages has therefore been entrusted to him.

The catechist Hans Olhoff has profited much by the instructions of Mr. Junius, and made such progress in theology that he was accepted as candidate of divinity after having been examined in the presence of the Consistory and deputies from the Council. He is quite proficient in the native language, and preaches in a very edifying way; this being one reason why Mr. Junius persisted in his resolution to leave.

It has also been decided that Johannes Bavius shall take up his residence in Soulang, and devote himself exclusively to the work there, as he is now well acquainted with the character and peculiarities of the people of Formosa, having lived some time in Sinkan, and having often visited the surrounding villages with Mr. Junius. He has made such progress in the native language that within a few days he will commence to preach in it. He is sure to do all in his power for the furtherance of this glorious work, and our own hope is that he will be very successful in doing so.

This year the Rev. Simon van Breen, a servant of the Word of God, has been sent out to us from Batavia. He will fix his abode in Sinkan, in order to learn the language the sooner, and to supervise the three villages of Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan. Now and then, however, he will conduct the Dutch service in Tayouan at the Castle.

For many reasons a Consistory has been formed not only in Tayouan, but also in Soulang. The elders have been chosen from our own nation and from the natives, in order that we may thus accustom them to direct their churches. We do not doubt but this will have very beneficial results.

We confidently trust that when you shall have become acquainted with the state of the Church of God here, not only from this letter, but especially from the verbal report of Mr. Junius, it will be a strong inducement for you to assist in obtaining proper and zealous labourers to continue the work.

They are very much needed, seeing that the engagement of some of our assistants will soon expire, and that those assistants cannot be detained if they insist on leaving. We therefore pray, for Christ's sake, that our brethren in Holland may take this request into earnest consideration.

It would indeed be most excellent if some pious and zealous persons were committed to the care of Mr. Junius in Holland, to be instructed in the language and habits of these people; for the state of the Church here would certainly be improved by having those persons fitted for service much sooner. We firmly believe Mr. Junius would give his time to instruct them.

And herewith, reverend, learned, and pious colleagues, we shall close by commending you to God and His mercy. May He richly bless your services to the salvation of many souls.

Actum in our ecclesiastical meeting at Tayouan, 7 October 1643. Your faithful brethren, members of the Consistories of Tayouan and Soulang—in the name of all,

SIMON VAN BREEN, servant of the Holy Gospel in the Castle at Tayouan, and in the villages of Sinkan, *etc.*, President *pro tem.*

JOHANNES BAVIUS, servant of the Holy Gospel in Soulang, *etc.*, Secretary *pro tem.*

PIETER BOON, elder in Tayouan.

JOOST JIELIS, elder in Soulang.

52. Report of visit to several villages by deputies C. Caesar and N. de Hooghe. . . . 29 September 1643.—In Tavakan there were about forty school-children from ten to eighteen years of age, who could all promptly repeat the morning and evening prayers, the Lord's prayer, articles of faith, ten commandments, prayers before and after meals, and answers as to the signification of Holy Communion. They could also give correct replies from our catechism on the principles of the Christian religion. Seven of them are learning the art of writing, and have already made considerable progress. Four natives are employed as teachers among them, in addition to the Dutch school-masters. We especially admired the great zeal of one of the natives called Tarihe, who composed and fluently uttered prayers for different occasions and on different subjects; but even the older and married people, who do not daily attend the school, can promptly repeat their prayers and the questions concerning the Sacrament.

1 October. In Sinkan and Bakloan we found about eighty scholars and twenty-four others attending a writing-school, and eight or ten of them already able to write a tolerable hand; while a great number of the villagers could answer questions upon Christian doctrine just as promptly as the people of Tavakan. In the afternoon, the inhabitants of Bakloan were examined. About ninety scholars are there, of whom eight can write; and eight teachers, who promptly answered the questions put to them.

2 October. In Mattau and Soulang the scholars and the older and married people are as proficient as the natives of the other villages in repeating their prayers and answering the questions on the Christian religion. Fourteen

teachers in Soulang, and several in Mattau, have diligently studied the three hundred and sixty questions and answers of the catechism compiled by the Rev. R. Junius.

Further, we examined two persons who had learned to write, to see whether they could put down their thoughts in writing, and spell correctly different words mentioned to them. This they did in a very satisfactory way, as can be seen from the specimens taken by Mr. Junius to Holland.

May the Giver of all blessings strengthen these people more and more with His Holy Spirit, and grant that His Holy Name may be glorified in their salvation. Amen.

CORN. CAESAR, NICASIVS DE HOGHE.

53. From the Governor and Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Council of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 15 October 1643. . . .

The projected church will be built on the most convenient spot in the fortress; and care must be taken that the building of the parsonage attached to it does not entail much expense, and that by contributions from friends and otherwise the Company may not be involved. It will not be finished this year, as there is a want of wood, which has to be transported from Siam; but a great part of the masonry will be completed. . . . We shall take proper measures as regards the up-keep of the clergyman's house, and see that it is properly and strongly built so that no repairs will be required, which we think to be far more advantageous for the Company than if a lightly built house were constructed.

We consider it quite unnecessary to erect very strong and solid buildings in some of the more populous places for the maintenance of the Company's authority in Formosa, and to serve in times of necessity as strongholds; for, till now, we have been able with a hundred and fifty to two hundred experienced soldiers to defeat all Formosan forces, and maintain our supremacy in every encounter. . . .

On the departure of Mr. Junius, an opportunity presented itself of forming the nucleus of a library by the purchase of his books, which were valued at a very low price—one hundred and twenty-four *reals*. The clergymen therefore earnestly requested that, for the promotion of this glorious work, the Company should contribute something towards that sum in aid of the funds of the church. After considering the request, we have decided that the Company should contribute seventy-four *reals* in furtherance of this good object—the account of Mr. Junius being credited with that sum—while the remaining fifty *reals* be paid from the funds of the church.

When Mr. Junius went to take leave of the inhabitants of the different villages, and point out to the clergymen who were remaining here what progress the natives had made since his arrival, we instructed our deputies to accompany him, in order to furnish Your Excellency with an independent and therefore more trustworthy account. They report to us that they found the state of matters even brighter and more promising than they had ever imagined, as Your Excellency will be able to see from the accompanying statement.

We agree with Your Excellency that, as Formosa has not one common language, but almost every village its own tongue, it is desirable to instruct the natives in the Dutch language, as the Portuguese do in their colonies. To satisfy Your Excellency, therefore, the brethren intend to make a trial with some young children. We shall inform you later of the result. . . .

At the urgent request of the clergymen, we have provisionally granted one *real* a month to fifty Formosan teachers as allowance for board, in order to encourage them in their work. Most of them can read and write, and are fairly well instructed in the principles of the Christian faith. We shall await further instructions about this matter. On the advice of Mr. Junius, Your Excellency may decide otherwise concerning those teachers.

As Mr. Junius is not disposed to continue his spiritual work here any longer, and earnestly desires to return to his native land, we have allowed him to go with his family to Batavia by the ship *Salamander*, in order that he may beg Your Excellency's permission to continue his journey to Holland.

The persons who have paid money into the Company's office here that they may draw in Holland, and for which this general account has been credited, are the following :—Rev. Robertus Junius to the amount of fourteen thousand six hundred *reals*, to be paid to him in person, seeing that he has deposited that sum here, since the end of August. . . . Your obedient servants, M. LE MAIRE, CORN. CAESAR, ADR. V. D. BURG, J. V. EYNDEN, NICATIUS DE HOOGE.

54. From the Tayouan Council to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 9 December 1643. . . . Seeing that persons belonging to the Church often render us their services as interpreters with excessive reluctance and in an ineffectual way, it was resolved to appoint one special interpreter upon whom the title of 'deputy' might be bestowed; and to select for this purpose a person belonging to the Church who is thoroughly acquainted with the language, so that he may be able to assist us in all political or judicial matters in Soulang.

In conformity with this resolution we have chosen the catechist Joost van Bergen—who is married to a native woman—to be interpreter. The Company confidently hopes that he will render excellent service, not only as interpreter, but in all matters relating to political or judicial affairs in the island of Formosa. . . .—We are, etc., MAXIMILIAEN LE MAIRE, PIETER ANTHONIS OVERTWATER, ADRIAEN VAN DER BURG, JOHANNES VAN DER EYNDEN, NICASIUS DE HOOGE.

55. From Minute-Book of the Castle of Zeelandia, 29 March 1644 till 14 November of the same year.—Tuesday, 29 March. As the clerk in Holy Orders, Andreas Merkinus, has forwarded us an official request or petition to be discharged from his clerical office and appointed to a judicial one, it has been decided—seeing he is better acquainted than any one else with the native language spoken in the south—by way of trial, and without now consenting to the first part of his request, to employ him as a civil officer in the south.

Seeing he declared that he would return to his native country after his ten years' term of service had expired if we refused, and that two persons would then be required to do his work, we were obliged to comply with this request.

Wednesday, 25 August. The Council met. A report was received from the Consistory regarding the division of curacies in Formosa. It mentioned that, although the Governor-general thinks only one clergyman is required, Messrs. van Breen and Happart are both now residing at the Castle; and suggests that Mr. van Breen—who has been living here for a year and is better acquainted with the customs and manners of the inhabitants than Mr. Happart who has just arrived—should take up his residence in the northerly villages of Dalivo, etc., in order to give his services to that region. The Consistory also thought it expedient that the provisional clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, should repair to Tapouliang to act as a clergyman there.

After the Governor had heard and fully considered this report, it was resolved, for many good reasons, that the signatories should be requested to give a fuller statement of their opinions in writing concerning these matters, so that they may form a subject of further deliberation in our Council.

Saturday, 27 August. According to our last resolution we required from the Consistory a written statement on another division of the curacies in Formosa. This report has now been handed to the Council, and after due examination has been found to contain much that is well founded.

The report says:—‘Seeing that two clergymen reside now at Tayouan, and that one of them can and ought to be set free for work in Formosa—two things should, according to the opinion of the Consistory, be taken into consideration and discussed: **FIRST**, the locality in which this good work might most conveniently be undertaken; and, **SECOND**, the most suitable person to whom it may be entrusted.

As regards the *first* point, it is the opinion of the Consistory that of the two parts of this island where there is reasonable hope of the Gospel being introduced with success—those situated to the north of us on the one hand, and to the south of us on the other—the northern village of Favorlang and those lying in its neighbourhood, should be attempted by one of the two aforesaid clergymen being sent there.

The reasons in favour are the following:—**1.** In this way not only the northern, but also the southern, villages could be supplied; because the provisional clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, at present residing in Sinkan, could be sent to the south, the Consistory having reason to believe that he possesses sufficient capacities for the work. Hence, on being put to the vote, Mr. Olhoff was unanimously chosen for this service.

2. Because the southern villages are well known to be exceedingly unhealthy, so that not only persons belonging to our nation, but even natives, on leaving their own villages and taking up their abode for a short time in that part of the island, are generally carried off by death, or fall a prey to most virulent diseases. Therefore, the Consistory does not consider it prudent to

imperil the lives of the clergymen by sending one of them to those parts ; their number being so very small that the communities in this island cannot easily, and only after the lapse of a long time, be supplied with ministers.

3. Because the clergymen themselves seem more inclined to live in the north than in the south, and it is quite certain that such laborious work can only be undertaken with much courage and perfect resolution of mind.

4. It may be added that by this means the northern villagers—whose obedience till now has been somewhat questionable—would become more united to the Company ; as the bond of religion is the only tie that can unite this nation to us with any amount of certainty.

As regards the *second* point—namely, what person is best fitted for being sent to begin work in the north—our Consistory is of opinion that the Rev. Simon van Breen is the most suitable person, for the following reasons :—

1. Mr. van Breen's residence in Formosa during the past year has enabled him to become somewhat acquainted with the native customs and manners ; whereas Happart, as a new-comer, cannot yet have any experience in these matters.

2. Mr. van Breen is the healthier of the two, and better able to endure the fatigue of those long difficult journeys which clergymen appointed to Formosa have to face in the carrying on of their work.

3. Mr. van Breen can more conveniently be sent there, because he is a single man, whereas Happart is married, and his wife is now near her confinement.

Wherefore the Council, taking into consideration the report and recommendations now made, and for reasons already mentioned, approves of the Consistory's proposal ; provided that, in addition to the provisional clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, a person shall afterwards be sent down south, that he may act there in a judicial capacity.

Further, as Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan have been till now under control of the minister residing at the Castle, it was decided that meanwhile those three villages should remain under his supervision, since the clergyman residing in Soulang is so fully occupied in attending to the surrounding villages there that he can hardly overtake all his duties. The clergyman residing at the Castle will thus have the opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the country and the disposition of the people, and need not be in ignorance of these things. It is, however, understood that when the minister of Soulang preaches in that place, and in the capacity of a clergyman, the community shall accept him as such. Super-factor Cornelius Caesar and factor de Hooge were appointed to inform the Consistory that these resolutions had been come to by the Council.

Wednesday, 31 August. According to last minute, we discussed the written proposal of the Consistory about sending the provisional clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, now in Tapouliang, to the south, so that the holy work there may not be retarded ; provided that, three times every year, one or more clergy-

men should visit that part of the country in their official capacity to baptize those who wish to receive this holy sacrament, and thereby be confirmed in their Christian faith.

We therefore decide that, as the before-mentioned provisional clerk in Holy Orders is not authorised to administer the rite of holy baptism, and as no better way than that pointed out by the Consistory can be found, we adopt its proposal, and approve of the clergymen every year visiting that southern region till change of circumstances enable us to follow some other line of action.

Our elders and deacons having been more than a year in office, the Consistory requests us to appoint others in their place ; and as it is the custom for us every year to select them from a number of brethren who are proposed, we have intimated to the Consistory our readiness to receive a double set of the names of such persons, it being our intention to select those whom we consider to be most eligible.

Tuesday, 6 September.—On request of the Governor and Council the Consistory was asked to give its written opinion about the limits of authority that should be given to persons entrusted with the discharge of civil duties, to teachers, and Church members connected with the schools ; also, how these persons should act under certain circumstances. At the same time we wished to know the Consistory's opinion as to what person or persons should, when necessary, censure or inflict punishment upon schoolmasters, when these were members of the ecclesiastical body.

This subject having been discussed by us in Council, it was found that the opinion of the clergymen agreed with our own, and that both perfectly coincides with the deliverance of the National Synod held at Dordrecht in 1619. Therefore, we have resolved and decided as follows :—

Firstly : That the Consistory shall have the power to dismiss, suspend, or censure all clerical persons, according to the nature of the offences they may commit, and to deliver up such persons to the officer of justice, with an expression of opinion as to what punishment should be inflicted, so that the offender may be fined according to the option of the temporal judge, who passes sentence, and that according to his own discretion and judgment.

Secondly : That all persons attending the schools are to be unreservedly under the authority of the catechists, or of the residents who serve as schoolmasters in the Formosan schools, without the judicial authority being allowed to employ them in any service whatsoever ; except in very urgent cases, and then only with the knowledge and consent of the aforementioned residents. It must, however, be clearly understood that only those scholars may be employed on such occasions who do not require to attend school at that particular time ; this being in keeping with the rule that all persons whose turn it is not to attend school, are under the authority or command of the judicial officer.

Thirdly and lastly : It is also understood that, according to the opinion of the Consistory, the native chiefs shall have no power whatever to permit any one from attending school ; many of those chiefs being yet heathen themselves,

who have the progress of the Church of God very little at heart. Inasmuch, however, as the Sinkandians are the oldest and most religious of the inhabitants, an exception will be made regarding them till further orders are given, in order that an opportunity may be obtained to discuss this point more fully.

This day the Consistory handed to the Council a list containing two sets of names of persons whom they considered suitable to be nominated as deacons and elders in the place of those whose time has now expired. They were the following :

ADRIAEN VAN DER BURCH, fiscal.

EDUARD AUX BREBIS, sub-factor.

And as deacons :

SALOMON GOOSENS, sub-factor.

WYNAND RUTGERS, sub-factor.

It was agreed that the two following persons should be chosen to discharge the offices of elder and deacon, namely :—

EDUARD AUX BREBIS, to be an elder.

WYNAND RUTGERS, to be a deacon.

These were chosen because it will be more convenient to dispense with their services when they are summoned to the discharge of duties connected with the Church.

The Council further decided that, on request of the Consistory, the clergyman Simon van Breen should leave for the north, attended by two catechists and six soldiers—selected by Mr. van Breen himself—in order that they may acquire a knowledge of the language, and assist him in building up the Church. For this purpose, the Consistory was authorised to engage Dirck ter Meulen for eight or ten years, on condition that he may demand an increase of salary at the close of his term of service.

Another proposal of the Consistory was approved of ; that, in addition to the provisional clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff—who had, according to the wish of the Consistory, been already destined for the south—Hendrick Veer should repair to Tapouliang in order to be employed in the schools of that place. It was also agreed to remove Gerrit Jansen Hartgringh, catechist, from Tapouliang to Mattau ; Caesar van Winschooten, schoolmaster, from Tapouliang to Akou ; and the catechist Joost Gillesz from Bakloan to Sinkan.

Friday, 9 September.—Inasmuch as a certain Chinese, named Tiotouwa, living in Tavakan, has been living for a considerable time with a native Christian woman, as husband and wife, and—although already advanced in years—has expressed an inclination to be instructed in the truths of Christianity, in order to his receiving the holy sacrament of baptism, it has been resolved by the Governor and Council, after having heard the opinion of the Consistory, and because of the considerations already mentioned, that the woman should be permitted to live with that Chinese, provided he legally marries her when he has made confession of his faith. For this purpose, the said Chinese is hereby placed under

control of the Consistory ; but, more especially, of the clergyman residing in Tavakan, in order that he may be taught the fundamental principles of the true religion.

It was also resolved that all Chinese who cohabit with native Christian women—like the one now referred to, and other similar cases—shall be held bound to render to the Consistory, either towards the close of the present year or at the beginning of next, a satisfactory account of their Christian faith. In default of this, they must separate themselves from such native Christian women, and in case they have begotten children by them, they will be bound to furnish the necessary means for their support.

As there are many aged heathen of both sexes who live together as husbands and wives, and who cannot easily be instructed in the Christian religion, it has been decided by the Consistory that each of those couples will be allowed to continue living under one roof, but on condition that they be united in marriage by the judicial functionary, this officer taking pains to impress upon them the signification of the marriage tie. It was also resolved that any other heathen persons who may afterwards wish to form such unions should be granted the same favour when they apply for it.

Seeing that the number of native schoolmasters in Formosa is considerable, and that they receive only the insufficient sum of one *real* per month from the Company for their support, thus shutting up many of them to engage in hunting and farming to the neglect of their schools, it has been resolved to reduce their number from fifty-four to seventeen, and to pay each of them in future four *reals* monthly, in *cash* ; this salary being exclusive of the rice they receive from the villagers amongst whom they serve in acknowledgment of the good work they are doing. It must, therefore, be now taken for granted that these seventeen schoolmasters will be quite able to support themselves and give more attention to the schools. It will also be understood that they must in future attend to no other business whatever except their own, but dedicate themselves entirely to their teaching work.

The two catechists and the six soldiers who will to-morrow accompany Mr. van Breen to the north, in order to become acquainted with the language spoken there, and to assist him in his clerical duties, have, at their own request, received permission to take two hunting-dogs with them to help in obtaining game as food, seeing that the north country is very barren and unproductive.

For the reasons already mentioned, and because these soldiers were to be employed in spiritual work, it was also decided that they should henceforward be allowed three *reals* monthly for rations ; without, however, giving them any increase of ordinary pay.

Saturday, 10 September. This day we received a communication from the Consistory, setting forth that the Dutch and native schoolmasters are employed in a double capacity, in clerical and in judicial matters, the result being that the schools are much neglected. For example, instances have occurred of teachers closing their schools under pretext of having to attend to judicial

matters, and occupying a whole day, when one hour only would be sufficient for the business in hand. Thus it sometimes happens that there is a great difference of opinion between the civil authority and the ecclesiastical, one party ordering a schoolmaster to another station, while the other wishes to keep him where he is; this mutual opposition ending in that service which the Company has a right to claim being done imperfectly—not to say anything more about neglecting the educational part of our work. The position clearly shows how difficult it is for any one to serve two masters at the same time, and yet succeed in thoroughly satisfying them both.

Therefore, at the request of the Consistory, it has been decided to make a trial of assigning to each person the duties he will have to perform, that in this way the cause of discord may be done away with, and the progress of the work no longer retarded. In keeping with this arrangement, the schoolmasters—Dutch as well as native—shall remain under the authority and in the service of the Church, and shall be employed in the schools only; provided that three of the eight Dutch schoolmasters be appointed as interpreters to the judicial or civil officers, and shall not henceforth meddle any more either with the schools or the schoolmasters.

But if it should happen that once, twice, or three times a year, a qualified civil officer or any one else appointed as such and sent by the Governor, should make his appearance in the villages, and there be no other kind of assistance at hand; the catechists, the schoolmasters, and in case of positive necessity, even the clergyman himself, must render the required services to the Company, according to the written advice and permission of the Consistory.

56. From Governor Caron and the Council of Formosa to Governor-general Antonio van Diemen.—Castle Zeelandia, 25 October 1644. . . . After having given due attention to the proposal for another division of curacies, so as to extend the Christian religion in Formosa, and for reasons connected with other matters belonging to the Church, we have, with the knowledge of the Consistory—as may be seen *in extenso* from our minutes—decided to employ the clergymen in the following manner:

The Rev. J. Happart is charged with conducting divine service at the Castle instead of van Breen; and, like him, to try and become acquainted with matters relating to Formosa; as also to give his attention to those three villages lying in the immediate neighbourhood, namely Sinkan, Tavakan, and Bakloan.

The Rev. J. Bavius, who is now pretty well acquainted with the Sinkan language and who is capable of rendering us important service in that place, is to remain at Soulang, and supervise the four villages of Tevorang, Mattau, Dorko, and Tirozen. Moreover, he must hold a service in Sinkan, Tavakan, and Bakloan, till Mr. Happart be able to undertake that duty.

The Rev. S. van Breen, having already some experience in matters relating to Formosa, has been charged to go meanwhile to Favorlang with two catechists and six soldiers—who are to be trained as schoolmasters—and he is already on his way. After becoming acquainted with the Terrokesian [Tiroseennian?]

language there, he will endeavour to bring all the villages where it is used—about fourteen or fifteen in number—under the influence of Christianity.

We were indeed quite inclined to act upon Your Excellency's proposal and include Tamsuy or Kelang in the above scheme, but this must be deferred for another opportunity. The condition of that part of the country being very unsettled and the people very uncivilised, we yielded to the wish of the Consistory, who considered it better to begin from the south and work northwards. Therefore, in order not to discourage the Consistory, but to start with reforms in our immediate neighbourhood, we agreed not to include those two distant villages.

The provisional clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, at present residing in Sinkan, and who is well acquainted with the language of that place, has been ordered to Tapouliang, with instructions to exercise supervision in that village, and in all the southern villages into which Christianity has been introduced. According to the opinion of the brethren he is well qualified for this office.

In order to further the cause of education, we have met the wishes of the Consistory by decreasing the number of native schoolmasters. These schoolmasters—fifty in number—received from the Company one *real* per month. We have now chosen seventeen of the most capable of these, and have agreed to pay them four *reals* light money per month, with the usual ration of rice which each village where they serve will have to contribute. Hitherto our schoolmasters have occupied too much of their time in cultivating the fields, but the present arrangement will enable them to be wholly engaged in the service of the Church, and will fit them for becoming more and more suitable to meet the possible exigencies of their office.

In order still further to encourage the educational work, and with the view of taking away all impediments, especially that discontent which arises when teachers are employed in other functions than their own, the clergymen have consented, by way of experiment, to exercise exclusive authority over schoolmasters and clerical assistants, so that hereafter no judicial person will be allowed to employ them in his service, except in cases of urgent necessity or when the taxes are to be levied.

In the hope that these new regulations may be crowned with complete success, and that all persons belonging to the Church may be increasingly led to fulfil their duties, the clergymen have agreed to visit three times a year those places in which people have been receiving such instruction as may fit them being received by baptism into the membership of the Christian Church.

We trust therefore that by this redress of abuses, and other measures which we have taken, matters will in future rest on a most satisfactory footing; and that God Almighty will give His divine blessing on all our efforts.

In the reports which the late commander Harousé and the factor Dirk Schoutens handed to you, it is stated that, when these two gentlemen were at Kelang, the parents of several native children applied at the Castle to be baptized; but when the two above-mentioned persons were here, neither of them made any mention of this to the President or Council, so that no measures could be taken for the administration of baptism. We shall, however, bear

the matter in mind, and hope the road from Dorenep to Kelang may soon be opened by Captain Boon; thus giving us access to that region by land, and enabling Mr. van Breen to attend to such details more conveniently than any of the other clergymen.

As expense attending the increase of clerical persons in Formosa is daily increasing, and Your Excellency would much prefer to have this defrayed from the income of the island, we have made out the enclosed memorandum¹ after having calculated what the unavoidable expenses are during the space of a year, and what we may expect to receive in return during that time. Your Excellency will readily see that four entries under the heading of receipts will be amply sufficient to cover these expenses. Other revenues could be added; but as this does not seem necessary at present, we have not done so. We hope your wishes have been thus complied with, and that you will be pleased to sanction the measures adopted. . . .—We are, etc., FRANÇOIS CARON, MAX. LE MAIRE, and other members of Council.

57. From the Council of Formosa to Governor-general Antonio van Diemen.—Castle Zeelandi, 27 December 1644. . . . The Rev. S. van Breen, who has been lying here well-nigh two months sick unto death from fever, has at length recovered; and has now left—according to the resolutions adopted by us, which have already been communicated to Your Excellency—for the northern villages, that he may preach to the heathen the doctrine of salvation in Jesus Christ. We sincerely trust the Almighty may bestow much blessing on his efforts. You will be pleased to see from enclosed copy² what kind of instructions we drew up for him.

It seems that the people in those parts remain exceedingly barbarous and inhuman, so that Mr. van Breen's task will not be an easy one. His residence meanwhile will be in Favorlang.

The judicial functionary Antony Boey, and the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, have left for the south on a similar mission, and have taken up their residence in Tapouliang. The former will have to levy the taxes, and the latter will attend to the schools and all matters ecclesiastical, as Your Excellency will see from the memorandum which has been handed to him.² . . .

58. Particulars relating to Formosa, collected by Super-factor Johan Verpoorten from letters sent to Batavia from that Island between 2 December 1644 and 1 December 1645.—Castle Batavia, December 1644. . . . During the time of the late Governor Traudenius, several families of New Tavakan, numbering fully more than sixty souls, asked for instruction in the Christian religion, and were therefore permitted to come and live in Sinkan. They afterwards repeatedly expressed a wish to leave Sinkan and return to their former dwellings; and notwithstanding our refusal, they had actually left and

¹ This memorandum has not been found.

² This paper has not been found.

built new houses for themselves, and prepared rice-fields. Now, in order to give a good lesson to them and others who might follow their example, we have laid waste these houses and fields. Moreover, we have brought the families back to Sinkan, and condemned two of their ringleaders to wear chains by way of punishment.

Since the meeting of the delegates, everything has been going on peacefully, and the clergymen have finished their round of visits in a way that is quite satisfactory. . . .

As the increase of clergymen in Formosa has entailed daily increasing expenses, means for retrenchment must be considered, and the Governor has drawn up a memorandum in which he shows the expenses to which we are committed during one year, with the probable amount of receipts; as also, how these receipts might be increased in cases of pressing urgency. . . .

With the object of extending the Christian religion in Formosa, and of regulating matters ecclesiastical, a fresh division of curacies has been made, and the clergymen appointed—who must attend to exclusively religious matters, and take note of the new set of rates framed for their assistants—as may be seen from the following.

Rev. J. Happartius was ordered to remain at the Castle instead of Rev. S. van Breen. At the same time, he was charged to keep an eye on the three villages in the immediate neighbourhood, Sinkan, Tavakan, and Bakloan.

It has further been arranged that the Rev. J. Bavius, who is pretty well acquainted with the Sinkan language, should remain in Soulang, and attend to four other villages, namely Tevorang, Mattau, Dorko, and Tirozen. He is also to preach in Sinkan, Tavakan, and Bakloan till Mr. Happart is able to do so.

The Rev. S. van Breen has already obtained some experience in Formosa, and has been charged to proceed to Favorlang in company with two catechists and six soldiers. He will there endeavour to acquire a knowledge of the Tarrocaysian language, so that later, when he has become acquainted with it, he may endeavour to bring all the villages where that language is spoken—about fourteen or fifteen in number—under the influence of Christianity.

The Governor declared he was well inclined to accede to the wish of the Governor-general and extend the limits of the district to which Mr. van Breen had been appointed, so as to include Tamsuy and Kelang; but this had to be deferred till another time, seeing the condition of that part of the country was very wild and unsettled. Moreover, the Consistory inclined towards the other plan, considering it better to begin from the south. The Governor, not wishing to discourage the Consistory, agreed to follow that plan.

The provisional clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, residing in Sinkan, and who is well acquainted with the language, was ordered to Tapouliang, that he might superintend all the southern villages where the Christian religion has already been introduced. According to the opinion of the clergymen, he is capable of performing that task.

March 1645. According to the opinion of Caron, it would be an exceed-

ingly difficult matter to introduce the use of the Dutch language among the inhabitants of Formosa, but most probably there were two or three well-known native dialects which could be made use of throughout the whole island. To attain this object every effort possible will be made. . . .

Our forthcoming meetings of delegates were fixed to be held, on 8 March for those belonging to the northern group of villages, and 4 April for those coming from the south. The Governor considered it very necessary to hold these meetings, so that the uncivilised Formosans might be taught to show more loyalty, and willingness to comply with our reasonable demands. He thinks this object can be better attained by sight than by hearing, that is, by direct rather than indirect communication.

The harvest is so very abundant that the want of labourers is sorely felt; for which reason the Governor suggested to the Governor-general that one or two clergymen and some catechists were very desirable in order to further this good work. The clergymen might be employed in such northern regions as Tamsuy, Kelang, and the bay of Kabalan; while the catechists could take the places of a large number who were ill or who had died. Those substitutes we hope to choose from the catechists who will be arriving here in several vessels. We must be perfectly free to make this selection, even in the case of persons who have been expressly sent out to reside in Formosa; for some men are far more capable than others of performing the work we require.

Another request was that, if possible, some Christian soldiers who can write should every year be selected from the garrison in Batavia and sent out to this island, in order to make schoolmasters of them. A trial has been made with the soldiers residing here, but on the whole they were found unqualified for the task.

The Consistory declared to Mr. Caron that the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, possessed the requisite capacity, that his services were required for Formosa, and that he was entitled to receive a salary in proportion to the services he performed. A favourable decision was asked regarding Mr. Olhoff, as in this way good service would be rendered to the Church and to the Company. . . .

It being a very difficult task for elderly people to learn the language of Formosa, the five boys mentioned to His Excellency, of ten, thirteen, and fourteen years of age, and who can write a little, have been placed in different villages to learn the various dialects. It was intended to increase this number to twelve or fourteen, unless it should please the Governor to command otherwise. . . .

The Rev. Johannes Bavius having served five years of the ten for which he had engaged to serve us at ninety *guilders* a month, has requested an augmentation of salary by private letter dated 14 March, to which he hoped His Excellency would return a favourable reply. . . .

April 1645. According to the opinion of the Governor, it is certainly something noticeable that twenty thousand *guilders* were spent every year in matters connected with the Church when one sees the slow progress which

Christianity has been making, and remembers how things used to be so highly praised.

As a matter of fact, people here—especially those living in the south—have no knowledge of Christianity whatsoever, and merely bear the name of Christians. This state of affairs must principally be attributed to the schoolmasters, the greater number of whom began their career by serving as common soldiers. Some of them died very suddenly, others left after their term of service had expired, and others again began to lead an immoral life—there have been three such instances lately—so that the few who remained were quite unequal to the task. Hence it followed that this praiseworthy movement met with great impediments and drawbacks.

Our work in the five villages of Soulang, Mattau, Sinkan, Tavakan, and Bakloan is progressing, and gives much satisfaction.

The Rev. J. Happart has remained living at the Castle, partly on account of the illness and pregnancy of his wife, who afterwards died; and partly on account of his own increasing debility, which is so serious as to make it probable that he may soon follow his wife.

The Rev. S. van Breen seems to be of a more robust nature. Not only has he fulfilled his clerical functions, but has been of good service to the police in Favorlang, so that several rebellious persons living there have by his gentle means been removed from the village, and are now paying the penalty of their wantonness by being condemned to wear chains.

His Reverence will observe the orders given him in reference to ecclesiastical persons and things, and in the matter of the Rev. Mr. Overtwater. He also declares that he was not unacquainted with the malpractices of Junius, and that it would be very desirable to know what Your Excellency thought about the letter from Overtwater.

59. The Council of Tayouan to the Governor-general Antonio van Diemen.—Castle Zeelandia, 15 February 1645. . . . According as the limits of the Company's possessions are being extended—and they may be expected yearly to extend—we find the harvest more abundant than is convenient for the limited number of labourers, because the work is distributed over a large field, and very many things have to be attended to. We would therefore request Your Excellency to consider whether one or two additional clergymen and catechists are not required here. The clergymen would have to be sent to such northern regions as Tamsuy, Kelang, the bay of Kabalan and its many adjacent villages. It would be well also to supplement the number of catechists at . . .¹

We further beg to be provided with one or two horses—if possible, Persian ones. Horses are much required here; for many long journeys are constantly being taken, in addition to our sometimes personally visiting the stations and sending our commissioners by land. The judicial officers, the clergymen, the

¹ Words wanting in original MS.

catechists, are every day of the week proceeding to some village or other, either to inspect, to settle matters, or to extend the Christian religion. In short, we find that, in this country as much as in the Home-land, each day brings its own work. . . . FRANÇOIS CARON, M. LE MAIRE, ADRIAEN VAN BURG, BOCATIUS PONTANUS, PHILIPS SCHILLEMANS.

60. Resolutions of Castle Zeelandia from 24 March till 16 November 1645.—Saturday, 29 April. Seeing that the Rev. S. van Breen, in addition to attending to his clerical duties, has also voluntarily and during a considerable time rendered judicial service in the Favorlang district, giving us thereby much reason for satisfaction, as these services were attended with many difficulties, we thought it reasonable, and have resolved that the afore-mentioned clergyman shall receive one-third of all fines levied from Chinese living in his district, and one-fourth part of such fines if the matters to which they refer are finally adjudged here in the form of a lawsuit.

We have also decided that before the soldiers arrest a delinquent Chinese, they shall receive a slight remuneration for their trouble; in Favorlang, according to the discretion or judgment of the clergyman; but here, according to that of the Governor.

Therefore, to relieve us of many unnecessary troubles in Tayouan, it was resolved that the before-mentioned clergyman van Breen should have the power to decide all cases in his district (stretching from the north of the Tiroseennian fields to the newly pacified villages) not involving the death sentence or other very important ones.

Wednesday, 17 May. Seeing that, to our great sorrow, some women in this small community openly lead such scandalous, impure, and shameful lives that men and youths have been debauched by them into confirmed ungodliness; and seeing that the Christian name is thereby slandered among the heathen so as to provoke the righteous wrath and punishment of the Lord—who is a holy God, and the enemy of all uncleanness, if proper measures be not taken to remedy such evils—it was resolved this day by the Council of Formosa (three adulteresses having just fallen into the hands of justice) that a suitable House of Correction for women, like the praiseworthy institution found in Batavia, should be erected next to the hospital of the Company, on the south side of Tayouan, and opposite to the place of Justice.

In this House of Correction the three public women already mentioned, and as many more as may be arrested, shall be imprisoned under sharp supervision, and be made to undergo severe punishment. Moreover, the prisoners will have to keep themselves by the labour of their hands, but according to a tax imposed upon them; the amount of which, with all other details, will be settled in due time.

As in these somewhat unproductive times the Company desires to have no fresh burdens laid upon its shoulders (at least if that can in any way be avoided) it is understood that the money for materials and the erection of this building shall be advanced from the Treasury of the Company, and reimbursed from

finer levied from the delinquents, or from the possessions of such delinquents as are married, the particular method to be decided by us, or to form a subject of correspondence with Batavia.

Monday, 4 September 1645. The clergymen Bavius and Happart with the clerk in Holy Orders Olhoff are charged with the political or judicial service in their districts on the same conditions as were granted to Mr. van Breen.

61. From the Tayouan Day-Journal of 15 March till 18 October 1645. . . . The case of the Tapouliangian who was accused and clearly convicted of having had improper and adulterous intercourse with two women married according to heathen rites, and with two unmarried women, could not very well be brought before the Court here—namely, in the Castle. For that reason, Olhoff was charged to settle the matter in conjunction with the elders, and to fine the culprit according to his offence, in addition to the forty or fifty lashes he was to receive; as well as command him, under penalty of the severest punishment, to leave three of the women referred to and abide with the first-mentioned as a married man, and never to separate from her.

62. The Council of Formosa to the President and Councillors of the Government of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 25 October 1645. . . . The Chinese rabble, who are continually inciting the natives, are subdued and put to flight, so that the entire west coast from Tayouan to Tamsuy and Kelang has become safe, and persons can travel to and fro alone without any danger.

We have been led to this course of action by the Rev. S. van Breen—a man of acute judgment. He it was who opened our eyes. Since the time when he took up his residence in that north region, he has by degrees become acquainted with the dens and hiding-places of the Chinese, and traced their private foot-paths. He also found out several rivers, with their different branches, which have been hitherto unknown to our own sailors.

It seems that when the tide was high, the Chinese—pretending to be fishermen and provided with licenses to fish—managed to enter those rivers. They allowed themselves great liberty in the villages; inciting the inhabitants against the Company, and doing whatever they chose in their usual manner.

But when they saw the fire approaching (that they were getting into hot water), some of them, but not all at once, fled to the mountains. Others escaped to Tamsuy; and others again sped on board their ships and set sail.

Not every one of them escaped, however, for four remained entangled in the meshes of the net. These prisoners we examined very sharply; and being put to the torture, they confessed that for many years they had been living there in secret, and had been very intimate with the inhabitants, having also traded with them.

One of these fellows was a man of most imposing stature. His name was Twakan, and he had acted as vice-admiral of the pirates who were vanquished by us the year before. This person was therefore punished in the same way as his predecessor the pirate admiral; for, when the southern delegates met, he was broken on the wheel in presence of all the people. No cause of death

having been found in the other three, they were set at liberty and banished from Formosa.

Some of the rogues who succeeded in escaping, had the effrontery to demand of the inhabitants, in our name, the tribute due to the Company, and succeeded in carrying it off in their small junks, proceeding along those branches of the river which were unknown to us. Those outlets are now closed, however, and it has been decided that no passes and no licenses for fishing shall hereafter be granted to any one residing in the north. . . .

We have seen that the most honourable President and Councillors are much surprised that the total expenses in connection with clerical matters amount to somewhat more than twenty thousand *guilders* a year. And the surprise is not unreasonable when we consider how few Christians in any way worthy of the name have appeared as the result of all these efforts; the converts being, as you very justly maintain, only Christians in mere name. This is especially the case with those of the south, who have doubtless learned by heart in their own language the articles on the fundamental principles of Christianity; but who, on being more closely questioned regarding the significance of these articles, showed clearly that they understood nothing at all about them, and could not give any explanation of their meaning. In other words, they pronounce the sentences without understanding them, and like magpies, merely try to utter such sounds as have been repeated to them.

When we come to examine into this matter more closely, several things are suggested which lead one to make a few observations. At the outset, we must say that we are in no small degree surprised that it has been possible to boast, as has been done in preceding years with so much vainglory, about the progress that the Christian religion has been making here. Surely those reports were too highly coloured. It cannot well be otherwise; for would it have been a small thing, or at all possible, to convert so many natives to Christianity during the few years' continuance of this work, and with so small a number of teachers who understood the language? Had those teachers been apostles, then indeed a widespread genuine movement might have taken place, the result might have turned out as it has been represented; but the very contrary is now coming to light.

With all due respect and regard for you, honoured Gentlemen, we wish to speak concerning this work as we feel regarding it, and to unburden our minds by stating matters as they really appear to us.

Observe, then, that most of our schoolmasters have been soldiers taken from the ranks to learn the language and instruct the people; but before they knew the language they either died, or their time of service had expired and they desired to be replaced by others. The greater number, however, were guilty of drunkenness, fornication, and adultery; in fact, led most scandalous lives; so much so that hardly a fourth of them came up to our expectations. It is not long since three Dutch schoolmasters who were more proficient in the language than any of the others, fell into this grievous and shameful conduct, and were taken from their villages and brought here in company with the witnesses of their

misdeeds. We could mention many other similar cases, but fearing this might tire you, we desist from doing so.

Nor is it our desire to represent to you that the state of things is desperate, or that the work has been done in vain. No; that be far from us. Our only desire is, with all due respect, to show that the propagation of the Gospel has not been proceeding with sails full set, as some persons belonging to the Church have represented; and while we cannot but allow that the servants of the Church have been doing their duty during the time of our stay in this island, the task laid upon them was very great; and the instruments they had to employ were generally weak and inefficient; it being because of this that punishments were inflicted, admonitions imparted, and all imaginable means adopted to give greater effect to the work, in the way we have just been pointing out to you.

It is a source of much joy to us that the Christian religion is advancing and being accepted in Soulang and Mattau. In Sinkan, Tavakan, and Bakloan matters are not quite so bright, but still very hopeful; although it should be remembered that these five villages lie nearest to the Company's headquarters. The others, lying further off, have a less promising aspect. Many years will be needed, but especially the blessing of God, to bring them also into the light of the divine Gospel.

It seems that you, Honoured Sirs, cannot approve of the arrangement we made according to which the Rev. S. van Breen (whose wife died recently) was sent to the north, and the Rev. J. Happart remained at the Castle. The said Happart was ill at the time, and his strength continues to decrease so steadily that he is now nothing but skin and bone. His wife also was then pregnant, and died after prolonged suffering. Moreover, Mr. Happart had not the least experience of this country; and no favourable result could have been expected from anything that he undertook. He is indeed a man of excellent spiritual gifts—we must admit the same of Mr. van Breen—but is too weak to take long journeys in Formosa. Protracted illness has so enfeebled and weakened him, that in spite of all his trouble and exertion, it will be very difficult for him to discharge his duties. Hence we fear that we shall soon have to deplore his loss.

Mr. van Breen on the contrary is pretty robust, is gifted with a very active mind, and is very sagacious. In addition to his clerical duties, he has also performed his judicial services with the assistance of only a very few persons. Among the rebellious Favorlangians he has restored most excellent order; and by means of stratagem and gentle means he has sent some of the rebels hither, who now go in chains in this place. He first made such a perfect clearance amongst the coolie Chinese, and later on amongst those engaged as farmers in the northern villages, that every one admits the eminently successful nature of his work. In one word, he has rendered the Company such important service that we have obtained thereby a safe road to the north; saved the expenses attending the appointment of a judicial person; and obviated many sources of discord among the people.

We have ordered the super-factor Cornelis Caesar, who was staying with sixteen soldiers at Soulang, where he was engaged in a judicial capacity, to return to Tayouan with all those who accompanied him to that place, and have employed him here in transacting daily business, as in Soulang there is just now very little going on. All the villages, however, remain under his judicial administration; and whenever necessity requires, he still visits them—although not just now, of course, seeing that he has left on a visit to Japan.

We beg to assure you, Honoured Sirs, that in all these things we endeavour most conscientiously to serve the Company, and would by no means permit the clergymen to do anything that could be considered improper, or detrimental to our interests.

The proceedings of Junius are not unknown to us; and we can only say that, if such things occurred now, we very much doubt if we should exercise as much patience as others have done; especially on considering the great pains our predecessors took to keep the peace and prevent all kinds of trouble and complaint.

As, however, the servants of the Church give us no cause for reproof as regards their conduct, and as the clergymen and those depending on them follow this example, to our great satisfaction, showing us proper honour and respect, we cannot but be satisfied with them and feel grateful for the good services they render us. We shall observe the regulations and ordinances which you have been pleased to give us concerning divers matters in connection with this subject. . . . FRANÇOIS CARON, NICASIVS HOOGE, PHILIPS SCHILLEMANS.

63. From the Council of Formosa to the President and Councillors of the Indian Government.—Castle Zeelandia, 31 January 1646. . . . The Consistory of Formosa has most urgently recommended and requested us to beg Your Excellencies to send out another clergyman to assist in building up the Christian church. The reasons for presenting this request are the following:—

First: That the time will soon arrive when Mr. van Breen can claim his discharge; and as his present prolonged illness will probably continue, he is very likely preparing to ask for his dismissal.

Second: That the Rev. J. Happart also suffers so much from bad health that he will either die on account of his weakness, or become permanently disabled, and have to be removed from this place in consequence.

Mr. Bavius will then be the only remaining clergyman; but the work is very considerable, and it will be necessary—we are of the same opinion as the Consistory—for another person to second or assist him, especially if we wish to keep possession of what has been obtained after so much labour and so many important sacrifices. We therefore beg you—if circumstances at all allow the Company to do so, and if a sufficient number of clergymen are at Batavia—to take this request of the Consistory into your favourable consideration. . . . FRANÇOIS CARON, P. A. OVERTWATER, C. CAESAR, A. VAN DER BURG, N. DE HOOGE, P. SCHILLEMANS; and GABRIEL HAPPART, *Secretary*.

64. From the Day-Journal of Castle Zeelandia—27 February till 10 November 1646. . . . February.—It being reported that the inhabitants of some places have, unknown to us, and even against our instructions, removed to other villages, a general order is now issued forbidding them to do so, and directing that, before carrying out their desire to remove, they must ask permission, which will not be refused if good reason can be shown.

It has been further intimated to the elders of the villages where the Christian religion is taught and where the Sinkan language is understood, that they should pay all due deference and respect to the clergymen, particularly to the catechists and schoolmasters where they are living; and that they must diligently frequent the schools and churches, so as to accustom the children and youths to do the same—for persons belonging to the Church have complained that the Christians were very lax in discharging these duties.

It was also intimated that sympathy was expected to be shown, for which reason the usual fines, which we think it will be better to go on levying, would be used for helping in the erection of churches and schools in the same way as had hitherto been done.

Another intimation was to the effect that each village shall, when the taxes are being collected, provide its native schoolmasters or teachers with a quantity of rice for their support; a custom which has, indeed, already come to be somewhat generally observed. . . .

5 April. This day, when assembled in Council, the deputies of the Consistory handed to us a written report on the condition of the churches and schools in south Formosa. It had first been presented to the Consistory by the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff; who, according to the express orders of the Consistory, had visited all the villages where the Christian religion was taught; except that, on account of several unexpected hindrances, it had not been possible for him now to go to the southernmost part of the Island.

From this report we see that the attendance at the schools for children and grown-up persons has on the whole increased during the past year, especially at Verovorong, Tapouliang, Akau, and Swatanau. The schools at Kattia, Netue, and Pangsoia are not so well attended; but still they give promise of amendment.

As regards the churches, in Verovorong, and Kattia, the Sabbath was pretty well observed; but in other places, that day was most shamefully profaned, the inhabitants giving themselves up to excessive intoxication. It will be necessary to amend this state of matters by suitable punishments.

Now that better order in all things may prevail, and thereby more satisfactory results be obtained, the Consistory has deemed it expedient, after having made some changes in the regulations regarding churches and schools, to supply Mr. Olhoff with written instructions, which he will have to be guided by in future.

10 June. To-day we received a letter from the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, dated 9th instant, and forwarded from Verovorong, the chief contents being the information that he had just finished his round of visits in

the southern districts, and found all the villages and schools there to be in a fairly prosperous condition.

On 4 instant several inhabitants of Kinitavan appeared before Olhoff when he was at Swatanau, declaring that the people of a certain village called Sapounouk—situated half a day's journey from Kinitavan, among the mountains—were inclined to come down and beg the Company to make peace with them. In answer, Olhoff very cordially invited them to do so.

A fearful famine prevails among those mountain villages in consequence of the drought, so that, contrary to their usual custom, the inhabitants had come down from their mountains to trade with people dwelling in the valley. Olhoff entertains some hope that in process of time our efforts on behalf of all these people may be crowned with success.

14-16 August. On our being assembled in Council, the president of the reverend Consistory, Rev. S. van Breen, showed us two extracts from the deliberations of the said Consistory, as also 'Instructions respecting the practice of the Christian life' in questions and answers compiled by the Rev. Johannes Happart.

The said extracts were chiefly taken up in showing that the use of the usual catechism—whereof a copy was also shown us—had often been misleading to the people. Moved by Christian zeal, the Consistory was agreed that, to promote the welfare of the church in Formosa, the third part of this catechism—referring to gratitude—should be revised and compiled anew, and then made use of in all the schools, after having received our approbation. Moreover, the Consistory thought that the formulary concerning the Christian religion which had been introduced by Mr. Junius, was unsuitable for use, and that the president had charged the reverend brethren to make another and larger compilation, which should be submitted for our approval.

After having most maturely considered the subject and most attentively perused the documents handed to us, we were surprised to learn that the inhabitants of Formosa had not been receiving better instruction. At the same time, we hailed with much satisfaction the compilation of new and more appropriate articles for the edification of the people. We therefore unanimously expressed our approbation of the resolutions come to by the Consistory, and at the same time praised the zeal it has shown in this matter.

65. Report from Governor Caron to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—On board the *Foucker*, December 1646. . . . The clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, who was urged and encouraged to undertake service in the south, succeeded last winter, by means of unceasing diligence, in greatly reviving the work that had fallen so sadly into decay. His reopening of the schools gave us and the Consistory extreme satisfaction, as we were thereby led to have good hope that this work would be continued in excellent order. But to our great regret matters have turned out otherwise; for during the summer all the schoolmasters who were acquainted with the language, fell a prey to the yearly summer disease; and the schools seem

again to be deserted—truly a most lamentable state of affairs ; but as far as it was possible with the means at our disposal, a start was made once more, and before my departure, matters had already begun to mend.

In many villages in the region under Mr. van Breen, Church work, and especially the schools, have met with many impediments, arising partly from the former evil reputation of the place, and the schoolmasters having suffered from the same illness as those in the south, many of them having died. The said clergyman was also for a long time dangerously ill, and at his own desire was brought to Tayouan. God be praised, his health considerably improved while residing there. However, in the face of every drawback, Mr. van Breen has been remarkably successful in the district allotted to him, as we can see from the special blessing resting on his labours, and as Your Excellency will be able to judge from the copybooks of his scholars, who have been receiving his instructions for eighteen months.

In the district of the Rev. J. Bavius the state of matters is very promising, although not quite so much as we should like. For some time Mr. Bavius has been ill in Soulang. He lost several schoolmasters through sickness. In order to repair his strength he has returned to the Castle, where he has been staying for two months.

But the time that these two clergyman have been passing there has not been lost. The manner of propagating the Christian religion among the inhabitants has been wholly revised ; and the catechism compiled by Mr. Junius—being considered unsuitable for use and consequently abolished—has been replaced by a new one, our Consistory having judged this step to be necessary and advisable for the progress of the kingdom of God. Copies of these documents you will also find among my papers.¹ . . .

Now as regards the political or temporal government exercised over the people of Formosa subject to the rule of the Company, it is not so important as to render it necessary that another class of political or judicial officers should be appointed to the districts as they are at present divided. I have been able to judge of this matter from both points of view ; and my experience is that the judicial office is merely a nominal one. On the whole, persons entrusted with that office have little to do. The cases that generally occur are of no great importance ; and the clergymen are quite able to settle them, seeing that every serious case and the punishments inflicted upon criminals are all attended to at the Castle.

Maintaining this civil or judicial office also proves a great burden to those who have been appointed, for we have everywhere found that the expenses they incur can only be met from the proceeds of their labour.

But there are two other considerations of much greater importance. First of all there is the pecuniary responsibility which these judicial persons—of whom there must be three at least—bring to the Company ; oftentimes, too, quite needlessly.

¹ These copies have not been found.

However, the disagreements which arise between the clerical and the judicial persons are most of all to be feared, because the seat of these disputes is so far away from the residence of the Governor and of the Council, that it is exceedingly difficult to maintain peace and devotion to our interests among the disputants. The degree of bitterness entertained among those persons has become so intense, that instead of rendering each other the proper and requisite assistance, they are on the lookout to affront and harm one another—a state of things which is most deplorable.

The principal cause of it is that the persons appointed to the judicial office, whether they be super-factors, factors or sub-factors, either not understanding their calling or misinterpreting and disobeying the regulations given them, are continually at sixes and sevens with the clerical persons; maintaining that they possess absolute authority over the clergymen, and that the latter should obey them in all things as subjects ought to do. Sometimes, too, their demands are tyrannical.

This arbitrary and unreasonable treatment has greatly discouraged the clergymen, and caused them to regard their clerical office in Formosa as something unendurable, with the result that they feel a dislike to it. Meanwhile the pupils have to suffer; for although expenses continually keep running up, our schools are being neglected.

The judicial officer requires that every one, great and small, shall render him that honour and obedience which the highest authority receives. On the other hand, it is maintained that, if the people are to be taught and the knowledge of the Holy Ghost imparted to the inhabitants, the schoolmasters and clergymen must have the authority to insist on their instructions being attended to. This fills the minds of the poor inhabitants with amazement, as they do not understand either the one demand or the other. Their intellect is so weak and they are naturally so stupid, that they do not comprehend one-third part of what is told them, much less take it in and digest it.

This state of matters is like a cancer that has already made sad ravages. It has, however, been remedied during my sojourn in Formosa, as I abolished the civil or judicial office, whereof I have already informed you.

It is my unalterable opinion—which I now state under Your Excellency's correction—that in these critical times we can never expect success if things go on in the way they have been doing. And indeed judicial persons are not required as long as the minds of these poor and benighted people are not opened by religious and secular instruction. . . . Your most obedient servant,

FRANÇOIS CARON.

66. From Minutes of the Tayouan Council and Consistory.—Castle Zeelandia, Thursday, 16 August 1646. In the name and by command of the most reverend Consistory of this place, the president, Mr. van Breen, laid before us a copy of the smaller catechism compiled by Rev. Rob. Junius for the people of Formosa, and the copy of a set of questions and answers on the practice of

the Christian life, written by Rev. Joannes Happart ; together with two extracts from Minutes of the Consistory, as follows :—

2 March 1646.—It was further considered (when discussing the question how it was that the natives received so poor instruction) what means could be adopted for increasing and strengthening the knowledge and practice of the Christian life among the inhabitants. To this end it was agreed that the small catechism which Mr. Junius had introduced into most of the villages of Formosa, should be explained by means of short notes inserted between the paragraphs ; that in this form the schoolmasters should first employ it for their own instruction and then be guided by the clergymen in making diligent use of it among the people. The Rev. Simon van Breen was charged with seeing this resolution put into effect.

Further: It was agreed that an exposition of that part of the catechism, which treats of the subject of thankfulness, should be prepared, so that knowledge may be joined to virtue, and godliness be inculcated in the hearts of the inhabitants. The Secretary was charged with the execution of this resolution.

8 August.—The articles concerning the 'Practice of the Christian life' which the secretary had been appointed to draw up, were read to the Consistory ; and the opinion of the brethren having been asked, they declared that they considered them quite sound, and conformable to the teaching of Holy Scripture. Moreover, they judged it expedient that these articles should be introduced into all the schools in Formosa, after first communicating to the Governor and Council this resolution come to by the Consistory.

As to the catechism on the Christian faith which had been compiled by Mr. Junius for use in our schools, and which Mr. van Breen was charged to supplement with explanatory notes, the president of the Consistory declared that the matter contained in said catechism was so ill chosen, and the order followed so unsuitable, that it was impossible to improve it by means of explanatory notes ; and that, in its present form, the catechism was not fit to be used as a Christian formulary in the schools of Formosa.

After several members of the Consistory had examined this catechism and had expressed opinions which coincided with those of the president, it was decided to compile another catechism which might be used for the purposes of instruction.

It was also deemed expedient that as far as possible the words of the former catechism should be retained, and its defects be supplied by employing the words of a certain larger catechism which Mr. Junius had prepared shortly before he left the island, so that persons accustomed to the use of that catechism might not find so many changes—perhaps changes for the worse—when the new one was issued.

Our Consistory agreed that the Governor and his Councillors should be informed of these decisions.

After the abovementioned documents had, at the express desire of the most reverend Consistory, been attentively considered by all the members of Council,

it caused great surprise that during a long series of years the inhabitants of Formosa had not been receiving better instruction than was contained in the smaller catechism of Mr. Junius; a catechism which the Consistory itself had declared to be unsuitable for use in our schools.

The members of Council further declared that, after having cursorily examined the new questions and answers compiled by Rev. J. Happart on the third part of the said catechism, they were well pleased and much satisfied with his work.

After the Christian motives of the aforesaid Consistory—whose most praiseworthy zeal in promoting the welfare of the Church and schools in Formosa deserves the highest praise, and for which sincere thanks are now returned—had been carefully deliberated upon, its resolutions were unanimously approved of and confirmed by the Council, the members thereof agreeing that it would be very useful and necessary, not only to introduce the beforementioned new articles compiled by Mr. Happart into the schools, but that Mr. van Breen should be authorised to compile—in place of the old catechism by Mr. Junius—another catechism or Formula of Instruction under approval of the Consistory, in order that it might supplant the other, and be used in all the schools of Formosa.

And in order that our resolution and approval should come to the perfect knowledge of the Consistory, our secretary is hereby ordered to prepare a copy of this Minute, which deputies selected by us will hand to the Consistory.—(Signed) FRANÇOIS CARON, P. ANTONISZ OVERTWATER, ADRIAEN VAN DER BURG, PHILIPS SCHILLEMANS, GABRIEL HAPPART, and FREDERICK SCHEDEL, *Secretary*.

67. Instructions from Governor Caron to President Overtwater and the Council of Formosa.—Tayouan, 5 November 1646. . . . It is exceedingly necessary that, without a moment more being lost, Tevorang should be delivered from the witches and false priestesses in that place; inasmuch as by their heathenish, yea diabolical, superstitions, they exercise the most baneful influence on our still unenlightened converts. They are so hurtful and hinder our people so much in the acquirement of saving truth that this evil can no longer be borne. These witches work more mischief among the converts than Christian teachers, with all their labour, can do them good.

For reasons which are well known to you, this state of matters has hitherto been connived at; but the opinions which were formerly entertained on the subject have become obsolete, and are now totally forgotten. Further, the complaints about these women increase to such an extent that we are now called upon to act in a most rigorous manner, without any feelings of commiseration, and without heeding any kind of remonstrance or lamentation.

Agreeably to your express command—received more than once from Batavia—firm measures should be taken next winter during the dry season, so that this pernicious breed of vermin may be banished from Tevorang and other villages

where our people reside, and confine themselves to such places as may be fixed upon by the authorities at Tayouan. . . .

With regard to the judicial part of the government exercised over the Formosans—which till now has been managed to our satisfaction by ecclesiastical persons—you will allow things to remain as they were when I left, and make no change. At the same time I recommend you to let kind and peaceable sentiments prevail in your intercourse and correspondence with the clergymen. I advise you to encourage them in an affable way to fulfil their duty, and beg you to treat them with kindness. You saw how I exercised these qualities in my dealings with them, and how they in turn gave me abundant cause for satisfaction. In this way progress will be made in the holy work, you yourself will enjoy much peace of mind, and your reputation will become better and better. Every one knows what strength and support a man feels in the exercise of his vocation when another gives him his moral support, and when he is encouraged by love and affection to continue in his career. There are—God help us—but few clergymen at our disposal, and few indeed are the labourers occupied at the Christian edifice, so that we have every reason to hold those amongst us in high estimation, and to treat them in such a way that they may not perform their work unwillingly, but with zeal and favour.

The clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, who is a very zealous man, and who intends to remain some years longer in Formosa, is at present the only agent whom we can employ in the south. You will therefore endeavour to give him your assistance in the continuation of that work, and render your support to all those who do good service in the churches and schools. . . .

FRANÇOIS CARON.

68. The President and Council of Formosa to the Councillors of India.—Fort Zeelandia, 18 January 1647. . . . There are at present but two clergymen to attend to clerical work in Tayouan and Formosa; and one of them—the Rev. Simon van Breen—greatly desires to be discharged towards the coming year, having requested us to write to you on that subject. There is one clerk in Holy Orders occupied in the south, as also five catechists and twenty-nine schoolmasters. The Rev. J. Bavius died peacefully in the Lord on 23 December. Hence the work has been carried on under great disadvantages, and would most probably have suffered still more if Mr. Johannes Happart had not expressed his willingness to inspect the schools, and to keep them in good order; an offer which was very welcome to us.

Thus, the decease of Mr. Bavius, the approaching departure of Mr. van Breen, and the fact that till now we have been provided with so few labourers to occupy so extensive a field, leads us to think that it would be a most excellent thing if, towards the approaching monsoon, several more clergymen were added to our staff.

At the present juncture, seeing that the death of the clergyman appointed to Soulang brought about a vacancy in the ecclesiastical and judicial offices there, we have sent thither a very capable, pious, and peaceable man, the factor

Eduard aux Brebis, who will, we trust, give us much satisfaction in his official capacity. We acted thus in conformity with the resolutions come to when Traudenius was governor, and during the presidency of Le Maire; both of whom sent deputies with judicial power to the villages, the clergymen having made continual complaints that the exercise of the judicial power by them was excessively troublesome and detrimental to their clerical functions; as indeed is apparent from the resolutions which were come to at that time, and which we have again been carefully perusing.

Now we lay peculiar stress upon the qualifications of the said E. aux Brebis, and even in the face of the statement that, among those who formerly held the judicial office, several were the cause of much annoyance to the clergymen. This we now wish very much to avoid; but we do not fear that Mr. aux Brebis will be the cause of anything disagreeable. For a long time he was an elder of the Church, which office he still holds. When he was elected to the eldership, Mr. Happart declared that the choice gave him extreme satisfaction, as he well knew what a worthy person Mr. aux Brebis really was. In short, Mr. Happart expressed much pleasure on being informed of the resolution of the Council.

From all we can hear, aux Brebis himself seems to be well satisfied with the task assigned him, and thoroughly to understand that the judicial office does not coincide with the calling of ecclesiastical persons.

And as it nowhere appears from any resolution that there existed any intention of removing judicial persons from the country, but rather that letters received from the Governor-general and Councillors of India highly commended their appointment, we have, for many other reasons we now pass over for the sake of brevity, resolved and decided, at the present most fitting opportunity, to appoint judicial persons in the district that was under the superintendence of Mr. Bavius, quietly leaving the other districts or villages as they are, namely, under superintendence of the clergymen.

We do not in the least doubt that, after having carefully considered the documents and reports, and other minor statements placed before us, Your Excellencies will meanwhile sanction what we have begun for the good of the Company, and permit the arrangements now made to become permanent.

69. Day-Journal on Delegates' Meeting.—Tayouan, 14 March 1647. The weather is lovely, excellent and most suitable. Very early in the morning, about two hours before daybreak, ensign Ridsaar Weils was sent in advance to Sakam with a detachment of eighty soldiers. Soon after, the super-factors and assistants with the president Pieter Antonisz Overtwater and Council of Formosa followed, also the judicial officials of Soulang; the whole train speedily arriving at Sakam before sunrise.

The president was met on the shore by the elders of the northern villages and all the Dutchmen then residing at Sakam. One and all accompanied him from the shore to Government House. The necessary arrangements were

immediately made ; and the order was given that the commanders speaking the same language should be seated at the same table, as the task of the interpreters would thus be much facilitated.

This being done, the president and the secretary of the meeting, accompanied by the Rev. Joannes Happart—who had arrived from Soulang very early in the morning to attend the meeting—repaired to the court of the Company's house, in which these meetings are generally held.

The president immediately began by addressing the Formosans ; and after he had admonished them to listen with all possible attention to the matters that might be discussed and to what might be communicated to them in his name, he proceeded by enumerating, in substance, the important items—for most part the same as those of the year before—the interpreters repeating the words spoken by the president.

Joost van Bergen, a free citizen and sheriff, was employed as interpreter to the Formosans. He was well acquainted with the Sinkan language, having had good opportunities of becoming known to the inhabitants and elders of many villages. The schoolmaster of Favorlang was appointed interpreter to the people of that place. Interpreters who knew the Camachatsian dialects and that spoken in the mountains, were also engaged.

Statements on the following topics were then made to the delegates.

That they, the elders who at our command had all assembled in that place, were heartily welcome, and were sincerely thanked for their timely appearance.

Thanks were also expressed for the required tribute, not on account of its intrinsic value, for that was of little importance to the Company—since many times that amount was yearly expended for the welfare of the country and maintaining their churches and schools—but because it proved they were willing to fulfil their bounden duty, and felt well inclined towards us. This spirit of loyalty was also evident from the good services they had rendered in their offices during the past year, both to the Company and to the Dutch residents.

That the delegates had now been called together for the fourth time with the same object as before, namely, to acquaint them with matters relating to the maintenance of peace, and other things affecting the common weal.

There was also the yearly election of elders to be attended to. This was done according to the Dutch custom. It would then appear if it were possible to re-elect many of those now who were called upon to demit their office. It had always been a fixed rule among the Dutch, and invariably followed even in Formosa and Tayouan, that every year there should be a fresh election of elders. Nobody here, therefore, should feel angry or ashamed of himself when this rule was put into practice ; inasmuch as it was by no means intended that any one not chosen again should consider himself despised or feel ashamed, but only that each person who had suitably conducted himself, might reap the fruits of such good conduct. In case they were not re-elected this year, they could nevertheless entertain the hope that next year, if they proved themselves

to be obedient, quiet, and industrious, the Governor would again graciously appoint them to office.

As the elders of the villages lying in the immediate neighbourhood, Sinkan, Tavakan, and Bakloan, had negligently failed to come and renew their allegiance as before, and it being too late to summon them to appear, the President proceeded to receive the delegates who were present in the order hereafter mentioned, thanking them for the services they had already rendered.

The greater number of them were elected anew for the following year; some, but only a few, were dismissed; some new ones were chosen; and all of them were admonished to fulfil their respective duties, namely . . .¹

Thereupon the following explanation was made to all the delegates assembled—that is, after the condition of each village had been separately inquired into, and only a few new elders chosen, the greater number of the former ones having been retained in office.

The explanation then went on to make clear that it was not the custom of our country to retain a person in any Government office longer than one year, whereas some amongst them had their tenure of office prolonged to two and three years. They ought not therefore to reckon upon being retained in office more than one year. Hence, the token of their dignity, a staff, was given them for that space of time only. Such being the case, they were not allowed to hand this staff over to any one to make use of, or rather to make a bad use thereof; their clear duty being to deliver it to us in person, on expiry of their term of office, at the next meeting of delegates.

Should it happen, however, that one of the elders died before that time, or be prevented from attending the meeting of delegates, then care must be taken in arranging to have the staff returned into the hands of the Dutch; in the latter case, the person bringing it himself to that place where the delegates met; and in the former, that it should be accompanied with some reliable testimony as to the character of the deceased. Not that we attached any inherent value to the staff itself. All that we desired was that this sign of authority, which we conferred on them to their own honour, should not be used by others, but by themselves alone.

Again, none of the chiefs of those villages should be allowed to hide from our knowledge any offences committed or any points of dispute that might arise among them, very much less to take the law into their own hands. On the contrary, they were to give due notice to the Dutch of all things of that kind that occurred. . . .

As some persons or families dwelling in certain villages had, without our knowledge and consent, removed to other villages, the command was now given that this should not be repeated. First of all application must be made to us for permission to go and live elsewhere, which permission would be granted if it was found necessary for them to move.

¹ Words missing in original ms.

Once more, after giving due notice to the Dutch, the delegates must order the seizure of all Chinese not free men who came into the Formosan villages or fields to trade without being duly provided with silver medals. Such prisoners were to be brought to the Castle, where those who had arrested them would be rewarded with five cangans.

As on former occasions, the elders of the villages where the doctrine of the Christian religion had been introduced and where the Sinkan language was understood, were exhorted to see that the clergymen in particular, with the catechists and schoolmasters (in the places where such resided) should be treated with all due honour and respect. Also that the elders themselves should not only attend divine service, but encourage their children and other young people to do so, and accustom them regularly to attend the schools, as the clergymen very often complained that so very little zeal was shown in this matter—for which reason the levying of fines upon absentees would be continued, and the amount used for the erection of school-houses and the support of divine ordinances.

It further enjoined that every village where native schoolmasters or teachers are established (and this is now pretty much the case everywhere) shall in future supply those schoolmasters with the yearly quantity of rice necessary for their support, at the time when the taxes are levied. . . .

Shortly after noon, and when the business that had to be attended to was settled, the president and all who were present rose from their seats and took some exercise in the court. Thereafter the tables were immediately covered, the elders resumed their seats in the order already mentioned, and all were liberally regaled with food and drink. The greater number of those who had attended took their departure in the evening, as it was full moon.

Some members of the Council, as well as our soldiers and Dutchmen, returned to Tayouan. But the president remained at Sakam, with the intention of attending the meeting of the southern delegates to-morrow, as well as to inspect some Chinese fields in the neighbourhood. . . .

70. The President and Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 24 September 1647. . . . The Rev. Johannes Happart, considering his usual state of health, felt himself pretty strong during the winter, and was zealously at work in the villages when he became feverish just before the arrival of the ships. Later on he became quite ill; and, after having been constantly confined to bed for two months, daily dwindled away, till he died in the Lord on 20 August.

The Revs. S. van Breen and J. Vertrecht have both left for Favorlang, with the intention of remaining there some three or four weeks.

The Rev. D. Gravius, who resides in Soulang, is in the meantime charged with the service at Tayouan; but Mr. van Breen has been appointed to remain at the Castle, after one or two more visits to Favorlang.

Mr. Vertrecht has left, accompanied by his whole family. He very much desires to be provided with a stone house instead of a bamboo one. . . .

71. From the Tayouan Day-Journal of 11 November 1647 till 9 January 1648.—On 2 December those chosen by the Consistory to visit the northern villages, Rev. Simon van Breen, the deacon Cornelis van Dam and Willem Verstegen, left to pay the yearly visit to the churches and schools in that part of the country.

5 December. The commissioners appointed by the Consistory to visit the churches and schools returned to-day to the Castle. They handed us a written report containing the following :

In the villages of Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan they found three classes of day-schools. One group was attended by boys, among whom were many grown-up youths and some men. In these schools instruction was given in spelling, reading, writing, the prayers, and from the new catechism on man's thankfulness. The second group of schools was attended by grown-up men from the age of twenty to thirty-five years. The third was attended by grown-up women of nearly the same age as the men. Among these women there were a considerable number of little girls. In the two last mentioned kind of schools instruction was given only in the prayers and the catechism.

The boys' school in Sinkan was attended by a hundred and ten scholars, who—except forty-seven of the youngest—could read and spell pretty well. Their writing was bad. They were well acquainted with the prayers and the new catechism. The eldest boy had reached the eighteenth question. The school for men was attended by fifty-eight scholars, whose knowledge of the prayers and the catechism was pretty much the same as that of the boys. The school for women had an attendance of one hundred and sixty-four. Some of them knew very little about the prayers, but in other matters they were on a par with the men. Eight sermons, written by the Rev. R. Junius, Rev. J. Happart and Mr. Olhoff, were used when divine service was held.

In Tavakan the school for boys was attended by seventy-eight scholars, but some new-comers among them had as yet learnt very little indeed. Those who were more advanced could read, write, and spell, but very indifferently. They knew the prayers pretty well, and the most advanced had reached the fifteenth and sixteenth questions of the above-mentioned catechism. Forty-two attended the school for men : and one hundred the school for women. In both schools the scholars were, on the whole, well acquainted with the prayers ; but they had not got further than the tenth question of the catechism. Only two sermons, one by Mr. Junius and one by Mr. Olhoff, were read at divine service.

In Bakloan, the boys' school was attended by a hundred and three scholars, whose spelling and reading were very indifferent. They could write and pray sufficiently well. They were far advanced in the catechism, the most advanced amongst them having reached the fiftieth, sixtieth, and one of them, the seventy-fifth, question. Sixty attended the daily school for men ; one hundred and ten persons the school for women—among whom the girls must be included

in the same way as at Sinkan and Tavakan. On the whole they were all thoroughly acquainted with the prayers and the catechism, the more advanced among the men having reached the thirtieth and fortieth, the more advanced among the women the twentieth and twenty-fifth, questions. In addition to these three daily schools (the same as those at Sinkan and Tavakan) the rest of the people in Bakloan attended school one week out of every six, in order to be further instructed in the prayers and larger catechism. After the decease of Mr. Happart, the catechist Hanton continued to give these instructions. On Sundays only one sermon by Mr. Happart, on the first commandment, and another by Mr. Junius, were read to the people.

In Soulang and Mattau three sermons by Mr. Junius, and ten by Messrs. Happart and Olhoff, were read at the Sabbath service. In the schools for boys—also attended by grown-up youths and men—there were a hundred and forty-one scholars at Soulang and a hundred and forty-five at Mattau. They could all spell, read, and write tolerably well, and were well acquainted with the prayers. But no other kind of instruction was given at Soulang except in the above-mentioned school, and in an infant school just established by the Rev. D. Gravius, where two hundred and fifty-three young children attended. We trust, judging from the hopeful results during the short time it has been opened, the latter will be productive of much good.

The people of Mattau, except those attending the boys' school, were divided into seven companies, and each of these attended every seventh week to receive instruction in the prayers.

72. The Committee on Indian Affairs of the Amsterdam Classis to the Consistory of Formosa.—*Reverend, most discreet, and pious brethren and fellow-labourers in the work of the Lord.* It is now a very long time since we received any letters from you to inform us of the condition of your church in Formosa. We have been very anxious to receive such letters from you, having heard nothing but what has been written to us by some private persons. And we assure you it was with much sorrow we heard that, though the harvest in your part of the field is very abundant, the labourers are so very few. Hence we have been moved to do our very utmost to send out two clergymen to you.

This duty was assigned to the Amsterdam chamber; and our good Lord has blessed our efforts so far that we have found two capable persons, who will now be sent out to the churches in India as clergymen. The one, Balthasar Obie de Meter, has most praiseworthy attended to the clerical service for many years, in the island of Amelandt. He is a much beloved, pious and modest man. His wife will accompany him. The other is the Rev. Johannes a Warmeloo, a young man who passed the preparatory examination at Deventer, and who was most earnestly recommended to our attention for his pious life and diligence in study. He is now qualified by the laying on of hands to perform clerical service.

We now sincerely trust that our good Lord, the Chief Shepherd of the flock, will accompany these His servants on their journey out, and that He will enrich them more and more with the precious gifts of His Holy Spirit, so that their services may be crowned with success, and the blessed results of their labours be seen in the churches of India.

We hope the other chambers may be able to send four additional clergymen to you by the fleet which will be setting sail before long.

We have also earnestly requested the Reverend brethren of the Consistory of Batavia, that the small number of labourers amongst you should be augmented from the clergymen now sent out, so that you may as far as possible be properly supplied.

Meanwhile it is a source of joy to us, that the Lord our God has nevertheless provided for that young community in the island of Formosa, inasmuch as He has given it such learned and prudent labourers; who, as far as it was in their power, have made up for this paucity of labourers by their diligence and zeal. May the Lord grant our beloved brethren, more and more, all necessary gifts of body and soul, and eventually send them capable and efficient assistance in such an important work as the conversion of so many blind souls.

Beloved brethren, we pray to God without ceasing that His kingdom may come amongst those poor souls; so that, their eyes opened from darkness to the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, they may be delivered from the bondage of Satan unto God.

We also most sincerely desire to enter into more special correspondence with you; and we send this short letter that you yourselves may be encouraged to give us a more definite account of the state of Christianity among the people of Formosa, and inform us in what way we can assist and support you in your zealous efforts.

After having been informed of the want of labourers which is felt among you, we shall most willingly give our assistance and second you in the holy zeal you show. The Church in Batavia has given us very little news—rather no news whatever—concerning your community. In the meantime, when the last North-Holland synod met, loud complaints were made by the brethren of South-Holland about the bad condition of Christianity in the island of Formosa, as if only the want of labourers had been the cause of that sad condition of things. Moreover it was insinuated that we had proved ourselves very negligent. If, therefore, beloved brethren, you will in future inform us about the condition of the Church in your island, we shall do all in our power to promote the welfare and extension of the kingdom of Christ among those benighted Formosans.

We have but little news to add, except that at Munster formal negotiations about peace are being carried on, and that the most serious reports are being spread about the treaty between us and Spain, and the overtures resulting therefrom between us and France, in case Spain should prove faithless. The Provinces cannot agree among themselves, so that we find ourselves at present in *periculosissima crisi*. God grant that no disruption of our union may crush

between the two great powers of Spain and France. May the Lord have mercy upon us, and mercifully grant that peace may be continued.

Our object in writing this letter is to restore peace and quiet; and we shall now conclude with our most sincere prayers, in which we commend you, beloved brethren, to the protection of God and the Word of His grace, so that He may bless you in your persons and your labours, and His great and mighty name be confessed and glorified more and more among those benighted heathen.—In name of the Commissioners of Classis of Amsterdam for correspondence with the churches in India,

PETRUS WITTENWRONGEL,
JOHANNES MOURCOURTIUS.

73. From the Day-Journal of Castle Zeelandia.—Tayouan, 25 February 1648. This day we received a short communication from the clergyman Jacobus Vertrecht, from Favorlang, in which he informs us that some people of Poiali had struck off the heads of three men of Kalikan Parowan on their return from Tarrangan. He does not exactly know wherefore, but only that the men of Poiali were said to have done the same last year to those of Kalikan Parowan.

1 March. To-day we wrote a short letter to the clergyman Jacobus Vertrecht, in answer to his letter mentioned on 25 February. In this letter we recommended him to try and get the quarrel that had arisen between Poiali and Kalikan Parowan ended in the best way he possibly could, and to reconcile those villages, if the parties offended gave their consent, in the customary way; but if they would not, then to inform us by first opportunity, so that we might take the matter into consideration.

We also forwarded a short letter to the clerk in Holy Orders Hans Olhoff. In this letter we chiefly commented on the fact that, as the war against the people of Suffungh had already been prosperously begun, and the people of Longkiau, as well as of other villages, were quite prepared to attack those of Tarrikidik-Quaber and their followers, the inhabitants should in present circumstances be called upon to continue the war; provided, however, that the chiefs of the villages should endeavour to appear at the next meeting of delegates.

11 March. This day received a letter from the Rev. Jacobus Vertrecht, from Favorlang, dated 5 February, wherein he informs us that he has visited all the places belonging to his district, and found everything in excellent order. He added that he was occupied in introducing the elements of the Dutch language among the young people of Favorlang and several other villages; and felt very confident that in process of time some good might result from these efforts. . . .

27 March. This day we received a short communication from the clerk in Holy Orders (*sic*) Jacobus Vertrecht, from Favorlang, dated 24 March, in which he states that the villages Poiali and Parowan have again become reconciled according to the custom of the country. The quarrel had its origin in the murders referred to in the entry of 25 February. The three heads mentioned there, however, were taken by the people of Poiali from villagers of

Warrawara, and not from those of Kalikan Parowan, although the blow had been aimed at Parowan ; so that three villages instead of two had to be pacified. The real cause of this fresh murder was that the people of Poeali and Parowan had last year been reconciled to each other through Rev. S. van Breen, but only by mere words, without Poeali, the offended party, having received the amount of the fine. Therefore, the people of Poeali had continued to feel resentful and eventually had revenged themselves.

29 March. In the evening, after the closing of the gates, we received a letter from the Rev. D. Gravius from Soulang, serving as an introduction for a certain inhabitant (and supposed incendiary) of the same village, who was brought here under a proper escort, with some papers as proofs against him.

31 March. Received, as on the day before yesterday, a letter from Rev. D. Gravius referring to two accompanying persons suspected of incendiarism, with some papers as proof against them. The letter informs us that a large house in Soulang, built only sixteen days ago, had been burned down to the ground.

1 April. We also received a letter from the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, from Verovorong, in which he states that, on the 24th of last month, the inhabitants of the villages allied to us had attacked the village of Tuakan. About two hundred of them plundered and fired that village. They then also tried to take Suffungh by surprise, but were obliged to retreat, as the people there were keeping strict watch, and had moreover barricaded all the entrances with palisades. The roads leading to the village had also been abundantly supplied with traps or snares.

29 April. To-day a letter reached us from the clergyman Vertrecht, who is stationed at Favorlang. It states that a short time ago the Serriammians (inhabitants of ten yet unknown villages lying in a gorge near the river Thausa-Calachey) had captured three heads of the people of Tabocol.

9 May. In the afternoon received a short letter from the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, from which we learn that, on the 5th of this month, the inhabitants of the southern villages marched for the fourth time against the hostile village of Suffungh, and had succeeded after a prolonged struggle in taking it ; whereon they first plundered, and afterwards fired it. All the corn they found in the fields they destroyed and burnt, so that famine will oblige those enemies to surrender themselves into our hands.

After the battle, one of the headmen of the hostile village of Tarrikidik appeared before Mr. Olhoff in Verovorong, with the request that his people might again be graciously received as friends of the Company. This headman or chief was so filled with terror that he could scarcely speak. Mr. Olhoff assured him that they would be again regarded as friends provided the Company gave its consent thereto.

2 July. We also received a short letter from the clergyman Jacobus Vertrecht, from Favorlang, in which he reports that the summer sickness is making progress in the north, most of the schoolmasters, as well as Mr. Vertrecht himself, having taken ill.

10 July. This day the Rev. J. Vertrecht arrived from Favorlang ill.

29 August. Some time ago, both verbally and in writing, we advised the clergyman Gravius and Hambroek to inquire in their respective villages if the inhabitants were provided with a sufficient store of grain; so that, for support of the community, we might buy some if needed; either for money or for *cangans*. As their answers were rather favourable, we this day sent a thousand Spanish *reals* and a quantity of *cangans* to Soulang, for the purpose of buying corn to that amount.

20 September. To-day we again received from Mattau some good parcels of unhusked paddy, collected by the Rev. Antonius Hambroek in that district. There were fifty-three or fifty-four parcels of one thousand six hundred bundles each; producing, after the husks had been removed, fifty cattles in sixteens. Under present circumstances, this corn is very welcome to us; and our intention is to divide and sell it to the people of this community.

9 October. A letter sent by Mr. Vertrecht has reached us from Favorlang, from which we learn that all things bear a favourable aspect in his district, and that the burning of the lime required for building the parsonage was making good progress. On the other hand, the scholars had been making no progress in learning the Dutch language, which was to be attributed to their frequent absence, and to the same kind of sickness which prevails here.

74. From President Overtwater to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.¹—Castle Zeelandia, 2 November 1648. . . . The division of the districts among the clergymen will take place according to the manner prescribed by Your Excellencies. . . . In the little village of Wagh a school has not been opened up till the present time; nor have we ever heard that any clergyman has even the intention of opening one, the village being a very small and situated among the mountains. . . .

Now that the dry season has commenced here, preparations will be made for building houses of stone for the clergymen. There will be no lack of anything for this work, except proper wood. It is a very pleasing thing that the Government gave permission to execute this work. There is little danger of too many ministers coming to Formosa.

It is now four years since the Governor-general and his councillors wrote from Batavia about appointing a clergyman to the north part of the island, either Kelang or Tamsuy; but up till the present time we have hardly been able to send even a catechist to those parts. We wish, therefore, again to bring up this matter, trusting that Your Excellencies will bear that part of the country in mind; the more so as two of its villages have been brought to the faith, although under the guidance of Papists. The inhabitants, partly in earnest and partly in jest, have sometimes inquired if we Dutch people really

¹ The original ms. of this section has been much damaged by book-worms.

be Christians, seeing that we make no show of Divine service, or try to bring them to the faith and baptize their children—which latter they have, in truth, often and earnestly asked us to do. We could write a great deal on this subject. Many of the natives in that northern region are able to read Spanish, and make use of the R. C. missionary books on religious and other subjects; so that several schoolmasters could be employed there, as is done here.

We are much inclined to enlarge upon this topic. Some people of Tamsuy have more than once requested us to baptize three or four children of Dutch or other Christian fathers who were not inhabitants of the place; and we consulted with the clergymen, but found it was impossible to do so. We have also been informed that the Chinese are beginning to cultivate the land in that part of the country. They seem to set about this task in a very earnest way, seeing that they have introduced several cows to assist in tilling the ground, which is surely a good sign that they are thoroughly whole-hearted in their undertakings. . . .

The teaching of the Dutch language is continued with much earnestness, and the little Dutch schoolbooks will certainly prove very serviceable. . . .

Your Excellencies also ordered us to make out and forward to you a list of the names of all the villages which had been pacified at the time when the Rev. Robertus Junius left this island. So far as we know, such a list was never made out by the said Junius during his residence here, or by any of the Governors.

The first time that a written list of villages was drawn up was when Mr. Le Maire was Governor; that is, in the spring of 1644. At that time Mr. Overtwater was the second person in the government of the island; and he remembers that he made out such a list with the knowledge and approbation of the Governor. It was a somewhat troublesome task, especially for those who had to give a description of the villages; but at present there is not a vestige to be found of all this labour; a result which must be attributed to the negligence of Mr. Overtwater, who, on receiving other and more recent descriptions, destroyed his record of the old ones. The second list, containing this later account of villages was made out in the year 1646, Governor Caron then requesting Mr. Overtwater to . . . the description of the Tamsuyan and Kabanian villages on the same list. Overtwater added the names of villages unknown to him, those which had been pacified during his absence in Japan. So far, then, as his present knowledge goes, no such lists were made out in 1645; for if so, the papers must be in the possession of Governor Caron. They were, however, made out here at Tayouan in 1647 and 1648, and copies of them we herewith enclose.

But in order to meet Your Excellencies' wishes as far as possible, we will endeavour to point out what share we believe Mr. Junius to have had in this matter of pacifying the villages.

In the first place, when Governor Caron left, there were according to his account two hundred and seventeen well-known villages, the greater number

of them pacified, and living in amity with us; but the inhabitants of twelve of these went to dwell in other villages, most of which were in the south, but some in the north. When we now deduct these twelve villages from the two hundred and seventeen there remain two hundred and five. But the twenty-eight Pimanian or southern villages must be added, thus bringing the total number on the list up to two hundred and thirty-three villages, which, as already stated, were known to us in the time of Governor Caron. Of these the greater number, though not all—as is the case now—were pacified and living on a friendly footing with us.

The villages that gave in their submission last are situated in the mountains, while those which were pacified much earlier are found in the valley or scattered over the western seaboard. In both regions, from the northern to the southern extremity of the island, the people were friendly, and villagers even on the eastern and western coastline acknowledged our rule; so that at present the number of known villages . . .¹ of which the half owned our sway when the Governor left . . .¹ in all, among the two hundred and ninety-three villages . . .¹ pacified; but we hope, when the north monsoon sets in, to bring some of them under our rule, and to visit the others.

Of course, in all these things we do not wish to proceed with too much precipitation or noise, knowing that it requires time to pacify countries and villages. We are aware, too, that we cannot at once gain the hearts of the people and infuse a better spirit into them; but an improvement may be expected when the good report of our government gets more and more abroad, and especially Sinkan; although Mr. Junius bitterly complains about this village, fearing the inhabitants will break out into open rebellion.

In passing, it may be remarked that the baselessness of Mr. Junius' statements will be seen when we mention that recently many of the inhabitants of Sinkan came to the schoolmaster and asked him for a list of Dutch names, as they wished to use them in future for themselves, thus abandoning their own names and adopting ours. Moreover, they decided that hereafter they would dress on Sundays in the Dutch fashion; and that, any one failing to do so, would willingly become liable to a fine of about two pence on each occasion. All this they did of their own free, untrammelled will, without any meddling or interposition upon our part, or our holding out any inducement whatever. Add to this another fact. The young natives are learning our language with much delight and pleasure. Hence we cannot but infer that the inhabitants are perfectly satisfied with our rule, especially when they adopt our language, our manner of dress, and our names.

But to return to the subject in hand, we now declare that Junius has no claim to the honour of pacifying the villages near Tamsuy, Kelang, Kabalan, and that eastern region near Pimaba. He himself has never been there; and the inhabitants of those places have never had any communication with him or with our other villages—their practice being to come directly to the Castle

¹ Words missing in the original ms.

when occasion arose—so that Junius had only quite accidentally heard the mention of their names.

The number of those villages is one hundred and thirty-three: namely, those of Pimaba thirty-six, those of Kabalan forty-seven; those of Tamsuy fifty, total villages, 133

To these must be added the villages of Longkiau—which were subdued by force of arms in the time of Governor Traudenius, but really quite pacified only in the time of Mr. Le Maire, therefore after the departure of Junius—amounting to the number of 20

By force of arms—but again after Junius had left—the villages situated in the valleys of Pagawan, Tidakian, Kinitavan and Siroda were pacified, also the villages of Pagussan, numbering 12
those of Siroda, 14
those of Tidakian 2
those of Kinitavan, 10

Making total villages, 38

If we now suppose that half of the villages in the valleys of Toetsikadan and Dalissikan were known at the time when Junius left—and we think that this really is the case—the whole being estimated at twenty, let us now add 10

We thus conclude that the total number of villages known to us and which owned our sway, without Junius having anything to boast of in the matter, amounted to 201

Deducting these from the before-mentioned two hundred and ninety-three villages, there remain 92

Making, as mentioned before, 293

We therefore require to speak of these ninety-two villages only. Among them there are thirty-four, namely, Asok, Bobarien, and a number of villages whose names appear at the close of the accompanying list, as belonging to the northern group and all of which became allied to us after the departure of Junius. Adding to these three small villages in the south, near Verovorong, and whose inhabitants came down from the mountains to take up their abode on the plain; we have altogether thirty-seven villages; and when these are deducted from the above-mentioned ninety-two, there remain only fifty-five villages in the pacification of which Mr. Junius' services might have been called in; but his assistance in the subjection of the other two hundred and thirty-eight villages, was by no means required, even in the very slightest degree.

It is also a fact that Favorlang, Batsikan, Abasje, Dobale, Dobale-bayan, Ballabais, Takkais, Saribolo, Turchara, Tavokol, Taurinak, became subject to us in consequence of the fear that our arms inspired—some after actually meeting us in conflict, and others from sheer fright. This occurred during the

time of Governor Traudenius, but later the attacks were led by major Lamotius. It therefore follows that Mr. Junius had no share whatever in this work of pacification; so that we deduct these eleven villages from the fifty-five and leave only forty-four.

But, as even this reduced number of villages was not brought under our rule by gentle means, it cannot be affirmed that Mr. Junius brought them under subjection, or that they were pacified without the use of arms and other severe measures. Did not our troops, commanded by major Adriaen Anthonius and supported by artillery, attack Mattau, thereby filling the people of other villages with such terror that many of them afterwards submitted to us, seeing they could not avoid doing so? Did not the aforesaid major march against Takrian in the same way, and cause our name to be held in awe? What had Junius to do with this? If we must attribute it all to him, then it is clear that our Governors cannot be praised for any good work done during their administration, and that, and their guidance, advice, and care count for nothing.

And yet, in November of the year 1641 the state of matters was still the same. Not quite two years before Junius left we went to war with Favorlang; and there were only nine villages, namely, Sinkan, Tavakan, Soulang, Tevorang, Mattau, Bakloan, Dorko, Tirosen and Takapulang, that joined in the war. The inhabitants of the others were either hostile, or uncertain friends.

But what more unanswerable proof of our assertion can we bring forward than the fact that, after his departure . . ., during the Governorship of Traudenius in April of 1641, and when—to the best of our knowledge—Junius had been living about twelve years in Formosa, only fourteen delegates from as many villages appeared at that meeting which Governor Traudenius had most solemnly called. The names of the villages are these:—Sinkan, Tavakan, Soulang, Tevorang, Mattau, Bakloan, in the north; Tapouliang, Pandandange, Verovorong, Pangsosia, Takrian, Katia, Sorrian and Netne, in the south.

If now all this has occurred in the way we have mentioned—as in truth it has—it cannot be doubted that the prudence, care and address of those who, by the blessing of God, have directed and managed matters thus far, will be sufficient to carry them on as before, without it being the least necessary for Junius to meddle with things which do not lie within his province. . . .

The clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, who has a salary of sixty *guilders* a month, requests an increase to eighty a month, declaring that he is not inclined to serve the Company in the southern district for less, and that he would rather return to his native country if this advance be not granted him. Another condition he makes is, that the house which is being erected for him in the south, shall not be occupied by any one else, even by a clergyman, although we believe that a minister will not be sent thither.

Now although we are quite aware that such a salary is not usually given to a clerk in Holy Orders, yet we readily admit Mr. Olhoff deserves it, seeing the extent of his district is larger than any other clergyman's in Formosa, and that

he exercises judicial authority in more than seventy villages to our great satisfaction. Nor must we forget that he is stationed in the most unhealthy part of the island, this being well known to every one at Tayouan. It should be noted also that he does not wish to be taken from the south, although the work there is almost more than he can manage. His removal, therefore, either by the clergymen or the Consistory, would prove exceedingly detrimental to the position already assigned him. . . .

75. From the Consistory of Tayouan to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 3 November 1648. *To the most noble, equitable, respected, wise, pious, and discreet Governor-general Cornelis van der Lijn and his assistant Councillors. Most noble and honoured Gentlemen,* According to your order we have immediately, as indeed it behooved us, made it our task to defend the character of our honoured brethren, which Rev. R. Junius has so inconsiderately attacked.

Surely the evidence of Mr. J. Happart's remarkable diligence has been becoming day by day more obvious. The catechism compiled with so much success, several sermons and other edifying tracts, and especially his translation of the gospel of St. Matthew into the Formosan language, are facts which neither unseemly envy nor jealousy will ever be able to gainsay. And although several of his plans have not been executed, yet the work has not gone back in the least because of that. On the contrary, it has progressed far more than in the time of Junius.

We have also sufficiently examined the condition of all the churches and schools in Formosa, and hope we have fully attained the object mentioned by you; although without any desire to follow in Mr. Junius' example, by using our scythes to cut another man's corn.

In the meantime we declare—with your permission—that if Mr. Junius would compare the marriages of certain Lameyan women which were performed by him, with those performed by clergymen daily called from Sinkan for this purpose, he would not complain that the Sinkan Lameyans have been wronged by being removed to Tayouan.¹ . . . Sad experience . . . has taught us that even the most excellent instruction can be rendered abortive when bad teachers, who are sometimes calumniators, have the upper hand.

The unusual favour shown us by you, and your liberal gift of wine and butter, in addition to your parental care for our health in the erection of houses built of stone, with the promise that they shall constantly remain at our disposal, thereby to arouse and increase our zeal in the spiritual work, cause us the greatest satisfaction. We have most respectfully and gratefully accepted these gifts and favours, giving you the pledge that we shall always endeavour to fulfil our duty, so that your praiseworthy intentions may be accomplished.

And as one favour generally leads to another, we take the liberty of expect-

¹ At this part of the original ms. several lines have been obliterated by water.

ing that, in time to come, as you have done this year, you will supply us with every requisite for the schools. We now hand you a list in which you will find them specified.

May the Almighty God, by whom kings reign and princes exercise justice, grant you His Holy Spirit and lead you in the exercise of your most important duties, so that all your deliberations and the execution thereof may tend to the peace of your subjects; the continued welfare of our beloved country; and especially to the extension of the spiritual kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.—Your most humble and obedient servants (Signed) SIMON VAN BREEN, President *pro tem.*; DANIEL GRAVIUS, Secretary *pro tem.*; ANTONIUS HAMBROEK, EDUARD AUX BREBIS, Elder; PHILIPPUS HEYLMAN, Elder; CORNELIS VAN DAM, Deacon; LOUIS ISACKSZ, Deacon.

76. From the Consistory of Formosa to the Amsterdam Classis.—Tayouan, 3 November 1648. This letter is an answer to No. 72 of the present collection, and only the following summary of its contents is given in vol. ii. page 187 of Grothe's *Archief*:—The writers declare that they did give attention to the spread of true Christianity among the blind pagans, and that they have been unjustly accused by Junius. They complain that he doubts not only the rich blessing of God on the Church of Formosa, but also the honour and the faithful service of Happart and Bavius. They point out the evil effects of the unsatisfactory teaching which Junius supplied to the people of Formosa, and contrast this with the good fruits following their own. They describe the present condition of the Church in Formosa, showing that the children are being successfully instructed in the Dutch language. They pray that the Amsterdam Classis will act as the defender of their good name. They will send over all the papers referred to in this letter and other necessary proofs next year. They ask us to send:—3000 Prayer-books, 2000 Catechisms, 1000 copies of the History of Joseph, 1000 Psalm-books, 1000 Gospels, 500 copies of the Mirror of Youth, 50 of History of the Bible, and 50 of the Practice of Godliness.

77. From the Tayouan Consistory to the India Committee of the Amsterdam Classis.¹—Tayouan, 3 November 1648. *Reverend, pious, wise, discreet, and most learned Brethren*, Many years have now elapsed since the Church here last communicated with yours. We hardly know what this is to be attributed to. Sloth, and much less unwillingness, have not been the reason of it; but rather our inference that the brethren in Batavia would take good care to inform you of all matters relating to us, so that our own letters, though not a burden to you, would be superfluous.

Other circumstances, however, have led us to make bold to send you these lines. Several complaints have reached us about the decline of Christianity in

¹ The original ms. of this letter has been much damaged by damp, and is sometimes very difficult to decipher.

the island of Formosa—complaints as unexpected as they are devoid of truth, complaints, moreover, of such serious import that they really have given us reason for surprise that any one could have believed them.

The Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber declare, in their missive to the Governor-general and Councillors of India, that the Rev. Robertus Junius has testified that, as regards the propagation of the Christian religion among the benighted heathen of Formosa, no attention was being paid to it, and that the work which was done in former years with so much trouble and labour, had fallen into great decay. The brethren of Batavia inform us that the burden of your letter to them consists of the same complaint.

In the meantime, it appeared very singular to us that some private persons should be so accurately informed regarding the condition of the Church of Christ in this island, and loudly complain that the want of clergymen would undo the past, that after Mr. Junius left, divine service had not been held for a whole year; that the sole endeavour of present workers was to obtain something new, that no care whatever was being taken to keep what had already been obtained; and that, if other means were not employed, there was every reason to fear lest Christianity in the island would remain exactly as it was at the outset, and not advance.

Now, we know that extracts from letters containing such complaints have been read this year to a full meeting of the Synod at Amsterdam; and from this you will see, beloved brethren, that doubts are being raised about the glory of God's gracious blessing on the churches of Formosa, the honour of the Consistory, and the faithful services and Christian zeal of us all. To particularise upon one point only, the good names of the Revs. Johannes Happart and Johannes Bavius—who both suffered here severely in body and sacrificed their lives in the service of Formosa—have thereby been aspersed, so that we cannot remain silent, but must testify to the truth, and not permit gifted men and worthy brethren like these to become the prey of such calumny from Mr. Junius, who ought rather to have felt thankful, especially to Mr. Happart, for having continued and much improved that work which had been left in so very imperfect a condition.

We boldly undertake to prove to the whole world, that the assertion of Rev. Robertus Junius is utterly false when he maintains that no efforts have been made to continue the work of propagating the Christian religion among these benighted heathen people of Formosa; and that he does not speak the truth by declaring that the work which has cost us so much labour and care, has fallen into a state of decay. What is more, we undertake to prove that proper attention was never paid to the propagation of the Christian religion till after Mr. Junius left Formosa.

For this latter purpose let us now compare the form and the results of the instruction given in the time of Junius, with what they are at present.

The educational apparatus made use of by Mr. Junius, for the development of Christianity in this island, consisted of a collection of prayers, the catechism, sermons, a liturgy and an extensive vocabulary.

The book of prayers included the Lord's prayer (with the articles of faith and the ten commandments), prayers before and after meals, morning and evening prayers, and a few short hymns. These had been printed in Holland and sent out here under the title of 'A, B, C Book, for the instruction of Christian children in the villages, by Rev. Robert Junius, *Padre qui Deos* (a title Mr. Junius used to employ when speaking of the prophets and apostles), printed in the town of Delft.'

The small catechism then generally known was very brief, and compiled in a most slovenly manner; while the larger one was used by very few persons at the time when Mr. Junius left: some teachers only receiving instruction from that compilation.

The sermons which were read on Sundays in the villages before and after Mr. Junius' departure were three in number: on Psalm i. 15; Psalm cxvi. 12; and the first commandment of the law.

The liturgy includes one formula of baptism and another for the solemnisation of marriage, with some prayers.

This, then, is everything that Mr. Junius produced during fourteen years' labour, everything he left behind him for our use on his departure from Formosa. And yet, he has not hesitated to ask in his oft-mentioned remonstrance, how can it all be otherwise regarded than as a very good and substantial contribution?

But from the misleading assertions which Junius has made in his letter, you must not suppose that the few works he compiled are still being used in the schools. Surely Mr. Johannes Happart had good reasons for declaring that the catechism of Mr. Junius was quite unsuitable; that all his literary work had been performed in a most slovenly way, that it did not supply healthy food to the souls of the Formosans, but rather made them diseased and unhealthy; in one word, that it was impossible to continue building on such a sorry foundation.

It was therefore agreed—after the said catechism had been most carefully examined by the Consistory assembled in full—that the Revs. Simon van Breen and Johannes Happart should compile another catechism or formulary for the use of the Formosans. Accordingly, taking our Dutch catechism as a model, Mr. van Breen compiled the first and second parts, and Mr. Happart the third regarding Christian gratitude; the whole consisting of a certain number of short, clear, and succinct questions.

This work in the Formosan language was introduced into the schools instead of the catechism compiled by Mr. Junius; but, seeing that the memories of aged persons were being taxed too much by using it, and that Mr. Junius' catechism was by no means suitable for the purpose, Mr. Gravius immediately set to work last year and made a short abridgment from the larger work, that it might meet the wants of older people, and be committed to memory by them.

As regards the prayers by Mr. Junius, they are of two kinds: some are translations from the Dutch, but the greater number are his own compositions in the native language of Formosa.

To the first class have been added the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. In these, Mr. Junius was occasionally so unfortunate in translation that no definite meaning can be attached to his words, surely something unpardonable as coming from an educated man. For example, he fails to perceive the difference between prayer and confession; because we find that his little A, B, C Book renders the sentence, 'Hallowed be Thy name,' by 'We praise Thy name.' Let this single instance suffice. Mr. Happart has been obliged to give these prayers another form.

The remaining prayers—whose very style shows sufficiently that Mr. Junius was their author—have at all times been considered to contain very little matter, although they were allowed to remain in use till this year. Meantime, Mr. Daniel Gravius, with the assistance of some linguists, translated into Formosan the prayers now current in our schools and churches, the order followed being the same as that observed in our own Dutch catechism.

Mr. Gravius also prepared forms for baptism and marriage, those hitherto in use differing so much from the Dutch, that they bore very little resemblance to them. Moreover, their language was so vague that it was with great difficulty any one could understand it.

We now come to the three sermons. They have often caused us to blush to our very temples, when we considered how it was possible that the conscience of Mr. Junius allowed him to depart from the island and leave such poor supply for the nourishment of his converts. And we have good cause to doubt whether Mr. Junius ever wrote sermons of more intrinsic value; for we do not venture to suppose that he would have neglected such an important task, and at such a time have deprived the hungry Formosans of the food they required.

Mr. Happart has added five sermons; also the third part of our catechism, several prayers, some historical questions, and the questions of Aldegonde. But his chief work is the translation of the gospel of St. Matthew into the Formosan language. It is an extensive work, has been most successfully completed, and is generally praised by those who make use of it; so we may safely say that this work alone is quite sufficient to defend Mr. Happart against all those who call in question his unwearied zeal and remarkable diligence.

The clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, has also written nine sermons, chiefly on the articles of faith.

As regards the instruction carried on in the villages, the form introduced by Mr. Junius was retained till last year; but the time allotted to giving instruction, both for old and young, has been somewhat extended. Moreover, the people, both men and women, are grouped according to the requirements of each village: those of Sinkan into five divisions, those of Bakloan into five, of Tavakan into five, of Soulang into ten, of Mattau into seven, and of Tevorang into five. All these people attend school, each division in its own week, the men coming in the morning before cock-crow.

Under the arrangements made by Mr. Junius, the men were instructed in the prayers and catechism during two glasses, that is, one hour. The women

received instruction for one hour at four o'clock in the afternoon, in the same subjects. The children who came to the school—double the number that formerly attended—came one hour after daybreak, and remained four glasses, or two hours.

As regards the sermons which Mr. Junius preached in the villages, we have been told that they chiefly declaimed against the manners and customs of the heathen, describing their sacrifices and so forth, without properly expounding the principles of Christianity. And we believe this statement; partly because we do not find among the Formosans in general that degree of knowledge which might be expected if thorough instruction had been given them, partly because the three sermons which Mr. Junius left behind, as a great treasure, possess these characteristics in a very marked degree.

There were also some irregularities in connection with the external form of worship, such as the following: that when Mr. Junius entered a place of worship all the people had to rise from their seats and bow before him; that at the baptism of children neither parents nor witnesses were present: and that marriages were solemnised without conforming to the usual practice of proclaiming the banns.

We have thus pointed out all that was done for the conversion of the Formosans during Mr. Junius' stay in the island and a short time after his departure; from which you can easily infer that the instruction given was not fitted to enrich the mind, but merely to burden the memory. Hence we conclude that the statements on this subject which people in Holland have been listening to amount to nothing but empty bluster.

Doubtless, however, it is the case that a short time before Mr. Junius left, he collected about fifty young natives belonging to several villages, and explained to them, in his house at Soulang, the fundamental principles of the Christian religion from his larger catechism, of which we have already made mention. Later on, those natives were incorporated among the Dutch schoolmasters in the various schools, with the hope that public instruction would be more attractive to the Formosans when it was given by persons chosen from among their own people.

But the project has completely broken down, however hard Mr. Junius tried to make it look fair and promising; for well-nigh all those teachers have been discharged from their functions, after having been guilty of excessive drunkenness, whoredom, adultery, theft, and many other forms of wickedness. Some of them are even now in prison and wearing chains.

We do not mention this as if charging Mr. Junius with the fate of persons who are ordained to suffer under the hand of God, but we do wish to oppose the effrontery of a man who, without any hesitation, boldly asserts in his remonstrance that just these teachers, and they alone, have been the means of rescuing the work in Formosa from complete decay.

It is also true that Mr. Junius administered the Lord's Supper once or twice to those people; but the Rev. Johannes Bavius, who always most diligently followed his example as to baptism, did not even attempt to accept his guidance

in this matter ; the moral condition of those new members of the Church being such that nobody could but feel perfectly ashamed of them.

Nor is it possible for us to enter into details about the many thousands of persons to whom baptism was administered. We can here only say, beloved brethren, that we render sincere thanks to God that all those persons were not baptized by us. For Mr. Junius will not deny that they were baptized after they had merely learnt his catechism by heart ; and that, as regards their moral life, the testimony of a Dutchman appointed by us to live in each village was thought sufficient, although this person probably did not, and, indeed, could not, know any of the people.

It also often occurred that people living among the mountains were enticed by all possible means to come down and live in the valleys or plains. The people thus got mixed, and spoke several languages in the same place ; one result being that, in keeping with the usual routine, those persons learnt the catechism of Mr. Junius by heart ; but, while doing so, they acted just like magpies in repeating what has been said to them. And yet, people of this type received baptism ; for Mr. Gravius informed us that he had met several Tevorangians who had been baptized under those unusual conditions.

Moreover, it does not seem that Mr. Junius took very much to heart the fate of his new Christians, as we may see from the case of the two young Lameyan women who were instructed and educated in his house. One of them he married to a black boy, his slave, and the other to an unbaptized Chinese. A Lameyan boy, too, he obliged to enter the service of a Caffir.

From all this you can easily draw your conclusions as to the result of Mr. Junius's services during fourteen years ; and although these results are not wholly despicable, yet we may assert that they nowise come up to the expectations which we might reasonably entertain at the close of his long-continued period of service.

After all that has been said, we might here very well drop the subject, but wishing to point out to you that the education of the people has been constantly improving, and that every opportunity has been taken to advance it, we take this opportunity of giving you a clearer and more minute description of the present condition of our schools and churches.

We begin by saying that, the interests of the Company requiring the submission of the wild and uncivilised Favorlangians, and experience having taught us that mere force of arms could never secure this object, the Rev. Simon van Breen left for the region they occupy, in 1644—not forgetting, however, what his own special calling as a clergyman was—and now, within the space of two years and a half, he has not only succeeded in pacifying the place, but has brought the people to lead a quiet and kindly life.

Nor is this all. Six most excellently ordered schools have been established there, which have produced scholars so well versed in the prayers, articles of faith, ten commandments, and a short catechism for the use of the Favorlangians, as well as in reading and writing, that, if the truth has to be told, we must honestly say they far surpass any other schools in Formosa.

Furthermore, Mr. van Breen has occupied himself in endeavouring to discover the elements of the Favorlangian speech, and has shown us a dictionary of this language, the compilation of which is an evidence of his remarkable and indefatigable diligence.

Now, although all comparisons are odious, yet to the praise of this accomplished brother we will here again affirm that the unsettled state of things that prevailed for fourteen years in Favorlang—which in several respects may be attributed to Mr. Junius—has been changed by him within less than three years into a hopeful and fruitful condition; and that intimate knowledge of the native tongue also stands to his credit, at a time, too, when the principles of the Sinkan language are still hardly known to us.

Let Mr. Junius now compare these statements with his own indiscreet and uncharitable assertion that Mr. van Breen enjoys in Favorlang a salary of one hundred *guilders* a month, for which he really does nothing except learn the language.

This work in the north, so praiseworthy begun, is at present most diligently continued by the Rev. Jacobus Vertrecht. May the Lord our God grant him health and wisdom, with much blessing on his work.

The other villages are divided into two groups: Soulang, Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan are entrusted to the Rev. Daniel Gravius; Mattau, Tevorang, Dorko, and Tirosen, to the Rev. Anthonio Hambroek.

Last year the space of time for the instruction of the children was made the same for all these villages, so that the parents are ordered to send their children to school from morning till noon, and every afternoon from two till four, in accordance with the Dutch custom.

Since February last the pupils have begun to receive instruction in the elements of the Dutch language. We are making a trial to see if this glorious plan can be executed. Till now it has been an unheard-of thing that other nations or peoples should be taught to speak our language; but this trial has proved so successful at the very outset that we do not doubt we shall obtain the desired result if this attempt is continued with proper zeal and diligence.

The ground of our hopes is that the memory of the Formosans is most excellent, and that, to our extreme surprise, they have no difficulty in pronouncing the words with remarkable facility. They are themselves also very much inclined to learn our language. Hence we are led to think that, in this case, we shall never feel the lack of capable schoolmasters, as those young people will be able to keep up the knowledge of our language very easily through our communications with them.

Every fourth week the aged attend the village schools; and every Monday they must all assemble to repeat what has been learned. On these occasions, the men attend four glasses, that is, two hours, before cock-crow in the morning. The women meet during four glasses in the evening, to receive instruction in the prayers and from the catechism.

A sermon is read once a week in church to the people, but now and then Mr. Gravius preaches. He recently began to deliver a series of analytic

sermons on the whole catechism. Every Sunday about one hundred short questions are taken from these sermons, and a certain number of persons are examined on them in presence of the whole assembly. The same method is followed by other schoolmasters in other villages. Seven of these sermons have now been completed.

Moreover, about thirty Davokandians and as many women came recently down from the mountains near Sinkan, to learn the prayers and the catechism by heart, and these are now being prepared to receive Holy Baptism.

Such, beloved brethren, is the present condition of our schools and churches in Formosa; but we trust and feel confident that within a short time the remarkable zeal of our present clergymen will effect still greater improvements, as they have now begun more than ever to work upon the minds, and not merely on the memories, of the people.

We therefore hope that the foregoing account irrefutably proves that due regard has been paid to the progress of the Christian religion among these benighted heathen people, and that our previous efforts, which have cost us so much labour and care, have by no means been made in vain.

But you will at the same time be able to judge, as from a living picture, of the character of Mr. Junius. He once indeed made a great impression on the Christian world; but now, beginning to doubt the stability of his unjustly acquired honour, he seeks to retain it by endeavouring to throw discredit on his brethren; and not only so, for, perceiving that all his vainglory is very transient, he would most willingly make out that the labours of his colleagues were really his own.

Nor can we forbear to acquaint you with our dissatisfaction at the effrontery which Mr. Junius has shown in several of his letters, he having untruthfully and without any feeling of love traduced his brethren and our authorities, among whom there are certainly some who have deserved, and who still deserve, well of the Church.

We would now most earnestly request you, beloved brethren, to protect and guard our good name in our absence. For this purpose we very much desire that these our communications should be read to the Synod assembled in full, so that our innocence may be proved in the same place where the accusations were brought against us. By doing so, you will thereby do us a great service, and show us much kindness.

In order, however, to prove our innocence and make it apparent to all, we have decided to forward to you next year all the documents mentioned in this communication, and to supplement those documents with the necessary evidence.

Further, we ask you to believe and fully to expect, that in future we shall use that strength which God has given us to perform our bounden duty, gladly doing all in our power to strengthen and extend the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and, in order to this, we beg you most earnestly to remember us and our endeavours in your prayers to God.

But there is another subject which for many reasons we deem it advisable

to mention, namely, Mr. Junius's request to the Directors of the Company to instruct several clergymen or clerks in Holy Orders in the Formosan, or rather Sinkan, language, at the expense of the East India Company.

Now, although the object proposed is by no means an objectionable one, we humbly think that it cannot be attained in Holland, and that the attempt, if made, has more chance of succeeding in Formosa. How will Mr. Junius execute this plan? By personal intercourse or grammatical instruction? Who does not know that the former is impossible in Holland, and that the latter is difficult, vexatious, and requires much time? Besides, we are quite sure that Mr. Junius is not sufficiently acquainted with the elements of the Sinkan language. For if so, why did he not induce his disciple Mr. Bavius to try this plan in the island of Formosa itself? Another consideration is that not more than one or two clergymen in Formosa require to be acquainted with the Sinkan tongue; other languages being spoken by the other inhabitants, and those languages having very little likeness, if any, to the Sinkan vernacular.

We do not, however, wish to gainsay the testimony borne by Mr. Junius—because it is based on positive fact—that, so long as the clergymen employed in Formosa do not know the language, they are useless and unserviceable. But although they may not be able to preach in that language, their services in connection with the schools, in giving regulations for the maintenance of morality, in matters concerning the external form of divine service, may be, if not of paramount, yet of some importance, and even as useful as if they were well acquainted with the language. This has been the case in the Favorlangian district, where in so short a time such satisfactory results have been obtained. It seems to us that this is undeniably evident.

Finally, you will render our churches a service, and by no means damage the interests of the Company, if, according to your wisdom and discretion, you oppose the proposal made by Mr. Junius to the Directors.

We remain, reverend, pious, wise, discreet, and learned brethren, while commending you to the grace of God, ever your obliged and obedient brethren. Signed: SIMON VAN BREEN, *pro tem. praeses*; DANIEL GRAVIUS, *pro tem. secretary*; ANTHONIUS HAMBROECK, EDUARD AUX BREBIS, elder; PHILIPPUS HEYLMAN, elder; CORNELIS VAN DAM, deacon; LOWIJS ISACKSZ, deacon.

78. From Minutes of the Amsterdam Classis.—30 August 1649. Have informed the Committee of the honoured Classis that the Rev. Robertus Junius has been here. He communicated to us that a letter would shortly arrive from East India in which most serious charges were brought against him; and he therefore requested that when the letter came to hand, he should be informed thereof, so that he might be enabled to appear before us to justify himself. As the letter has already been received, the Classis resolved that Mr. Junius be notified, so that if he desires to make any statement to our Classis he may be able to do so at next meeting.

6 September. On the Rev. Robertus Junius appearing before the Classis, a letter received from the Church in Formosa was read, in which complaints

are brought against Mr. Junius and his remonstrance addressed to the XVII. The letter declares that the honour of the Church is impaired in being thus accused of lack of zeal and diligence; and in the assertions made that its condition in Formosa is at present not progressive, but retrogressive.

In this letter Mr. Junius is further accused of several things in which he might well have acted otherwise than he did; the account of his labour for the good and welfare of the Church is said to be grossly exaggerated, and is spoken of with much contempt; on the other hand the zeal of the Church in Formosa is strenuously defended; and the letter concludes with the request that it should be read out to the Synod.

Hereupon, Mr. Junius was heard in his own defence against these accusations. He gave a short account of his endeavours to convert the benighted heathen, and of the zeal he had therein displayed. At the same time he complained of the very serious and most unjust accusations brought against him.

The Classis assembled, having formerly heard nothing but what was excellent and laudable about Mr. Junius,—this being fully confirmed by the testimonials of the churches in Formosa which he brought with him on his return to Holland,—and having listened now to what he said in his defence, declared that the letter from Formosa had been conceived in malice; that the writers thereof have not been actuated by love; and that they most unrighteously find fault with the services rendered by Mr. Junius.

In order, therefore, to prevent the fire which threatens to burst forth in connection with this matter imperilling the welfare of the Church, it was resolved to inform Mr. Junius that the Classis continued to entertain a high opinion of him as an excellent, pious, and edifying minister, and that all the members sincerely thanked him for the faithful services he had rendered. The desire was also expressed that he should not take to heart the accusations brought against him; but should despise and forget them, and make no more mention of them. Mr. Junius declared himself quite willing to do so, and gave his promise to that effect.

As regards the brethren in Formosa, the Committee of the Classis was instructed to write and inform them that their letter had caused much sorrow, as the declarations therein contained were directly opposed to the testimonials Mr. Junius brought with him from the churches of Formosa, in which testimonials he was spoken of with the highest praise; adding also that the Classis fears their letter may become a source of very much mischief. The Committee was further instructed to say that the brethren in Formosa should no longer attach any importance to their accusations against Mr. Junius, much less carry out their intention to send additional proof of such accusations; seeing that this would only cause much trouble, and the continued correspondence would lead to no good, but rather to serious harm.

79. From the Amsterdam Classis to the Consistory of Tayouan.—*Reverend, pious, very learned, and discreet fellow-labourers in the Word of the Lord.* We have received your communication of 3 November 1648, in which you

excuse yourselves for not having written to the Classis during so many years, your plea being that the brethren in Batavia had from time to time informed us of the condition of the Formosan Churches. But although they have done so, yet we shall be exceedingly happy if, in future, you will honour us with the continuance of your correspondence; inasmuch as we believe it will be productive of much good. On our side, we shall not fail to show you that we are always willing to serve you in word and in deed.

But we should have much preferred that your first letter had breathed a greater degree of love, and that your pen had not been steeped in such acrimony when writing against one of your brethren and co-labourers in the work of the Lord, the Rev. Robertus Junius, who returned to us some years ago with excellent testimonials from the churches in East India. These testimonials gave us and the honoured Classis of Walcheren perfect satisfaction, for which reason Mr. Junius has been thanked for his faithful services. At present he enjoys the privilege of bearing a most excellent name and a sound reputation among the members of his present community at Delft.

It was with much joy that we learned from your letter that you were filled with great zeal and most praiseworthy ardour in the work of introducing Christianity amongst the benighted heathen of Formosa, and that the Lord perceptibly blesses your endeavours. We render thanks unto God for this His goodness; we pray that His Spirit may in future abide with you, and that He may abundantly bless your work to the saving of many souls.

But we regret to see you also despise another person and depreciate his services, forgetting that he was one of the first reformers in your island, where he led many benighted heathen from darkness unto light. The same person had also a competent knowledge of foreign languages—that is, of the languages which are spoken there. We believe such really to be the fact; as Mr. Junius spent fourteen years in Formosa, and, according to the first-rate letters of commendation given him, he spent that time in a most praiseworthy manner.

In your communication you also complain that Mr. Junius calls in question your zeal, and the blessing of God on the Formosan churches. But, beloved brethren, what do you else in the letter addressed to us? Mr. Junius denies ever having done so. And now, after all, it appears that these statements have not been made by him, but by the Rev. I. Happart and the Rev. J. Bavius.

For on 28 October 1645 Mr. Happart wrote as follows to an elder living in Batavia: 'Much could be said about the churches in Formosa. It seems to me that the absence of Mr. Junius is much felt; and I fear that the work which has been begun will not progress, but on the contrary, fall into decay; inasmuch as the present object seems to be to undertake something new, and not to keep what has already been gained. Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan, the places where Mr. Junius served first, seem as if deserted. I am charged with the superintendence of these places; but I can do very little good, partly because I am unacquainted with the language, and partly because I am continually ailing, and am obliged to attend to the Dutch service at Castle Zeelandia.

During the past year the inhabitants of these villages have not had the opportunity of hearing a single sermon. They are usually instructed by the schoolmasters, who often lead an irregular life, so that I am very much afraid that if a greater number of clergymen are not sent out, and other means are not employed, Christianity will remain in its birth. "*Non minor est virtus quam quaerere parta tueri.*"

In his letter of 9 November 1644, Mr. Bavius also complained that the Soulangian Consistory instituted by Mr. Junius had ceased its functions, the Governor declaring that he did not think it necessary. The clerk in Holy Orders Merkinus had been obliged, in consequence of the interference of some persons who were leaving the island, to abandon his own field of labour, and had been appointed to Sinkan in order to assist Rev. S. van Breen, who, although he did not understand a word of the language, insisted upon exercising full authority over Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan.

In the same letter he says: 'An important eclipse has darkened the course of the gospel.' And further on he declares: 'It is very much to be feared that if this state of matters had continued, this glorious work would not only have retrograded, but have been entirely abandoned.'

What do you now think of this, beloved brethren? Have you not, while accusing Mr. Junius, been building on a wrong foundation, as if he had been endeavouring to minimise the good services of Mr. Happart and Mr. Bavius, whereas these ministers make the very same complaints. Nor—as the accusation says—has Mr. Junius read Mr. Happart's letter in the Synod. At the desire of the Synod, another clergyman did so, and without the knowledge of Mr. Junius—of this you may rest perfectly assured.

Moreover, you inform us in your letter of the matter and the form of instruction which Mr. Junius employed at the time of his residence in Formosa, and complain that the results thereof have been so insignificant. Beloved brethren, the form of love we ought to have demands that we should entertain a good opinion of one another and explain things in the most favourable way we can, and that we should act towards others as we wish others should act towards ourselves, especially in the case of men of good repute, men who have been diligent and zealous in the work of the Lord. Consider that Mr. Junius and Mr. Candidus have been faithful clergymen, and pioneer workers in the island of Formosa; that all beginnings are difficult; and that they had to regulate their actions according to the age, the time, and the capacities of those simple and benighted people. It is by degrees that we attain the greater perfection; and the work itself that has been done by Mr. Junius testifies to its not having been done in vain.

Finally, much beloved brethren, after having jointly considered these things in the fear of the Lord, we deem it right that all contention should now be abandoned; that what has already occurred should be covered with the cloak of love; and that neither party should prolong the strife by writing any more concerning this matter; for, otherwise, the churches of God—especially those in countries where they are yet feeble—will be greatly injured.

Your intention was to send us further evidence of your assertions; but we judge this to be inadvisable, seeing it would occasion you much trouble, while such correspondence would do no good, but rather harm. For the same reason, we have requested Mr. Junius to leave your accusations unanswered, and to pass them by in silence. We desire that you will in future make no further mention of these things in your letters; for we cannot but feel convinced that greater difficulties would thereby arise, and that our enemies would have reason to scoff at us.

Be persuaded by us, beloved brethren, to keep the peace, and to be united, so that you may not be suspected of entertaining feelings of revenge, of ambition, and of a love for quarrelling; things which every Christian should endeavour to avoid. Let it suffice that we feel convinced of your zeal, of your faithfulness, of your good services, and consequently of your innocence.

We are exceedingly pleased to see your fervour and the result of your labours, and we approve of your method of instruction for extending Christianity and the kingdom of Jesus Christ among the heathen. It also gave us much satisfaction to learn that the children of the Formosans had been so successfully taught the fundamental principles of the Christian religion in our own language.

As regards the books which you desire us to send out, the Directors have informed us that a considerable quantity of all kinds of books, of paper and pens, was forwarded last year to Batavia; and we do not doubt but that you will be amply provided with these things by this time. We shall hereafter take care that all the articles required be sent to you from time to time. Recommending you and your work to the grace of God, and with kindest regards, we remain your obedient and affectionate brethren, the clergymen and elders of the Amsterdam Classis. In the name of all.

ELEAZAR SWALMIUS, Appointed for Indian matters.

FRIDERICUS KESSLERUS, Interim Secretary.

80. From the Minute-book of Castle Zeelandia.—Wednesday, 6 April 1650. A short time ago the Rev. D. Gravius showed us an account referring to the purchase and attendant expenses of one hundred and twenty-one head of cattle to be used for ploughing. These cattle are destined for the inhabitants of the village of Soulang, in order to accustom them—according to the proposal of said Mr. Gravius, and according to our own resolution of 30 April of last year—to cultivate their lands in this manner. The account amounted to three thousand five hundred and forty-two and a quarter *reals*.

Of the hundred and twenty-one cattle, thirty had already been sold again to the inhabitants. The others—according to the beforementioned resolution—have remained in the possession of Mr. Gravius at his own risk, and are to be made use of by him if we agree to the following condition: Should Mr. Gravius hereafter suffer any loss by this arrangement, the Company will make it good, while he will also receive such compensation for all his manifold trouble that he will by no means be a loser.

Having acknowledged in our meeting the praiseworthiness of this undertaking, at a time when the Soulangians have already become fairly well acquainted with the art of ploughing, and are beginning to understand the use of cars or waggons, and also having considered that Mr. Gravius some time ago advanced those three thousand five hundred and forty-two and a quarter *reals*, and had kept the remaining animals at his own risk, for selling them to the people at cost price as opportunity might occur, it was unanimously resolved, by way of indemnification for this transaction, and as a recompense for the trouble he has taken, to advance him from the treasury of the Company a gratuitous loan of four thousand *reals* for the space of eighteen months; further, that Mr. Gravius should give us his signature for this sum, and that an account with him be opened in the Company's books.

It was also agreed that, at the time fixed for this loan to be returned, the amount of the seven cattle sold for the Company to the natives of Sinkan should be placed to the debit of their account, the amount being three hundred and forty *reals*.

After this settlement of affairs, it is understood that Mr. Gravius must not make any further demands on the Company, but continue this undertaking entirely at his own private risk.

The Council was the more easily moved to approve of the present loan, as there was every appearance that, for a considerable time, the sum mentioned would be lying in the coffers of the treasury, without producing any interest whatever.

At the same meeting, the Rev. Johannes Kruyf, who has been appointed to conduct divine service at the Castle, addressed us with regard to the following matter. He requests—subject to your order and favourable resolution—to be benefited in the same manner as the other clergymen in Formosa, and be exempted for five years from the payment of tithes on the produce of two hundred acres of cultivated ground. If this request could not be granted, he stated that he would willingly accept indemnification in another form, according to our pleasure and discretion.

Now, considering that Mr. Kruyf does not enjoy any benefice whatever in Formosa, and that in some way or other he ought to be rewarded for his invaluable services, it was decided to grant him, for five successive years, beginning with the present, the tithes of two hundred acres of cultivated ground. . . . Given and resolved in the Castle of Zeelandia, on the day and in the year mentioned. NICOLAES VERBURG, FRED. COYETT, D. SNOUCC, GABRIEL HAPPART, FREDERICK SCHEDEL.

81. The Amsterdam Classis to the Consistory of Formosa.—3 October 1650. . . . We have duly received your communication of 14 November 1649, which gave us much pleasure when we read of the prosperous condition of the community of Jesus Christ under your direction, especially in the northern villages of Sinkan, Soulang, Bakloan, etc.; and we join with you all in thanks to our most gracious God for His grace and for the blessing He has

bestowed on your work among those benighted heathen, and also among our own countrymen residing there. We pray that God may continue His mercy unto you and your labours; and that He may enrich you with the blessings of His Holy Spirit, for the destruction of the kingdom of Satan and the extension of the kingdom of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

It was also with much gratification that we listened in our clerical meetings to the report of the Rev. Simon van Breen (who by God's grace has now happily and safely returned to our country), which informs us very circumstantially of the condition of the churches in Formosa.

But, beloved brethren, we cannot hide from you that the greater part of your letter has filled our hearts with much pain; for in that part you do naught else but express your contempt for the work and faithful labours of the Rev. Robertus Junius in Formosa, endeavouring to make them as insignificant as possible. The burden of your letter of last year was of much the same kind, and filled our hearts with no little fear; as we anticipated much unpleasantness would arise in consequence, especially if Mr. Junius had resorted to his pen and answered you, which he felt very much inclined to do. We much preferred then that there should be a cessation of all strife, seeing this would only have again caused fresh strife, and that, too, among brethren.

We beg you to believe us when we say that Mr. Junius, whom your own letter extols as being a zealous, earnest, and diligent servant of the Gospel, continues to feel great love and sympathy for the Formosan churches; and though he may not have led those churches further than the first years of childhood, still he will heartily rejoice to see them—thanks to the unwearied and most zealous work of the able men who have followed in his footsteps, and who now in pretty large numbers are zealously employed in that work—enjoy their full growth, daily increasing in wisdom, and in the knowledge of the Lord.

It is this feeling that leads Mr. Junius to write from time to time to his acquaintances, and to wish for news about those tender communities among the heathen. It has never occurred to us that Mr. Junius spoke of his brethren and their labours in a mean and disdainful spirit: nay, he has always endeavoured to persuade us to provide your churches with a greater number of clergymen; and he has continually been occupied, as far as lay in his power, in furthering the interests, bodily and mental, of the Formosans.

Perhaps this does not exactly please some of the authorities in India; but we are convinced that he has a proper object in view, none other than that those benighted people should feel somewhat more inclined to accept the Christian reformed religion.

The Synod, it is true, was informed some years ago of the lamentable condition of your churches caused by the lack of labourers; but nothing further was said than what was contained in the written complaints of Mr. J. Happart himself; complaints which were made with no other purpose than that of stirring up the various Classen to unite with the Committee of XVII in sending out a greater number of clergymen.

That proposal, thanks to the grace of God, has met with success, and will, we trust, continue to be blessed by our gracious God; for according to a resolution at last meeting of the XVII, six additional clergymen are to be sent out to India. One of these, the Rev. Arnoldus Blank, is from this Classis, and sails in a ship of the fleet which is leaving soon. He is a young man of considerable learning, of a pious and exemplary life, and much beloved by his community in the Meurs district, where he has been doing pastoral work for some years with great credit.

We hope that, when the next fleet sails, we shall be able to find another capable person for you; and we do not doubt that the brethren in Zeeland will, with the approbation of the Committee, also send out some clergymen.

Therefore we kindly request, beloved brethren, that in the letters we may in future receive from you, you will desist from underrating and despising the work of Mr. Junius, so that no further controversy may arise. Let us follow after such things as may lead to peace and mutual edification. Your last letter evidently shows your heart was too much filled with gall when you wrote it, and that your pen was steeped in acrimony: your expressions concerning your fellow-labourer being full of bitterness. But, brethren, do not let us be angry with our brother without good cause. Let us not seek idle honour; let us not vex and annoy one another; let us not hate one another. Let one, in all humility, consider another better than himself, avoiding all discord and vainglory.

We have not been able to refrain from adding this, beloved brethren, out of brotherly love and a desire for peace and concord.

We have presented your request, adding our recommendation that it be granted, to the Directors about the printing of the 'Formula of Christianity,' and your wish to have it done in two ways: in Dutch alone, and in Formosan and Dutch in parallel columns. The Committee of XVII have agreed to your request, so we hope and trust that, as soon as the copies are ready, they will be forwarded to you.

As regards the condition of the Church in this country, we are glad to say that it enjoys peace, quiet, and concord. Our long and most bloody war has, thanks be to God, come to a termination, so that every one may now sit under his vine or fig-tree; for which blessing we desire most earnestly to praise the name of the Lord. God grant that this may tend to our salvation here and hereafter.

As to the books you requested us last year to send you, the Directors have consented to provide you with them, and you may hope to receive them soon. We must, however, observe that a special box of books will not be sent out to you direct, for the Directors would not give their consent to this; so you will have to apply at Batavia for the books you require, or they will be sent to you from that place. Herewith, etc. . . . MATTHIAS MEURSIUS, *pro tem.* Secretary, JOHANNES RULITIUS, OTTO SIMONS, Elder.

82. The Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councilors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 31 October 1650. . . . As regards the doctrine of Christianity, it is making progress in the villages and districts where

clergymen are residing, each of whom finds work enough in imparting the fundamental principles and true way of salvation to those whose eyes are beginning to be opened.

The number of clergymen is too small for such an extensive work, and consequently we shall not be able to spread our wings too far over Formosa; as it seems improbable that the requisite number of workers will ever be sent out to us. Far better to impart thorough instruction to a few of the villages in the immediate neighbourhood than to extend our efforts over a great number; thus causing ourselves more work than ever. The former plan promises to be much more successful than the latter; as it will never be possible to impart instruction in every one of those villages, the range being too great. We think, however, that if the inhabitants of the nearer villages are thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of Christianity, the Gospel will, as it were, transplant itself to other places; thus giving us cause to believe that soon, by the efficacious grace of God, the Word preached among the heathen may be productive of excellent results, and of fruits worthy of true conversion.

All the clergymen send you their very sincere thanks for the interest you have shown in the progress of their glorious work, and for sending them this season so many books, which were much required.

They have been urgently asking us to provide them with a printing press. We assure you that this would not cause you a great outlay; and, in any case, it would considerably further the cause of true religion. We have taken it upon us to draw your earnest attention to their petition, and we now beg you graciously to comply therewith.

The Rev. Jacobus Vertrecht, who has now been serving us for three successive years in Favorlang, has earnestly asked permission to leave during the course of this season. He is in sore affliction. In addition to losing his wife and his eldest son, he has been very ill, and is now so enfeebled that he finds it hardly possible to continue his services. Besides this, the Lord has afflicted him in another way, for he is suffering from serious rupture.

But with this request, although we truly sympathise with him in his present weak state, we have not been able to comply; as we have no one to take his place, and his sudden departure would be exceedingly detrimental to the work. This has now at last led him to decide on remaining one year more, provided we permit him to leave next season.

Considering, then, that he will be here some time longer, and that he has been doing service more than four years without an increase of salary—which is one hundred and thirty *guilders* a month—he has requested to be reasonably rewarded. This request we now lay before you, and shall be glad if you comply with it.

We beg you to send us next year another clergyman in Mr. Vertrecht's place, so that when he leaves the progress of God's work may not be retarded. . . .

In short, those people in the southern villages begin to show themselves very rebellious. To prevent further mischief, it will be well to humble them

a little, the more so as Mr. Olhoff complains very much about their disinclination to attend the church or school. . . .

Within the circle of the villages lying in the immediate neighbourhood, or rather in the districts where clergymen reside, no mention whatever is made of discontent, not to say rebellion.

We have not yet been able to lay hands on the actual murderer of the catechist who was murdered last year in the village of Takkais. Regarding the two men strongly suspected of the crime, and who were put to the torture, one—a cripple—has died, and the other, whom we continue to suspect, is now in chains.

Your instructions that, in order to find out who the murderer is, all the male villagers over fifteen years of age should draw lots, and ten of them be condemned to wear chains till the real murderer be discovered, might be a very hard thing for the ten; who, even if innocent, would have to wear chains all their lives.

It is possible that some rogue or other committed this murder at night, without there being any witnesses; and if such be the case, it is clear that we cannot get at the truth very easily. A trial, however, might be made; but we must previously communicate with the clergymen Vertrecht and Happart, and ascertain from them if the inhabitants of Takkais would be much embittered against us by this mode of proceeding. . . .

ACCOUNT OF THE VISIT OF JOHN STRUYS TO FORMOSA IN 1650.¹—Having finished loading, we were all ordered to come on board. Our cargo chiefly consisted of deerskins, sandalwood, and *amrack*, a kind of varnish used by the Japanese. On the 12 April 1650 we set sail, directing our course for Tojovan or Formosa.

About the Paracel Banks we sighted a junk making towards us with full sail. She had Dutch colours aloft, which made us suspect her to be a pirate. Thereupon our Commander resolved to throw some goods overboard and make his ship ready for action, but on going nearer we saw that the junk was a merchantman and not so well armed as we were. When within hail, the Commander ordered her master to come on board and show his pass, but received answer that the junk's sampan was leaky and unfit for use. Our Commander therefore had the shallop lowered, well manned and armed, to go and demand the pass; but as there was none to produce, and it was found that the junk was a *Cambodier* laden with contraband goods, we seized her as a prize. Like our own, her cargo consisted mostly of deerskins, sandalwood, and *amrack*, while the greater part of her crew were either *Cambodiers* or Chinese. Captain Fayer (for that was our Commander's name) put them all into the sampan—which, notwithstanding their evasion, was not leaky—allowing them neither sail nor rudder; so that they were certainly all lost, for we were then forty leagues from any coast, and we never heard what became of them.

¹ On page 255 it makes reference to the murder of a clergyman.

On the 10th of May, we arrived safely at the Island of Formosa, and anchored before Fort Zeelandia, where Pieter Overtwater was then Governor. As we sailed into the bay, we were surprised with a great wind, insomuch that the prize we had taken ran upon a bank of rocks, which almost conjoin, or as it were embrace, the bay, like those at Rhodes, in the Levant. The junk broke to pieces, and the men were all lost, except three Hollanders, who saved themselves upon planks. Those who perished included seven Hollanders and about thirteen Chinese.

The Island of Formosa lies almost directly under the Tropic of Cancer ; its nombril or centre being exactly 23 degrees, north latitude, reaching in a stretch from its southern cape, which is in 21 degrees, to the northern promontory, in 25, the whole facing the coast of Fokien, and computed to be about 130 Dutch miles in circumference.

Round about this island are taken abundance of fish, especially *harders*, which are somewhat larger than a haddock. This fish the people salt like cod, and send to China, where it is held in great esteem. Its roe when pickled is also reckoned a choice delicacy among the Chinese ; being red in colour, and contained in a thin skin, which naturally grows about it. Formerly, the Chinese gave every tenth fish to our East India Company here, for their permission to fish on the surrounding coast.

Formosa is a very fruitful island, but it lies untilled ; as its inhabitants are very lazy, and not unlike the Spaniards in being willing to starve rather than work. The most fruitful region is at present governed by the King of Midag. It abounds with rice, wheat, barley, *kaylang*, and *masquinades*, with ginger and sugar. There are also many sorts of trees and fruits in great abundance, such as oranges, lemons, citrons, pomegranates, guavas, *perang*, and others not known in Europe, like *moupellos* and *crambrods*. Musk-melons are here so plentiful and delicious that I have been cloyed with the mere look of them when cut up. The water-melons and pumpkins are also of a very good taste and juicy. In addition to this there are many kinds of plants and herbs, including potatoes, cabbage, and artichokes ; with several rich medicinal roots and seeds such as *ananasses*, China-root, *ubes*, *kadiang*, and *fokkafocas*. *Kadiang* is a little green seed almost like that of a coriander, and this they boil and pickle to make an excellent sauce for fresh fish. *Fokkafocas* has the shape of a pear or quince, but is three times larger, and grows near the ground like a pumpkin : above it is as smooth as glass, and below it is of a purple and whitish colour. They boil it with beef and pork, as we do turnips in Holland.

There are some sheep in Formosa, but not very many. Harts and roes abound, sometimes two or three thousand in a flock together. The wild-goats and swine are often very dangerous to unarmed travellers at night, although these animals are occasionally tamed by the people. Monkeys and apes of small size are also to be found. The inhabitants suffer much from the ravages of wild beasts, and dare not go far inland on account of the tigers, leopards, and bears which would be met with.

A certain creature is found on this island which the Hollanders call ‘*Den*

Duybel van TAJOVAN, that is, 'The Devil of Formosa.' It is about two feet long and five inches broad on the back, with scales all over the body; has four feet with sharp claws, a long pointed head, and a tail thick at the rump, but tapering towards the end, like that of a crocodile. This little beast feeds only upon ants, which he catches by shooting out his tongue near one of their little hills or nests. The ants then issue forth to feed upon a sticky matter coming from the creature's mouth, but are caught so firmly that they cannot get off again. When a sufficient number of ants has been secured in this way, the creature simply withdraws its tongue and they are devoured. Should this animal see a man approaching him, he either runs into some hole in the earth, or rolls himself up like a hedgehog; so that to call it a devil seems a great impropriety. This long description of it is given because it is a creature which cannot be seen anywhere else.

Formosa has every kind of feathered creature found in other islands of the East, except parrots; and, were it not for the great abundance of its serpents, scorpions, millipedes, lizards, and other vermin, it would be a very delightful land, as it has a tolerably good climate and is blessed with a most wholesome air.

As to the frame and stature of the natives, we cannot give any general description, as those vary in different parts of the island. The men are mostly well-bodied and lusty, especially those in the valleys and plain country, those living in the mountain regions being rather smaller and less robust. Their women do not equal the men in size, but are staring beauties for all that; having a full face, great eyes, flat noses, and long ears, with breasts hanging down like a flitch of bacon. They would have handsome beards too, if the custom were not followed of pulling out the hair by the roots. The tips of their ears are perforated and pressed flat with a piece of horn made for the purpose, which leaves them very neat-looking, as they suppose. I am uncertain as to the reason why the name Formosa has been given to this island; whether seriously, from the land itself, or, ironically, from the monstrous people who inhabit it.

During the time I was in the island, I often heard that there were men in it who had tails, but to this story I never gave much heed, regarding it as being something quite fabulous. And yet, I can assure the reader, by every lawful asseveration, that I found the rumour to be a truthful one. For during my stay, it happened that a Formosan of the south country was apprehended for an inhuman murder committed upon a clergyman. After the matter was examined and the man pronounced guilty, he received sentence that he should be burned. On the day of execution, the murderer was brought forth and tied to a pale, and so soon as his clothes were stripped off we saw his tail, which was about a foot long, and all grown over with hair. Out of curiosity, some of my acquaintances went to see him, having heard that he had a tail; and he told them that nearly all the people down south were similarly furnished. As to the certainty of this latter statement, I cannot say much; for, being ignorant of the man's dialect, my friends might have been mistaken. I only solemnly aver

that I was an eye-witness of the man's own condition, and I would be loth to impose upon the credulity of any one if it were not truly as I have described.

Upon festival days, when the Formosans go to present themselves before their idols, some of the people hang from their ears great trencher-like boards which have been artificially painted. Others cause shells full of small holes to dangle over their breasts. The ears are left naked on other days, without any ornament at all.

The hair of the Formosans is jet-black and long; some of the inhabitants wearing it as we do in Europe, while others have it plaited, or tied up above the crown of the head, after the old China fashion. Their complexion is of a swarthy yellow, or between yellow and black; but the natives of Kabelang look more white and pale. The women of Midag, Sotatau, and Lamey are of a brown-yellow colour. They are generally of a subtle and acute wit, endued with good memory, tractable enough to learn any science, and, beyond all other Indians, amenable to Christian teaching.

During summer, the natives are attired only in a cotton cloth, wide about the shoulders like a sheet, and tied by two corners across the breast; it being also girded about the middle, and allowed to hang down to the calf of the leg. Their shoes, which are rarely worn, are made of goat-skins, and are fastened above the foot with thongs. In winter, they wear garments of fur made of the skins of tigers, bears, and apes. The people of Soulang were formerly apparelled as Europeans, but all the others as Chinese. Before the first coming of the Spaniards to Formosa, the natives were all naked, like those who now occupy the hill-country, who wear only a cloth about their middle.

The habit of the women is the same as that of the men, only with this distinction, that their robes are wrapped about their legs and made fast. Sometimes, too, they wear an upper coat which reaches to the knees, while around their heads they tie a black kerchief so as to look like two horns. Every woman has a pig which follows her about everywhere.

The men have sometimes their back, breast, and arms painted with a kind of colour which never fades so long as they live. About their necks they wear glass beads, and bracelets round their arms. Others have great iron hoops, which reach from the wrist to the elbow, and having such small openings that it seems a wonder how they can get their arms into them. Their legs are ornamented with strings of white shells, so neatly hung and arranged that they appear like lace at a little distance.

The men of Tokkadekol wear a long reed, which is made fast to the girdle behind, and comes bending over the head; and to this they fasten a silk pendant or streamer about two palms broad and twenty long. On festival days they adorn their heads with the feathers of a cock, and hang bears' tails from their legs and arms.

The Formosans have neither tradesmen nor mechanics amongst them, every man making what he has occasion for himself. When they lie down to sleep, they use only two deerskins, one on which to repose and the other as a coverlet. They are excellent swimmers, and are also expert with the bow and

arrow; but above all other attainments, they surpass any one I have ever seen at running, no horse being able to keep pace with them for a stretch of six or eight leagues together. When they run, they carry in each hand a tinkling instrument, with which they every now and then strike the iron hoop about their arm to encourage them forward.

Those natives are wholly ignorant of the art of navigation, the only craft with which they go fishing being a sort of canoe made out of a hollowed-out tree. This, with hunting, is the sole occupation by which they sustain themselves; for agriculture is but seldom followed, partly because of their slothful habits, and partly from fear of their enemies, they being continually engaged in tribal warfare and averse to everything like peace.

When we had taken in our cargo, I was transferred from the *Black Bear* to a fly-boat called *The Lady*, which left Formosa and set sail for Japan on 15 July 1650.

83. From the Tayouan Consistory to the Committee of the Amsterdam Classis on Indian Affairs.—10 November 1650. *Reverend, pious, wise, and very learned Brethren*, We duly and with much pleasure received in August last your letter of 4 October 1649. Your burning zeal for the honour of God, your unwearied efforts for the establishment of our Indian churches, your admonition that we should preserve peace and concord, your amicable invitation to carry on a mutual correspondence—all these things, embodying, as it were, your holy thoughts, will serve as so many motives for us to love and reverence you.

We assure you we shall make amends for our former silence, and promise you that in future we shall not neglect to give you more minute particulars of such things as relate to the condition of our churches in Formosa.

But we must earnestly request you in your turn to give us an evidence of your love and profound wisdom by sending to us a few lines every year as you are able, and according to the becoming and praiseworthy custom of other churches.

We have the more reason for expressing this our wish, seeing that a heavier and more oppressive burden presses on our shoulders, and compels us again and again to exclaim, with our hearts well-nigh failing us, ‘Who is sufficient for these things?’ For we feel—although you do not mention this in your last communication—that you think the great expectations you had about our work have not been realised.

You must not, however, forget the fact that, during previous years, the instruction given here was not very efficient. Still, we should consider it an inestimable benefit, if, with your wisdom, knowledge, and great experience, you would lead us to better methods, or furnish us with more suitable materials for edifying the Church of God.

But now we wish to say something of the villages to the north of Tirozen. About six years ago, the Rev. Simon van Breen began to lay the foundations of Christianity there in the most sensible manner and with much success.

Since his departure, the Rev. Jacobus Vertrecht has continued this work with no less zeal and diligence, the Rev. Gilbertus Happart assisting him since last year in his endeavours. Before long, we expect most favourable results will be perceptible in that part of the country, as this work has all along been carried forward with unabating zeal and in perfect order.

Mr. Vertrecht makes great progress in the language, for not only has he translated into the Favorlang tongue several smaller pieces on the fundamental principles of Christianity, with some sermons and a dialogue in which the rejection of the heathen gods and their service is advocated, but, to our very great surprise, he has preached several times in that language.

He has also begun to teach the aged; but we cannot yet say much about results, as he has just begun that work, and as we see from time to time that young people, whom we may here compare to saplings, are better fitted to be transplanted into the garden of the Lord.

We have the greater cause to lament Mr. Vertrecht's intention of leaving for our native country, since he is now in the full vigour of his work, and the fields are beginning to become white unto harvest. For although the Rev. Gilbertus Happart—who is also in the full bloom of youth and endowed with great gifts—will surely follow in the steps of his colleague now about to leave, it is hardly possible for pen to describe what a painful impression this change of clergymen produces in churches of such tender growth.

Hence it was that last year we urged our brethren in Batavia to do what they could in providing Formosa with clergymen who would come, not for the usual few years, but bind themselves to serve the churches in India during a much longer term. Because, whatever be the opinion of the brethren in Holland regarding the churches here, this is certain, that if we have to struggle with the insurmountable difficulty of the clergymen continually leaving us, we fear we may never be able to say that the churches are well appointed and in a flourishing condition.

And yet, it was with very much difficulty that we could persuade our before-mentioned brother to continue his service for the present year. When we speak thus, we only express the true sentiments of our hearts: we by no means desire to complain about him, but we pity ourselves.

Mr. Vertrecht has now most faithfully served the Indian churches for seventeen years; and though burdened with much work pertaining to his office, and in the midst of many serious troubles, he has not considered his life or his health, so that he might proclaim the kingdom of God's grace to many heathen of various races. But his health has broken down. Last year he had to mourn over the death of his beloved wife, and now at last he is forced to leave owing to bodily weakness and his heavy family afflictions.

Next year we shall have to lament the loss of another clergyman; for at the time of Mr. Vertrecht's departure, the Rev. Daniel Gravius will be leaving, he having demanded and reasonably obtained his discharge for well-nigh the same reasons.

We trust, therefore, that you will amply supply us with other able

clergymen from Holland, so that the vacancies here and elsewhere in our churches may be filled up. We also rely on the kind and special care of our brethren in Batavia providing us with several clergymen to supply the deficiency.

But there is another thing we would most urgently request of you; namely, to support us with your favour, assistance, and wisdom, by inducing the Directors of the Company to furnish us with a printing-press in Formosa.

Perhaps it is sufficient to give you a slight idea of the method followed in the instruction of these new converts—a method which leads us to urge our request with much earnestness—when we state that the instruction given to the people of so many populous villages is *vivâ voce*, the people having to repeat what one or two schoolmasters first recite to them.

As there are many people to be taught, and as we must avoid taxing their powers too much, each party attends once every two or three weeks, and nothing is left us but to hope that the instructions given in one week may be remembered by them during the interval. As a matter of fact, however, their memories and their willingness to remember are both so very questionable, that we often find they have quite forgotten what has been told them when their turn to be instructed again comes round; a result which is largely owing to the want of books.

What renewed courage we should feel in performing our difficult task, how much greater would the progress in our work be, if we could dispense with this tiresome and painful system of teaching these people! By doing so, we have every reason to believe that what now requires years, could be done in months and occasionally even in weeks; such being our actual experience while giving instruction with the aid of books.

The necessity for changing the method which is now generally followed, is daily becoming more evident. For, after the excellent beginning we have made, the strengthening of the Church cannot be brought about by getting the people to memorise some parts of the catechism—really a mere formality—but by sincere efforts to appease their spiritual hunger with continual supplies of fresher and more substantial food. And this ought certainly to be done if we wish to avoid such a contingency as the knowledge they have already acquired and the zeal they have already shown turning out to be altogether in vain.

To our heartfelt sorrow, we daily experience that the blessed work of our predecessors, and our own work in establishing the schools for children—the only foundation on which we can expect to build the Church—have been futile, and will continue to be so, if the flame of the flax that has begun to burn is not constantly fed with some tracts of religious import.

Yes: our experience indeed has been that some of the scholars whom we have permitted to leave the school, have very soon quite forgotten the art of writing and reading. This is a great pity and surely much to be regretted. Therefore the Holy Scriptures, or at least a part of them, ought to be given to the natives—at least if we do not join with the Papists in thinking that it is

profitable for ourselves to keep them in ignorance, and suppress their desire for spiritual knowledge.

But there would be another great advantage from supplying them with books. It would be a most effectual means of counteracting the serious inconvenience which frequently arises on the demise or departure of the clergymen. When such removals take place, not only the form of instruction, but the matter itself, is sometimes completely changed. This might be avoided in future, if mature consideration led to a suitable method being devised and rendered permanent by printing; so that the instruction given by former clergymen would not only be continued, but on the printed page become immortalised, so to speak.

Moreover, any fear of incurring increased expense by the granting of our request, should not be entertained by the Directors of the Company; for we can almost venture to promise that many of our present burdens would rather be diminished in this way. For example, the schools are now superintended by at least three or four Dutchmen and twice as many Formosan teachers; but, if we were in possession of the required books, we should probably attain our object by employing half that number, in a much shorter time, and with far greater success. It would also be possible to dismiss the scholars in half the time which is now required, while the time thus gained could be given to other important matters.

And if the fear of incurring fresh expense be still the turning-point, then we venture to think that the inhabitants themselves might pay the price of the books, if it were moderate; a scheme which appears to us quite practicable, as it would not burden the people to any great extent. Thus the outlay for printing could be met without the Company being involved.

And what is it that we desire when matters are thoroughly considered? All we want is a small printing-press. The type need not be quite new, and the apparatus need be but very moderate. We only wish to have a printing-press for ordinary purposes; of course, not one totally unfit for use. The preparation of expensive and costly works is not what we have in view; our object being to print small, but most necessary, school-books, the want of which obliges us to restrict ourselves so long to the very first elements. Years pass very rapidly; and the time during which we ourselves, as well as our disciples, have to be occupied with this rudimentary work, prevents us from ever treating the profounder subjects relating to our office, and keeps us spending our strength in the dust, so that we are not able to advance.

Nor is there the least cause to fear that the multitude of authors which may arise will entail great expense on the Company, or become a burden to our churches; as it is our intention, if we attain our object, to keep that current so effectively within bounds that there need be little fear of the waters ever rising so high as to produce an inundation, or break the dykes.

And what likelihood is there of our attaining our much-desired object by having this work done in our native country? Even although we send over the manuscript, arranged and prepared by us here, yet, when we consider that

the Formosan language is not only quite unknown in Holland, but that many of the dialects of this language have no affinity with each other, we have no hope whatever of receiving any assistance from the clergymen who have left this country for the Fatherland.

Hence also we entertain many doubts about the printing in Holland of the 'Formula of Christianity,' a work which the Directors took upon them to have executed; as our fear is lest it may reach us in such an imperfect condition that we shall be sorely disappointed in the expectation of attaining our object.

These and other considerations, which you will have already anticipated, will, we confidently trust, lead you with your usual zeal to lend assistance in this good work of furthering the cause of our churches, whereby you will render them an inestimable favour, and cause them to feel deeply and eternally grateful for your bounty.

Finally, we wish to add some remarks in answer to your last favour, as it contained many accusations against us which we cannot leave unanswered; that is, if we do not wish to appear perfectly indifferent to our good name, or to seem culpably sure it cannot be sullied.

It certainly caused us very much surprise that you accuse us especially of a want of love. We do not know by what standard of love you judge us; but it is astonishing what singular and extraordinary conclusions that letter of ours has led you to make—conclusions as far from our thoughts as they are from the truth of the matter itself.

Thus, we are accused of having spoken very much in our letter of the remarkable results that have followed our own efforts; whereas we are obliged to confess, to our regret, that during the last two years in particular, we cannot boast of having been at all successful in our work.

We are further blamed for depreciating the work of Mr. Junius, because we maintain in all truth that Christianity has but just begun to develop itself in this island, and of affirming that Mr. Junius has not left behind him churches which, as regards knowledge and piety, come up to the most perfect of the apostolic times.

Exception is also taken to what we say about Mr. Junius being unacquainted with these foreign languages or dialects. We feel indeed, and are daily more and more convinced of the fact, that he really never understood enough of the principles of the language to be able—in keeping with his own proposal—to prepare students for the clerical office in nine months' time; for he did not possess sufficient grammatical knowledge of the language to do so.

Another thing laid to our charge is a statement to the effect that Mr. Junius himself had complained in the Synod of the decay of the Formosan churches. We assure you that it never entered our thoughts to say such a thing. True it is, however, that Mr. Junius complained of this in a remonstrance to the Directors of the Company; a copy having been sent to us by the Directors themselves, with the request that, seeing those complaints had been also made to the Synod, we should send a letter to that assembly, from which our innocence might appear.

And, once more, we are accused of representing the work done by Mr. Junius in Formosa as having had no results whatever—as having been done in vain. Now, we all agree that the results by no means come up to our expectations when the length of Mr. Junius's sojourn in this island is considered; these results, moreover, being much smaller than he himself pretends they are. Indeed, so convinced are we of this fact, that we would not hesitate to leave the decision of the matter to his own brother or father.

We are sure that these odious conclusions from the letter in question are most unjustly attributed to that communication, and are inconsistent with your usual wisdom and love; while they would grieve us still more, if we did not suppose that other important and pressing business prevented your giving closer attention to the matter. At the same time, it is not so much the conclusions drawn from our letter that hurt our feelings, as having been accused in so many distinct words of acting against the essence of love itself.

For what reason are such suspicions entertained against us? Why should we, to please Mr. Junius, call in question the actual experience of so many impartial clergymen—yea, of all the members of our Consistory? Is this the reason, that we consider the instructions given by Mr. Junius have had little effect, and have not been productive of great results? But we think the conclusion to be a very just and true one, seeing that we can judge of the cause of a thing only from its effect, and that it does not please God now to work by means of direct revelation.

The corroborative statements we put forward were intended for your own enlightenment, seeing you cannot personally and with your own eyes examine into the truth of what we saw. Moreover, we declare that we do not judge according to certain conclusions we may have drawn, but from personal experience and from what our eyes have witnessed. We have indeed learned that, in doubtful cases, love should predominate by our taking the most hopeful view; but our love is not strong enough to sacrifice to it our conviction, our knowledge, and what we have seen with our own eyes.

And we have no fear that persons of sound sense will, for that reason, consider us to be revengeful, ambitious, or quarrelsome. If in future we meet with such impartial critics, we shall give them but one answer, namely, point out the sincerity of our conduct, trusting that the pious will, for the maintenance of the truth, declare with equal force that our sincerity is as great as that of Mr. Junius, who, as we can see, hear, and feel, has succeeded in producing an imposing impression on the Christian world. And if our enemies deride us because Mr. Junius has boasted so loudly of all he has done, we must lay it to the charge of those who are the cause thereof, and conclude that they think it a greater crime to reveal the truth than to cover the first lie with a second.

Nor is it very surprising that the Rev. I. Happart, a man of great modesty should formerly have expressed a high opinion of Mr. Junius and his work, if we consider that he wrote those letters shortly after his arrival in Formosa, when the scales had not as yet fallen from his eyes. But what the real opinion of this excellent man concerning Mr. Junius became later on, is perfectly clear

from his having laid certain grievances before some Dutch professors ; in which grievances he expresses a doubt if he was at liberty to baptize even the children of Mr. Junius's converts.

In conclusion, we all most expressly and solemnly declare—especially the brother who wrote last year, as he does now, in name of our Consistory—that, by entertaining too high an opinion of Mr. Junius's services and of the excellent results which were expected to flow from them, we were led to adopt the same erroneous opinion concerning the condition of the Formosan churches as many pious persons in Holland entertain at the present day. But we have now obtained a better insight into that work which has been so highly praised ; the result being that the matter of instruction was found to be so insufficient, the form so unsuitable, and the results so very insignificant, as to call forth from us the testimony that its chief features had been artificially embellished, and represented in somewhat false colours. No doubt, it might have misled an inattentive visitor who was unacquainted with the language, but the work could by no means bear a rigid and righteous examination, much less remain permanent for many years.

We do not consider it any mark of love to close our eyes against the results of such sad experience, as it would be culpable flattery and persistent folly to do so. Moreover we could not but expect, after the truth had been discovered, to have the same sentence pronounced against us, if, as in the case of Mr. Junius, we had deserved it. And although we do not deny that, after considerable provocation, we here and there made use of an acrimonious word in our former letter, still we never deviated from the straight path of truth.

Accordingly, after we had removed the mask that so foolishly disguised the true condition of the churches here, we found many reasons to call white, white ; and black, black. Several considerations led us to act thus. The honour of our deceased brethren whom Junius has so indecorously assailed, the inestimable value of truth itself—which, for reasons that we cannot understand, our predecessors, probably actuated by too great a feeling of modesty, have been hiding till now—the well-founded fear that at last all blame would fall upon us, the accusations made in the Synod and the Board of Directors, the letters filled with complaints forwarded to Batavia, the anxiety lest brethren coming after us might complain of our having kept silence ; but, more especially, the express command given us by the Governor and Councillors of India, have forced us, very reluctantly, to perform the task of acting as we have been obliged to do.

Meanwhile, in accordance with your earnest and kindly admonitions, we do not in the least refuse to bury this matter in oblivion ; provided, however, that Mr. Junius desists from doing anything whereby our honour and the truth would be impugned, or our liberty curtailed.

The proofs of our first accusations which we promised to send you, but which you advised us not to forward, had been despatched before your letter reached us, and therefore their contents must be regarded as words which have been irrevocably spoken.

As regards this matter, you must please remember that we are the offended party, loudly accused of being the cause of the sad condition of the Church, which had been wrongly described as being in so prosperous a condition, and depicted in such glowing colours. We were also accused of sounding our trumpets too loudly in our own praise, whereas our work deserved hardly any praise at all. Are we to bear the consequences of the mistakes and misdeeds of others in silence, and even to lay the blame upon the shoulders of those who may succeed us—a thing they nowise deserve?

If now, perhaps, our feelings of indignation, or a too burning zeal for truth, have led us to trespass, we beg that you will forgive us in love, and ascribe our sin to our human nature. On the other hand, we promise to forget to all eternity the cause of offence of which Mr. Junius has been the author, and to cease from all further strife; for 'the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood.'

The books and other requisites for the schools, mentioned in your letter, we have duly received. The Directors have so liberally and abundantly supplied us this year, that we consider it our duty to send you our sincere thanks for the great care you have displayed in this matter, and to express through you—this is our urgent request—to the Directors our feelings of profound obligation. We think that we shall be well supplied for the two following years.

We have, however, one request more this time, which is that you will supply us with a goodly number of New Testaments and small Bibles, as we have not received any at all this year. . . . *The conclusion of the letter with its signatures are missing.*

84. The Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 15 November 1650. . . . In our former letter we informed you that for most important reasons we had consented to give the Rev. J. Vertrecht his discharge in the following year, and that it was therefore most desirable to have another clergyman sent from Batavia in his place.

We have now to report that the Rev. D. Gravius has followed Mr. Vertrecht's example. We sincerely wish he had not done so, but had consented to remain here some time longer. As, however, the Consistory of Tayouan, after mature consideration, decided that the reasons he gave for requesting his discharge were quite valid, they have fully granted his request; and we too have expressed approval, on the understanding that, according to custom, you also will give your consent. One condition, however, was formally mentioned in the resolution—Gravius himself very affably making the proposal—that he would consider himself bound, on the demise of any of the clergymen, or in case of necessary assistance for carrying on the work among those who remain, to delay his departure one year longer.

In the meantime, the clergyman Johannes Kruyf has been called to Soulang in his place, so that he may become conversant with the language before Mr. Gravius leaves, and gradually acquire a knowledge of the work he

is expected to do in that outlying place. At present divine service is conducted by both of them in the Tayouan community.

Against the arrangement, and the subsequent selection of the clergymen, we had no particular objection to raise.

We have also agreed that Mr. Kruyf should be entrusted with the judicial office, being of opinion that you have not any objection to the two offices being united in one person. As Moses and Aaron acted like one person, we think that this combination will produce the greatest amount of peace and satisfaction in Formosa; and we shall continue to unite these two offices till you shall be pleased to give directions to the contrary.

We therefore fully expect that the first ships which visit this place will bring us two clergymen instead of one; when we shall send them to such places as occasion most requires. Young men, well versed in learning, who have bound themselves to remain ten years in this island, can do great service in the conversion of the heathen; whereas others, after having acquired some little knowledge of the language, and seeing that their time of service has nearly expired, often wish to return to Holland. Such changes greatly retard the promulgation of the Gospel, the consequences being that during the course of many years very little can be effected.

With reference to the above-mentioned clergymen, we remember that they particularly desired us to return to you their very best thanks for the wine and butter which have been sent to them in kind remembrance. The Governor also desires us to express to you his gratitude for the provisions you forwarded to him for the use of his table. He also wishes to beg your pardon for not having done so in the former letter, it having escaped his memory at the time. Herewith, etc., NICOLAES VERBURG, FRED. COYETT, DIRCK SNOUCQ, ANTHONIS VAN BRONCKHORST, GABRIEL HAPPART, JAN DE GROOT.

85. From the Zeelandia Minute-book.—5 June 1651. The clergyman Daniel Gravius, who has for a long time occupied the judicial office in the villages of Soulang and Bakloan, has had the effrontery to send to us, the Governor of the island of Formosa, a letter, dated Soulang, 10 November 1650, containing the most shameful and scandalous slander against the super-factor Dirck Snoucq, one of our councillors and the fiscal of his district. In this letter Gravius declares Mr. Snoucq to be a person of a shameful and odious character.

These calumnies, which it would be impossible for us to pass by without notice, are not substantiated by any actual evidence whatsoever, but arise, as far as we can judge, from pure malice and envy. For this charge was hurled against a person with whom the accuser had but a short time before sat at the Lord's Table, and was intended totally to ruin him, to rob him of his good name and reputation, so that by incurring our sore displeasure, he might, as it were, be blotted out from the face of the earth.

This cable of infamous slander had been formed of many strands of abuses and misdeeds of so scandalous and unchristian a nature that they cannot even

here be mentioned in detail; yet the calumnies—God help us—whereby this person has been defamed, have been spread and made public throughout the whole community. They are expressed in the slanderous letter originally addressed to us, which letter is now in our rightful possession, and can at all times and seasons be produced for inspection.

After having, as in duty bound and with all impartiality, taken due notice of this most scandalous insult—being by no means desirous of hiding the matter under a bushel—we summoned the accused, as was proper and right, to appear before us, so that he might have an opportunity of clearing himself from the charges brought against him. In doing so, it was evident to our mind that the welfare of the Company could not be advanced if we retained in its services a Councillor who had been thus shamefully exposed, the more so as the said Snoucq is the very functionary called to prevent false accusations, and to punish the authors thereof; as far, at least, as that lies in his power.

But although the complainant Snoucq has repeatedly demanded damages and compensation since that time, we have had no opportunity of taking action, and the case has therefore been delayed.

Meanwhile, the conspiracies this defamatory letter have caused much confusion—greatly due to those who are in league with the writer—and created a position of the most serious inconvenience, seeing that our colony here—God help us—is now turned into an arena of contention and discord. The Church and the Legislature are loudly and publicly set against each other; and all functionaries thrown into such a state of excitement that even the tribunal of God's holy ordinance—whose purpose before all things is to promote peace and concord—has not remained neutral, but has been infected by this venom of hypocritical slander.

What makes matters worse is that the same persons occupy offices in several branches of the Administration; and they are daily becoming so thoroughly imbued with the poison that, forgetting their duty to remain impartial, they form their own opinions before the facts are examined. The result is most pernicious, inasmuch as the Court of Justice is no longer competent to pronounce sentence in this matter.

Therefore, in order once more to restore quiet and peace, the Governor deemed it expedient to consult the Council of Formosa, as the supreme tribunal amongst us. But, as our Council consists of three persons only, namely, the Governor, the complainant Snoucq, and the super-factor Frederick Coyett, this method of procedure had to be abandoned. For Mr. Coyett—who, to the great detriment of the Company, holds his position here by favour of the former Governor, who was his patron—is not only a deadly enemy of this same Snoucq, but a decided partisan of Gravius and his followers.

Under these embarrassing circumstances, and on urgent petition of the complainant, it was decided to summon Mr. Gravius to appear at the Castle on 23 May forthcoming, so that this case might be settled by compromise, or on our own proper and impartial authority.

Wherefore, the before-mentioned Gravius appeared before us on 26 May at the Castle, there being also present the complainant Snoucq and the secretary of Council, Frederick Schedel. The Governor then proceeded to explain to Gravius the reason of his having been summoned to appear before him, and said that now, after having been warned, both orally and in writing, he was called upon to justify himself for having written the libellous letter in question, either by proving the truth of his assertions or by giving satisfaction and redeeming the honour of the person attacked, according as circumstances required and demanded.

To this, Gravius repeatedly stated that he would answer these charges after Snoucq had lodged his complaint, with the evidence of his having been slandered, before the proper tribunal. Whereupon the Governor answered: 'The petition that I have read to you is the complaint that has been lodged; and this libellous letter, written by your own hand, is the evidence brought forward by the complainant.' But Gravius, giving another turn to the matter, said that he could not and would not answer unless he was called before the proper tribunal, namely, the Court of Justice.

Now, the membership of this includes seated not only the before-mentioned super-factor Coyett, but two or three other persons who would side in favour of Gravius, such as Captain Thomas Pedel, and the factor Pieter van Alphen. These would give him their votes, for they are the same persons who some months ago, either under the influence of that slanderous letter, or actuated by other private motives of their own, succeeded in preventing Snoucq from being allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper.

Among other pleas Gravius brought forward was this: he felt much aggrieved and even offended by the public notification of 8 May which we issued in the interests of the Company, and in which we strongly condemned—as being insolent, suspicious, and arrogant—his having, on his own authority and without our sanction, issued certain poll-papers [probably hunting licences], stamped with his own seal. For this reason he maintained that the Governor belonged to the party inimical to him—although he had boasted before writing that libellous letter of being a friend and a favourite of the Governor—and that under such unheard-of circumstances he refused to acknowledge him as his judge.

The following day, being 21 May, he appealed in writing to a Higher Court, declaring that he now desired to justify himself in the presence of the Governor-general, Cornelis van der Lyn.

At this stage, he also maintained that his letter contained mere reports about Snoucq, the greater number of which he himself did not believe. These and other most frivolous excuses and pretexts he merely employed to gain time, so that he might not have to appear before competent judges residing in the place where he had perpetrated the offence. This of course could not be allowed; for no offender here could be corrected by that method, and nobody could protect himself against slander.

Gravius also refused, and that repeatedly, to appear before the Governor in person, although summoned to do so, unless two members of the Court of Justice

were likewise present. At last, he did appear before the Governor—fearing the serious consequences which the Authorities put before him in case of disobedience—and being called upon to give proper satisfaction, he obstinately refused to retract any of his former declarations; then, without waiting for any decision, and without even asking our permission to leave, he secretly departed between the 30th and the 31st of last month for Soulang, the place of his residence.

In the meantime, the often-mentioned super-factor Snoucq had forwarded to us a written statement, in which he insisted upon receiving satisfaction for the offence committed against him.

After the reasons for further delay brought forward by the accused had been discussed and found inadmissible, Gravius was again summoned to appear at the Castle on the 2nd; and, with the object of preventing him from disappearing again before this matter was settled, he was repeatedly enjoined to remain within the precincts of the Castle.

The proceedings and occurrences which we have now been mentioning could not but be productive of results both dangerous and far-reaching. Indeed, as already stated, they have led to disorder in this republic, and to one man robbing his neighbour of his good name and reputation with impunity. Such things cannot be allowed to occur in places so isolated as this, especially when the defamations which gave rise to them are malignantly uttered by a servant of the Holy Gospel, thus causing much commotion in the minds of men, and giving serious cause of offence to the Church. We do not look for conduct like this from a clergyman, and consequently the offence must be regarded as so much the more culpable and mischievous.

Hence we, the Governor of this island, after most mature deliberation and earnest prayer to God Almighty, have been obliged to come to the conclusion that the most wicked and false letter written by Mr. Gravius is the principal cause of all the accursed disputes in this place; and have thought it expedient, in virtue of the authority granted unto us—whereby we are lawfully appointed to serve the Company and promote the welfare of our dear native country, as Governor of this island and as Guardian of the Church and her ordinances—to avert the evil that has arisen by employing such means as are at our disposal for its suppression, and by defending the character of the person who has been defamed and calumniated.

We therefore resolve and ordain—acknowledging the necessary confirmation of His Excellency the Governor-general and his councillors—that from this day forth the said Mr. Gravius be suspended from the ecclesiastical and judicial offices he has held for so many years, and be deprived of his salary until such time as he shall arrive in Batavia. We thus leave the final decision of this matter to our superiors, but cannot ourselves approve of a calumniator like this being allowed to proclaim the Word of God in any place under our authority.

We further condemn him to pay a fine of one thousand *guilders* for the benefit of the Company, these thousand *guilders* to be put to the debit of his account for monthly instalments yet due to him in the way of salary.

We further leave it to the decision and discretion of the Highest Authority

—in whose name we here exercise the power delegated to us—to inflict on the said Gravius such further punishment as they think proper, for having treated our person and our authority over this island with contumely, he having acted as if both were of no importance and as non-existent.

We also ordain that he, Gravius, shall quietly reside here at Tayouan till the ships leave for Batavia; that he is here and elsewhere prohibited from exercising any function whatever; that he must not allude, by word of mouth or in writing, to matters connected with this lawsuit, and that he shall not undertake anything in connection therewith without our knowledge and consent. We consider these prohibitions to be for his own interest, and most necessary for the maintenance of peace in the community.—Thus given in the Castle of Zeelandia at Tayouan, 5 June 1651.

NICOLAES VERBURG.

86. From the Amsterdam Classis to the Consistory of Formosa.—

11 September 1651. *Reverend, pious, most learned, wise, and discreet gentlemen and brethren,* That it has pleased you in your letter dated 10 November 1650 to praise us in such emphatic words on account of our zeal for the honour of God and the building up of the Indian churches, and our desire that every one should live in mutual love and concord, we could not regard otherwise than as strong evidence of the love and affection which you feel towards us; for love generally magnifies every kindness, however small, from those we love.

And although we hardly venture to accept this praise, yet we can assure you of our sincerity in all those things. For God knows that we feel how deficient we are as we strain our utmost to supply what is wanting; and He also knows that we do not allow any opportunity to escape us of giving evidence of our love and affection.

It is a source of intense satisfaction to hear, beloved brethren, that the cause of the Gospel has such free course that labourers are wanting to garner the harvest of the Lord; for we understand from the brethren in Batavia that not six clergymen, but twenty, or even twenty-five, would hardly suffice for that purpose. Praise and glory be unto God, who hath laboured with his co-labourers and hath given a blessing on their work. The Lord of the harvest will surely send forth a sufficient number of labourers for such an extensive work.

We highly commend your toilsome labour, your self-denying willingness, and your ceaseless diligence, and shall daily wrestle with you and for you in prayer to God, that the work you are doing may be well pleasing to the saints.

Nor shall anything be wanting on our part that may tend to lighten your labour. To this end, we informed the XVII of the condition of your churches, requesting them also to send you a greater number of clergymen; and to this proposal they answered that they would very seriously consider the matter.

On the same occasion we informed them of the desire which you brethren in Formosa have to be provided with a printing-press, and added the reasons which you so fully explained to us. In reply, the Directors assured us that they were well pleased with your request, and that it would be taken into favourable consideration.

Whenever and wherever we can do anything more for the furtherance of your welfare, we shall always prove ourselves willing to do so in the sincerity of our heart.

In conclusion, we cannot but praise you for having expressed in such gentle and kind words your willingness to bury in oblivion the dispute with Mr. Junius. We trust that you will forget this matter unto all eternity, and that you will never give rise to a renewal of these disagreements. Yes: let us by all means incite each other to love, and honestly say what we think of and feel for one another. This will be well pleasing to God and His angels elect. Therefore, beloved brethren, have peace in yourselves and with one another.

The God of peace make you perfect in every good work, and preserve your whole spirit, soul, and body blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

87. From the Commissioner Versteegen and the Councillors of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Tayouan, 24 October 1651. . . . It was with no less sorrow that we had to notice the serious dissensions which have arisen in this place, between Governor Verburg, and the former fiscal, Dirck Snoucq, on the one hand; with Councillor Frederick Coyett, the clergymen Gravius and Happart, and the whole Consistory, on the other—dissensions which have assumed such broad dimensions that we can hardly credit the account of them.

These dissensions produced such a commotion in the community, and feelings have been so seriously wounded, that hardly any one can rest, much less find a remedy to heal the wounds. For a long time the Lord's Supper has not been administered, the Council of Formosa and the Council of Justice have ceased to meet, people cannot bear the sight of one another, and love has dwindled away and turned, as it were, into a stone. All alike are neither hot nor cold, but so lukewarm that there is no desire to come to an understanding, and anything that might be done in that direction is positively shrunk from. It must therefore be apparent that, so long as both parties refuse to move one step, this misunderstanding must continue.

For one thing, obedience to the stated Authority here should remain unquestioned. It is better to leave matters in a state of confusion, better that they go from bad to worse, than to venture upon anything unconstitutional, and in that way obtain some measure of temporary redress.

It is indeed a lamentable case when persons who are a prey to their own passions, allow themselves to be led by others, and are tossed about as in a whirlwind. Moses and Aaron, each in his proper place—a relationship we are far from seeing realised here—should act together in the interests of peace, and thus advance the glory of God and goodwill among men.

The departure of the Revs. D. Gravius and J. Vertrecht for your place, the decease of the Rev. Mr. Copsma of blessed memory, formerly in Sinkan, and of the clerk in Holy Orders Hans Olhoff in Vorrovorong, these changes

leave only three clergymen with us now, namely, the Rev. J. Kruyf, who conducts divine service at the Castle, the Rev. A. Hambroek in the village of Mattau, and the Rev. G. Happart in Takkais; this not reckoning the Rev. Rutgerus Tesschermæcker, who has just arrived, nor the Rev. I. Lutgens, who recently died at his station on the Pescadore islands.

After giving close attention to the matter with which we were entrusted; after having diligently consulted with parties concerned here and taken the whole circumstances into consideration, we have resolved, with due regard to your proposal and well-considered recommendations from all, to discharge the clergymen from their judicial functions and from further interference with agricultural matters. Also, to execute this measure in a way that will cause the least possible dissatisfaction, so that the clergymen may not be regarded with contempt by our own people and the natives, or as if they could no longer be trusted; whereas all we mean is that they should administer ecclesiastical affairs only; which, as will be apparent from our resolution of 7 September last, will leave them abundance of work, if it be well attended to.

Pursuant to this resolution, the judicial Commissioner of the Consistory, Frederick Coyett, has expressed to the clergymen our thanks for the services which they have rendered to the Company, and discharged them, with the assurance of our satisfaction, from their judicial functions, seeing it was evident that these functions were not in keeping with their clerical duties, as they have all themselves repeatedly assured me was the case.

The clergymen were rather dissatisfied that Mr. Tesschermæcker had been appointed to Soulang. When the intention of the Council of Formosa to appoint him was announced, and their advice requested—according to your Excellency's orders and the instructions given to the preachers on departure from their native country—they exceedingly demurred, stating that their proposal to station Mr. Kruyf at Soulang had already been approved of by the Council; and that by their being kept in ignorance of this other appointment, matters were taking a course which appeared to them to be neither fitting nor desirable. In plain language, they thought no greater mistake could be committed than to appoint one good clergyman in the place of another good clergyman: not that they objected to this in itself, but considered that clerical rights should be infringed if the Council took it upon itself to remove any clergyman before having consulted the Consistory.

They requested a copy of the resolution and of the general letter; but it was politely intimated to them that their request could not be complied with, as compliance would only serve to increase their discontent, which must be discouraged as much as possible.

They also begged that the clergyman Gilbertus Happart of Takkais—who has long resided in the island, is well known amongst this people, and has instructed many of them in the elements of the Christian religion—might be stationed in Favorlang in place of Mr. Vertrecht, who will soon be leaving for Batavia. According to our opinion the request should not be granted, as we think it chiefly originates from a desire to occupy the house of stone which

has been built there for the use of the clergyman. Both places—Takkais and Favorlang—will have to be attended to by Mr. Happart for a time, and both of them really possess the same advantages and disadvantages, although the brethren entertain a different opinion, and seem very hard to please.

The Governor will, however, take care—and of this we have given intimation to those concerned—that, as far as possible, the clergymen shall be accommodated with good and comfortable houses; and that, when their dwellings require to be repaired, everything necessary shall be attended to, so that they may feel quite satisfied about this matter.

According to our own belief, however, what they really desire is that the income connected with the judicial office, which they received in addition to their salaries as clergymen, should not be withdrawn from them under the altered conditions, although this income cannot decently be claimed by any clergyman. It is at this point that the shoe pinches; and, as far as we can judge, this is the real cause of their disquietude. We think that Messrs. Gravius and Happart are mostly to blame for so undesirable a state of feeling; but we trust time will produce a change for the better.

As to the schools which were inspected on the occasion of the visitation of the church in, we venture to say that all are in a satisfactory condition, in accordance with the reports received at the time, and which we send you by this opportunity, so that you may be able to judge for yourselves. We pray that the Lord may bless them more and more, so that we may see them gradually improve, and becoming productive of many good results.

It happened that, before our arrival on 8 May last, the Governor issued a proclamation against the Rev. Daniel Gravius, wherein the latter was accused of insolent and suspicious effrontery for having granted to some persons of Soulang certain poll-tax papers without the knowledge of the Governor, and for having stamped them with his own seal. The proclamation had also been translated into Chinese; and—probably wishing to give as much publicity to it as possible—the Governor had ordered it to be posted up during divine service at Soulang on Ascension day, so that every one might become acquainted with its meaning.

This mode of procedure could have been avoided if the Governor had made the least inquiry into the position of affairs. For formerly it was the custom—and probably the Governor was not quite unacquainted with this—when those poll-tax papers could not be obtained from the chief government office at the time, for the clergyman to issue them in his own name and authority, the amount being credited to the head office and afterwards accounted for. Several persons in Tayouan were certainly acquainted with this practice.

And yet, by request and in favour of ex-fiscal Dirck Snoucq, the Governor sentenced Gravius—who had right of appeal to the Governor-general and councillors of India—to be suspended from the ecclesiastical and judicial offices which he had held for many years, to have his salary withheld till he should arrive in Batavia, and to pay over a fine of one thousand *guilders*.

In this whole proceeding the Governor was sole judge; for he suspected

Mr. Coyett of siding with Gravius. The reason for citing Mr. Gravius before him and pronouncing the sentence recorded, was to exact some reparation for the alleged slander contained in a letter written from Soulang; but Gravius refused to comply with this demand, declaring that the Governor belonged to the party inimical to him—the aforesaid public notification being adduced as evidence—and that, consequently, he would not acknowledge him as a competent judge.

Moreover, the Governor called upon the highest authorities to arraign Gravius for having treated him with contumely; affirming that he had despised his person and shown contempt for his authority, which represented the Government itself. In the meantime, Gravius was ordered to remain here in Tayouan till the ships should set sail for Batavia. He was also forbidden to come within the precincts of the Castle; and, consequently, not allowed to enter the Church, which lies within those precincts.

An account of the foregoing proceedings, the sentence pronounced against Gravius, the beforementioned proclamation, and other documents relative to the whole process or suit—at least so far as the Governor is concerned—are herewith enclosed for your inspection.

Mr. Gravius has already lodged several complaints in our hands about his case, as well as concerning the time allowed for appeal.

Mr. Happart has also complained in several indecorous—or, courageous, as he calls them—letters to the Governor. These letters were read to us by the Governor at a meeting of Council, whereupon legal proceedings were opened against Happart, so that in due time the Governor hopes to obtain satisfaction for the alleged insults.

On Gravius's own request, the Council permitted him to enter the Church, so that he might be able to arrange his affairs. But no further delay in paying the sum he was sentenced to give to the Chinese Sakoa was granted; the sheriffs having some four or five months ago decided that this request could not be entertained, and Gravius himself not having appealed against this decision.

We should have very much preferred that these contentions between Governor Verburg and the second person in office, Mr. Frederick Coyett, on the one hand; and the Revs. Daniel Gravius and Gilbertus Happart—rather the whole Consistory—on the other, had been settled in an amicable way, for they have been gradually spreading like a contagious disease, and making bad still worse.

In order to prevent further mischief, which might result from such a state of matters, we proposed that parties on both sides should destroy all documents in their possession and in this way prevent a conflagration which might get beyond control, and thus imperil, not only the interests of the persons immediately concerned, but those of the Company, and of this still weak and immature republic.

In virtue, therefore, of the authority granted to us by you, we have this day first endeavoured to obtain all the documents in the possession of either

party, so that we might first know the full merits of the case and then come to the best decision that was possible.

But, in reply to our application, the Governor politely stated, through his secretary, that he could not comply with our wish, for reasons which prevented him from doing so. The secretary, Canselaer, gave us a somewhat similar answer, declaring that he was not bound to hand the documents to the Commissioner or to any one else, and so on. . . .

As the widow of the late Mr. Lutgens was left with four helpless children, we have appointed her matron of the orphanage, as a reward for the services rendered us by her deceased husband, so that she is now in better circumstances.

Another thing to report is that the wife of Mr. Tessechmaecker died five weeks after her confinement. The baby-girl is at present doing pretty well. The death of Mr. Tessechmaecker's wife will cause many changes in his domestic concerns, and has very much afflicted him. . . . Herewith, etc., WILHELM VERSTEEGEN, THOMAS BREUGEL, JOHANNES DANCKERS, REYNIER DAMMANS and ZACHARIAS WAGENAER.

88. Governor Verburg to Governor-general Carel Reyniersz and the Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 25 October 1651. . . . You have rightly judged from the way in which the fields are leased that this is not so much to the disadvantage of the Formosans as some persons, chiefly the clergymen, loudly pretend it to be, abusing the measure with only a show of reason; the simple truth being that it is a tax levied upon the natives which they do not find to be burdensome in the least. Surely the present system cannot do any one harm, when the leases granted under it give natives the right not only to sell their meat and skins to the leaseholders of their own village, or exchange them for other articles, but to sell their wares to leaseholders of other villages, so that they need not be cheated or fined by the Chinese unless they themselves are willing to be cheated or fined.

Should the granting of such leases be continued, surely no one will have any right to accuse us of levying unlawful taxes; as was formerly done by those who do not seek the welfare of the Company, but the increase of their own gains. If it had been arranged to keep leaseholders living in other villages out of reckoning, then there would have been a better opportunity for some covetous persons to put the profits into their own pockets.

The crooked ways and usurping pretensions of some clerical persons, who least of all should be guilty of such malpractices, impose upon the Government the very difficult task of endeavouring to prevent all this. They not only intrigue against persons desirous of obtaining leases, but—to the utter shame of the clergymen be it said—they would willingly enrich themselves by the sweat and toil of the poor Formosans, and rob them of their only means of subsistence, namely, the income derivable from deer-hunting.

Which is now the better and more humane arrangement—that the natives should be treated in the way we have just described; or that the Company

should levy so small a tax that even very poor people cannot find it to be anything of a hardship?

If these labourers sent out to gather in the harvest of the Lord have ever read that they will at last require to give an account of the talent entrusted to them, and that our Saviour has taught them to say, 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's,' why is it that, with graceful curve and bend, they have wandered so far from the path of truth and verity?

It was high time that you resolved to discharge them from the judicial office. Quite sure it is, that if such persons had been allowed to continue their complex functions, the political light of this republic would have been put under a bushel, and they themselves, under a cloak of religion, would have endeavoured to become the light placed on the candlestick. Then they would have usurped great authority; for we have evidence in abundance to show how averse they are to bend to the lawful authority. Imagining that, when entrusted with the civil government of a village, a right was given them to assist in governing a whole town, yea, the whole country, they would not allow any one in authority to deal with their faults, being always on the alert to defend themselves with spiritual weapons. For that reason we have often been obliged to shut our eyes to their most unrighteous acts, and have feared to lay our hands on those anointed of the Lord while they were depriving our poor subjects of all they possessed.

You can hardly conceive how much more peaceful the life of a Governor will be after this change which you have effected. For myself, I may say that it is only now I possess undisputed authority in the government of the Formosans, and only now that I can rule over a people accustomed to recognise the proper authority, and to respect and honour those placed above them.

Surely no conscientious Christian government can fulfil its task—the exercise of proper judgment and the righteous application of the law—if it be obliged to make exception of certain persons, to shut its eyes to the faults of others, and be unable to administer correction for the sake of that which is legal and right.

We desire to thank you most sincerely for the liberty you have given us by discharging the clergymen from their judicial office; assuring you that thereby greater peace and safety will soon be enjoyed in this republic, and that the work of conversion will make greater progress through increased zeal of the clergymen, who have hitherto been meddling and burdening themselves far too much with temporal matters. May the Almighty cause His blessing to descend on both State and Church.

We are at present in great want of clergymen. The Revs. J. Vertrecht and D. Gravius have now left us; the Rev. Cornelius Copsma and the newly arrived Rev. Johannes Lutgens are now no more—the latter having been buried in the Pescadores; while last May, the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, succumbed to the sickness that rages every summer in the South. The state of matters in that southern region is indeed lamentable, as we have only some few schoolmasters to occupy the stations there. In the north there is now also a great dearth of clergymen.

The present ministers are located as follows :—

Rev. Johannes Kruyf is appointed to conduct Divine service in Dutch at the Castle.

Rev. Rogerius Tessechmaecker to labour among the natives in the villages of Soulang, Sinkan, Bakloan and Tavakan.

Rev. Anthonius Hambroek to similar work in the villages of Mattau, Tirozen, Dorko and Tevorang.

Rev. Gilbert Happart to service in the districts of Takkais and Favorlang, on the farther side of the Ponkan river.

Seeing that we are so scantily provided, we have been obliged to allot to each a pretty large district ; and we now request you to send us ere long three or four more clergymen, so that the building up of the Church may not be retarded for want of ministers, as is the case in south Formosa. There, on account of the death of the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff, the Christian religion—at least to judge from appearances—has lost much ground, and perhaps will become extinct. We shall, however, endeavour to prevent this as much as possible, by enlisting the services of the judicial officer in the holy cause.

After the decease of the said Hans Olhoff—to whom we feel much indebted for the eminent services he rendered us in the south, both in ecclesiastical and judicial matters,—we appointed in his place the factor Cornelis van Dam ; but, a month after reaching his destination, he too died in consequence of the unhealthiness of the climate there ; so we have now given the vacant post to Richard Weils, who is the third person to receive nomination as head of that district. . . .—Herewith, etc., Your most obedient Servant,

NICOLAES VERBURG.

89. Governor Verburg to the Committee of Seventeen.—Zeelandia, 21 November 1651. . . . It is a wise and most excellent measure decided on by His Excellency the Governor-general and his councillors to discharge the clergymen in Formosa from all political or judicial services ; inasmuch as their calling does not at all correspond with the services required, as devotion to these worldly matters only unfits them for their work of converting the heathen.

You can scarcely believe what a source of peace this reform in the government of this republic will be. The state of feeling that existed between those who held the judicial office and the regent, was the most uncertain thing in the world ; as the former never could and never would keep within reasonable bounds, but were continually opposing the lawful Christian authority, and endeavouring to bring Church and State under their own dominion. The consequence was perpetual discord, which we trust will now cease, since the clergymen have at last been exempted from attending to temporal matters. . . . Herewith, etc. . . .—Your most humble and obedient servant,

NICOLAES VERBURG.

90. The Governor and Councillors of Formosa to the Governor-general Carel Reyniersz and Councillors of India.—Zeelandia, 21

November 1651. . . . Among the expenses mentioned for carpentry are also included six thousand *guilders* spent in building a house of stone for the use of the clergyman in Favorlang in the north, as you will observe from the detailed account of the expenses incurred. Seeing that the extent of the work is very great, a good round sum must yearly be allowed for repairs; for if the house be not kept in good condition, it would soon become one heap of uninhabitable ruins, and this would entail still greater expense. . . .

Because the political or judicial agents as well as clergymen will now be residing in the Formosan villages, a greater number of dwellings will of course be required. But at present it will not be possible to provide each of them with a house built of stone; and, accordingly, several of the brethren will occupy the existing houses which are built of that material, while their colleagues will have to find temporary accommodation in the houses made of bamboo, etc. Our object in informing you of this now is that, in case the clergy come to you with complaints, we may know—after receiving your necessary instructions—how to act, and thus avoid all further disputes about this matter. . . .

Seeing that, since his arrival here, Commissioner Versteegen has taken the side of the clergymen Daniel Gravius and Gilbert Happart—who are accused of having committed many irregularities and of having defied our authority—instead of attempting to correct them, the Governor, acting for those who are interested in this matter, as well as in defence of his own honour and authority, which have often been attacked by the said ecclesiastical persons, now emphatically asserts that he has great cause to complain in being thus treated.

In order, however, to prove that our charges were not made without good cause, we wish now to say that, during the proceedings, a certain letter was produced from Mr. Happart to us, and which exceeds all decorum by containing the most shameful accusations. The original letter was read at a Council meeting in presence of Happart on 29 August, a copy having then also been handed over; but all its charges were left unexamined through means employed by Mr. Versteegen, who seems actuated by the purest partisanship. One result is that not the slightest notice has been taken of our request to have justice done to us, whereas no deaf ear is usually turned to those who seek redress for any wrong committed against them.

Another occurrence is that a certain poor widow, who lives with her two children in the village of Soulang, has most piteously appealed to us in writing concerning her old husband. She asserts that, some time ago, he was so unmercifully beaten with a rope's end by Mr. Gravius—who accused him of having stolen a bunch of pinang—that he died a few days after.

Again, a schoolmaster living in Soulang struck a little girl so savagely on the neck with a ferule that she, too, died of the blow.

As these accusations seemed hardly credible, two delegates and the fiscal were sent by us to Soulang, so that we might obtain reliable information. But on their return they informed us that, alas! the accusations were based upon simple truth, as you yourself will be able to see from the accompanying documents and the official report.

All these facts have been kept secret by Mr. Versteegen, without his having offered the slightest compensation, either to the poor widow and orphans of the deceased man, or to the parents of the child who died.

The Governor having a horror—as indeed he ought to have—of such proceedings, and being desirous of bringing instances of such malpractices under your notice, so that you may see as in a glass the unrighteous connivance of those who, on your order, were sent here to do justice without any respect of persons, we have been obliged to apply to Your Excellencies in person, and to transmit an account of the manifold vile actions committed by the aforementioned clergymen, the details of which are given in different reports which we herewith enclose. The documents containing fuller evidence will be forwarded by next opportunity, as they are now being copied.

From those documents Your Excellencies will see what is the real character of our so-called converters of the heathen; whether those men are not rather stumblingblocks and causes of offence than anything else; and whether it is not high time that the inhabitants of Formosa should be delivered from the claws of teachers—rather, hawks—who do not seek the honour of God, but simply the furtherance of their own selfish ends.

You may also rest perfectly assured that, if the clergymen had been any longer allowed to hold judicial offices here, the worst results would have followed, the consequences would have been very sad, and fitted only to sow discord and disorder in the youthful community of this place.

We beg you to give your closest attention to the two documents forwarded—documents which contain the most singular things. After perusing them, we believe you will admit that the vanity and arrogance of those persons, shown in matters lying without the pale of their calling, is wonderfully great, and such as has never yet been met with in teachers of the Word of God.—Herewith, etc., NIC. VERBURG, TH. BREUGAL, JOH. DANCKERTS, R. DAMMANS, W. RUTGERS.

91. The Governor and Council of Formosa to Governor-general Carel Reyniersz and the Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 16 December 1651. . . . As further evidence of the charges brought against Messrs. Gravius and Happart, we send you herewith sundry most credible attestations, marked No. P and No. A 66, containing charges which have been brought against them by the Governor. From these papers may be seen what they were aiming at in Formosa, and we leave it to your sound and penetrating discrimination to judge whether such noxious trees could ever bring forth fruit of any value in the garden of the Lord.

What reason had Commissioner Versteegen to patronise those persons? Only because they well knew how to soothe him with fair words having a semblance of truth, to lay the flattering unction to his soul, and at the same time—again to please him—to portray the Governor in the vilest and most hideous colours.

And this gentleman was so thoroughly prejudiced that, if the Governor but

mentioned the shameful actions of those persons in the course of daily conversation, he would begin to show himself angry, although he is usually of a very mild disposition and very seldom shows his true feelings.

Under these circumstances the Governor thought it was better to avoid this dangerous rock, and to address himself—as he now does—directly to you, hoping you would duly and impartially consider the matter, and convinced you would not encourage such clergymen in committing such misdeeds. . . . Herewith, etc.—NICOLAES VERBURG, THOMAS BREUGEL, R. DAMMANS, WIJNANT RUTGERS.

92. The Governor-general and Councillors of India to the Committee of Seventeen.—Batavia, 19 December 1651. *Honourable, equitable, wise, provident, and very modest Sirs*, . . . As regards the present condition of the Christian Church—may the Almighty bless it more and more—we venture to say that fairly good progress is being made. It is, however, a sad thing that at present the clergymen show so little zeal in the work they have begun. Many of the ministers, on finding their worldly means are improving, begin to think they would be more comfortable by returning to their native country; and consequently they request to be discharged from office, so that they may go back to Holland without delay.

The cases of Messrs. Gravius and Vertrecht are an illustration of this. There is abundant evidence to show how very little zeal they manifested in the conversion of the heathen. For example, just when they were able to be of most use, having become somewhat conversant with the language, they leave their communities; a way of acting which is not only exceedingly adverse to the interests of the Company, but greatly serves to retard the spiritual work as well. Hence their departure will do more harm than their presence has done good, seeing we must appoint other persons in their places who have no experience of the work.

The conduct of Mr. Gravius is particularly indefensible. Although he was bound to serve the Company for ten years, he now desires to be discharged after having been only five years in Formosa. This is the more vexatious as it is but now that his services are beginning to be of much use. According to the testimony of Governor Verburg, it seems that Gravius is of a very ambitious turn, and has an excessively high opinion of himself; so that he has been the cause of no little commotion, both in ecclesiastical and temporal matters. For this reason, the Governor requested that he might be removed, so as to bring about a greater degree of peace and quiet in the republic. This request has been granted, provided the said Gravius—his time of service not having expired—shall be employed elsewhere, and in a way that will be most advantageous for the interests of the Company.

Among other things which have emerged is the claim of the ecclesiastical persons that to them belonged the right of appointing the clergymen to their various stations; that the consent of the Governor was not required to ratify such appointments; and that in managing all other matters pertaining to the

Church—even although it was in connection with the Government—they should in no wise be reprimanded or opposed.

This, however, is in direct opposition to your orders and principles. Hence the Governor has ordered—as he has always done—that the clergymen are not to be allowed to do as they wish, but must follow the instructions they promised strictly to obey, by acknowledging your competent authority, as is most reasonable.

Seeing, then, that the judicial offices throughout the country were held by the respective clergymen, whose incomes drawn from this source were often so substantial that they enriched themselves in a short time and became homesick, the beforementioned Commissioner and the Governor were ordered to consider, after consulting with others, what would be the best way to discharge the ministers from their judicial offices;—whether immediately and altogether, or by degrees and as opportunity offered,—so that the least possible commotion would ensue, and due care be taken in every case to guard against the clergymen being treated with disrespect or contempt, because of their dismissal from the judicial office.

We do not doubt but that this change will lead the clergymen to remain longer in the country, and to render more effective service among their communities. We trust, therefore, that the measure now taken will meet with your approval, seeing it is for the good of the Company and the progress of the Church of God that such changes should occasionally be made. . . . Your most obedient servants.—CAREL REYNIERSZ, JOAN MAETSUYCKER, GERARD DEMMER, CAREL HARTZINCK, A. VAN OUDTSHOORN, JAN VAN TEYLINGEN, CORNELIS CAESAR.

93. From Minute-book of the Council of Batavia.—Saturday, 30 December 1651. This day the Rev. Daniel Gravius, who arrived here on 20 instant by the *Smient*, appeared before the Council, having been deprived of his salary and his clerical office at Tayouan.

He now presented a petition to the Council, in which he set forth that about seven months ago, while residing in the island of Formosa, our Vice-governor Mr. Nicolaes Verburg had—without any form of justice, without consulting any tribunal, and refusing to give any justification of his proceedings in writing—suspended him from his clerical and other offices; withheld his income; banished him from the Fort; and had sentenced him to pay a fine of one thousand guilders. All these measures had been carried out solely on the personal authority of the Governor, with the proviso, however, that they should be approved of by our Council in this place.

Mr. Gravius now declared that those entire proceedings were highly detrimental to his good name and reputation. In the first place therefore he requested the Council to decide as to the validity of this sentence; and stated that, under no circumstances would he forego his right to commence legal proceedings against the Governor for the insult and the public shame which his action had brought upon him.

Secondly: he most respectfully requested that we would render him justice in the same measure as he had been offended and insulted, and restore him his good name and honour. The offence committed against him consisted in the publication of that notorious declaration which the Governor had written, and caused to be posted up in Dutch and Chinese; and in which he was charged with things which the author of it and the whole world knew to be false, as could now be proved beyond all doubt.

Thirdly: he learned from current report that the letters and the Daily Journal forwarded by Governor Verburg, and which are now in the hands of the Council here, contain an accusation of treachery and conspiracy against himself. He therefore begged that a copy of those documents should be handed over, so that the data they contained might enable him to make a proper defence, and to bring an action against his accuser.

Mr. Gravius concluded by giving the most solemn assurance that, contrary to personal desire and inclination, he is obliged to institute these proceedings, but solely for the vindication of his own honour, and by no means that he may have an opportunity of defaming or slandering his former Governor.

After previous consultation about the matter, we meanwhile decided to place all documents and papers sent by the Governor of Formosa as evidence of Gravius's guilt in the hands of our much-honoured Court of Justice, with a request to examine them and to furnish us with a summary of their contents, so that we might be able, with the further aid of their advice and opinion, to act as shall be most expedient.

The Rev. Jacobus Vertrecht also appeared before the Council, informing us that a few days ago he received his discharge from his clerical office, the time for which he had bound himself to serve us having expired. He came last from Tayouan, with the intention of returning to his native country; and as he intended to take his four young motherless daughters with him, he requested that he might be allowed to take a little female slave with him to care for the children during the voyage.

After consideration, the Council complied with this request for the reason mentioned; expressing the opinion, however, that if Mr. Vertrecht could induce a young male servant to accompany him, it would be better than engaging a little female slave. . . . CAREL REYNERSZ, JOAN MAETSUYCKER, GERARD DEMMER, CAREL HARTZINCK, A. VAN OUDTSHOORN, CORN. CAESAR, ANDRIES FRISIUS, Secretary.

94. Decision of the Batavia Council.—Saturday, 13 January 1652. The most honourable councillor Joan Maetsuycker, in the capacity of president of the highly esteemed Court of Justice appertaining to this Castle, reported to the Council this day, that according to orders, the Court had most carefully examined all the documents handed to them relating to the sentence pronounced by Mr. Nicolaes Verburg, Vice-governor of Formosa, upon the Rev. Daniel Gravius; and found that this sentence had been pronounced on the authority of Governor Verburg, alone, without any other magistrate

having been consulted, or any form prescribed by the law observed; in consequence whereof it was the opinion of the Court that this sentence pronounced upon Mr. Gravius should be regarded as illegal, as null and void, and having no validity whatsoever.

And as regards the second point; namely, that Governor Verburg had caused a notification, written both in Dutch and Chinese, to be everywhere publicly posted up, in which the said Mr. Gravius was accused of illegally issuing certain Chinese poll-tax papers, the Court was of opinion that the name of that clergyman had thereby been most unnecessarily and maliciously branded in the sight of all men; because it appears from the documents which have been forwarded that Governor Verburg was well acquainted with the practice already in vogue, and was aware that Mr. Gravius did nothing unusual in acting thus, but had simply followed that which had been the ordinary custom of many preceding years in Formosa.

After having considered this report in our Council, we came to the conclusion that the sentence pronounced by Governor Verburg upon Mr. Gravius—which sentence was put into execution—is illegal, null, void, and worthless. So we hereby declare it to be illegal and of no value. At the same time we stay execution of the sentence pronounced upon Mr. Gravius, regarding him as if it had never been pronounced. As to the complaint of his honour having been called in question by publication of the oft-mentioned edict, we declare that when Mr. Gravius issued the poll-tax papers he did nothing but act in keeping with a practice which the Government had approved of for many years. Further, our present decision—which Mr. Gravius is free to make use, of as occasion requires—is made by us with the object of restoring to him his good name and honour.

It is, however, to be understood that, notwithstanding this declaration of ours, Mr. Gravius shall desist from preaching till he has been heard by the Court of Justice, and has satisfactorily exonerated himself from certain allegations made against him by the beforementioned Governor; for which purpose the documents in connection with the case will be handed over to him.

95. The Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 26 February 1652. . . . Herewith we again send the reports which contain an account of the usurpation and covetousness of Messrs. Gravius and Happart during their residence in Formosa, whereof we forwarded to you the evidence on 16 December in the form of sixty-six attestations.

We have added one copy of a certain sentence pronounced by the Court of Justice here upon Mr. Gravius, whereby he is condemned to indemnify a Chinese named Sakoa for having extorted from him the sum of six hundred and fifty-one and a half *reals*; from which you may see for yourselves how conscientiously this clergyman has acted. The sentence is more damning, seeing that it was pronounced by judges specially appointed by Commissioner Versteegen before Mr. Gravius left. Shortly after, and at the instigation of

Mr. Happart, Louwerens Nachtegaal bore testimony in favour of Mr. Gravius, but only with the result that this witness was convicted and punished for perjury. Surely these are splendid methods whereby to prove the probity and honesty of a clergyman!

Most probably Gravius, in order to screen and defend his bad cause, has put before you many such proofs, and represented their trustworthiness as being beyond all question. But more of this later on.

We therefore beg Your Excellency to be careful in listening to the loud declarations and protestations of this man; for, although they may be accompanied by his usual hypocritical assurances of sincerity, you may rest assured that what he says amounts very much to a mere tissue of lies.

On the other hand, and in order to show that we speak truth and nothing but the bare truth, we here subjoin all the documents relative to the perjury committed by Louwerens Nachtegaal, and the punishment inflicted upon him. Meanwhile, the offender loudly complains of the ministers in whose interests he gave false evidence. . . . Herewith, etc., NIC. VERBURG, TH. BREUGEL, JOH. BANCKENS, A. DAMMANS.

96. From the Governor-general and Councillors of India to Nic. Verburg, Governor of Formosa.—Batavia, 21 May 1652. . . . Although, on the one hand, we cannot deny that the Government of Formosa gives us a fair amount of satisfaction; we cannot, on the other, forbear to inform you that it was to our very great disappointment we saw from your letters that the dissensions between the Governor and Messrs. Coyett (next to him in rank), Gravius, and Happart had not ceased, and been done away with after the arrival of Commissioner Versteegen, as it was our hope and intention that they should.

It was a source of deep concern to us, even long before the despatch of our Commissioner, that, contrary to all order, the meetings of the Council and Court of Justice, and even the administration of the Lord's Supper, had been suspended for such a long time. This caused us much sorrow; for we feel assured that without these institutions no State can exist; and, considering all circumstances, we must say that you are very much to blame, and cannot be exonerated from having committed grievous mistakes. . . .

At present, therefore, we think it advisable to admonish you very seriously, and at the same time to point out wherein you have transgressed, sincerely trusting you will make good use of the advice we now offer, and act with more circumspection and impartiality in judicial matters; seeing that, even to yourself, this will bring a greater degree of quiet, and expose you less to the dissensions of party spirit.

Thus, we hope that your zeal will not henceforth lead you to take upon you the office of a magistrate, much less to settle matters pertaining to the Court of Justice on your own authority, without attending to the usual legal formalities or contrary to the opinion of that Court, as was done in the present case.

Mr. Gravius has troubled us with many complaints in writing, which were forwarded to the Council of Justice here. After examination of the documents, this Council declared that the sentence pronounced by you upon Gravius—having been on your own sole authority and in defiance of all regular procedure—is illegal and invalid. We also decided that the thousand *guilders* he was condemned to pay by way of fine must be returned to him and again put to the credit of his account.

Another thing we regard as a great mistake is that this matter was not settled on the spot, as Commissioner Versteegen desired it to be; whereas, after the departure of Gravius, all these old charges are raked up again, overwhelming us with cartloads of attestations, of which a number seem to be altogether worthless. Why, we ask, was all this not attended to when Mr. Gravius was still residing in Formosa, when he could have justified himself better than he can do now? So, too, with Mr. Happart, who has, as it were, been pilloried in the sight of all men and held up to public contumely. If they were guilty of any offence, why was the matter not referred to some ordinary tribunal, in order that judgment might have been given according to the merits of the case? Herewith, honourable, wise, discreet, and equitable gentlemen, we commend you to the protection of God. Your friends, CAREL REYNIERSZ, JOAN MAETSUYCKER, GERARD DEMMER, CAREL HARTSINCK, CORNELIS CAESAR, WILLEM VERSTEEGEN and DIRCK STEUR.

97. The Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Zeelandia, 30 October 1652. . . . It also gave us much pleasure to see that you were fairly well pleased with the not unfavourable condition of Tayouan and Formosa. And yet, however gratifying your praise sounded, we felt intensely grieved to think that the success of our enemies had succeeded in inducing you to cleave our hearts with your bitter and grievous reproach—all the more that this reproach rests on so loose a foundation. Moreover, it would have been but just and reasonable if, before portraying me as a passionate Governor, you had also taken into consideration the passions of those who are our persecutors and accusers.

If I had known that the transmission of the documents intended to show the guilt of Daniel Gravius and Gilbert Happart would have so much offended you, I would certainly not have burdened you with them. Is it now to be considered such a great crime that, when a subordinate governor cannot obtain redress from a commissioner, he should send his complaints direct to that authority from whom the commissioner received his instructions? If such a thing were not allowed, how would the errors to which all human beings are prone ever come to light? For this reason, we consider that Mr. Versteegen need not raise so frightful a commotion, seeing he is called upon to exercise his office so as to be free from all possibility of blame, and in the same way as I exercise mine.

We have never yet been able to read in the instructions given to Versteegen that he was at liberty, from pure envy and with hypocritical villainous purpose,

to send in false reports about his fellow-creatures, endeavouring to bring his superiors under suspicion ; but we shall endeavour to prove that this is the very thing he has done to our disadvantage. To what other cause can we ascribe your using such harsh words on this occasion, saying that you will have to take more stringent measures against me ?

You also say that you cannot but believe we have had several depositions in our own favour made out and sworn to, from which it can be seen that many very strange things have occurred for which we have been blamed, through which our honour has been tarnished and the respect due to the Government endangered.

Gentlemen, it is very easy to say this, but it has to be proved ; and it has to be remembered that we are bound to defend our good name and reputation, calling upon those who have thus imposed upon you to produce corroborative proof of their assertions. If they cannot, we beg you, as the person called to uphold justice, to protect us. Mr. Versteegen makes his accusations in our absence, but we are convinced he will not have the courage to maintain them in our presence.

Meanwhile, we are obliged to bear the burden of this heavy reproach which has been brought upon us by an ambitious and rebellious clergyman whose hands are stained with the blood of murder. We feel thankful that it is impossible to say so many evil things against us as can be said against this man ; because, in the light of recent events, we should then most certainly be convicted, and be treated by every one as a criminal.

However, we do not wish to enlarge upon this matter, as it is quite apparent your prejudice against us is so great that we are always found to be in the wrong when Gravius and his adherent Gilbert Happart are concerned. For instance, you clearly inform us that the documents containing our accusations against them which we forwarded to you did not suit your convenience, although they were regarded as sufficiently important to be handed to the Court of Justice, with a request that they should be examined and judgment pronounced upon.

Nor do we regret that those documents have been sent into the world, for one advantage will be that other clergymen will take warning, while, for the present, Gravius and Happart will not trouble people with their odious tales. We are sure these gentlemen will meet their reward in due course, and I also feel thoroughly confident that, from their action at this time, you will yet come to know them better, and see what is hid in the innermost recesses of their hearts.

You further reproach us for having used our authority in a matter touching Gravius and a Chinese named Hinckos, the former having extorted a sum of money from the latter. To this we answer that never was it more necessary to curb those proud spirits than just now, and never was there a better opportunity for doing so than on the occasion referred to. No doubt, you are quite correct in saying that it is the function of the Court of Justice to pronounce sentence in such cases ; but, when people take shelter in the

statement that they are the favourites of well-nigh all the members of that Court, and publicly boast of being able to bring both the Governor and the fiscal into trouble in consequence, do such people not deserve to feel the powerful arm of authority, and—with the approbation of the higher authorities—to be severely rebuked, without our being accused of misapplied zeal for contributing to this righteous result?

Nor can you accuse us of ever making use of our authority in these or similar matters unless we were positively obliged to do so. And if a Governor entrusted with supreme command be prohibited, in urgent cases, from thwarting the designs of wicked and obstinate persons, then his authority cannot be regarded as much more than that of an ordinary magistrate. But surely much more is required of him than this.

As for the case you mention, that we should not be allowed to have attestations drawn up on our own authority, we think it favours—with due deference be it said—an undue curtailment of our authority. If we are entrusted with unlimited command over all things here pertaining to the Company, shall we not, when circumstances call for it, have liberty to make all necessary inquiries and even to pronounce sentence at times? We maintain that the perfect legitimacy of such action may be seen from the statutes of the State, which declare that a judge in his official capacity may, without respect of persons, bear witness concerning any matter whereof he has positive knowledge. But, how much more has he the right to have attestations drawn up if the accusations therein contained rest principally upon the declarations of the plaintiff and the witnesses?

Is it, then, worthy of you thus to accuse me of partiality in judicial matters? For I do most conscientiously affirm and—on the salvation of my soul—maintain, that I have never wielded the temporal sword but with justice and discretion, and according to the command of God.

Above all things, it has greatly pained us to see from your letter that we are blamed because, for long before the arrival of the Commissioner here, neither the Council nor the Court of Justice had met; and, also, because the Lord's Supper had not been administered. If, however, it pleases you to make further inquiry, you will find that it is not really myself who is to blame for this, but others . . . leaving responsibility on the Consistory for having so long delayed the administration of the Sacrament. Who has ever heard of a clergyman in Holland withholding the bread of the Lord from his flock for eight whole months just because he chose to do so? As regards myself, I have grumbled enough about it; but those gentlemen, taking but little heed of us, continued in their wicked and absurd course.

You yourself can now judge better whether it is not such persons, rather than the present writer, who should be severely reprimanded. But perhaps this accusation too is brought against me only to increase the number of sins with which I am charged, and to make me blacker than ever in your sight.

And now, considering how much that is disagreeable daily falls to our share, in addition to the heavy burden of office that is resting upon us, and

being desirous to leave all this turmoil and lead a quiet and peaceable life, I have resolved upon begging you to discharge me from my present office, sincerely requesting you to raise no objections to my prayer. . . .

For accommodating the clergymen and judicial functionaries who visit the Formosan villages, we have built several houses, both of stone and of bamboo, so that, according to your suggestion, each person may enjoy his own liberty and convenience in a separate house. In the village of Soulang, each functionary has a beautiful separate house for himself. At Mattau, we have made the large stone house into two dwellings. The clergyman lives below, the judicial officer above; but there are two separate entrances. In this way—though of course much expense had to be incurred—we have endeavoured to prevent any complaints that might be raised.

If the clergymen could only put up with the judicial officers, there would be a fair prospect of matters taking a favourable turn; but there seems as little chance of making those brethren live in harmony with each other as of uniting fire and water. The clergymen find the temptation to meddle with judicial affairs well-nigh overpowering, and as they filled the judicial offices themselves for years before, they may very likely have got spoilt; and, as a matter of fact, they endeavour to set all new-comers against the judicial officers. We believe, however, that if a determination be shown not to yield, this feeling on the part of the clergymen will pass away. Truly those pioneers who joined the judicial to the ecclesiastical power in Formosa, putting the former in subordination to the latter, rendered a very questionable service to the Company.

It seems that the work of conversion in the south has been going backwards since the death of the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff. None of the clergymen shows the slightest inclination to be stationed there. The catechist Hendrick Hampton, who carried on work in that part of the country, has departed this life, so that all mission work is being done by schoolmasters, under direction of the judicial functionaries.

From this you can easily imagine the condition of the churches and schools. Each of the clergymen prefers to have the best place in Formosa, not one of them being actuated by true zeal to offer his services for work in the south. It will, therefore, have to be done by your own proper command. We do not ourselves think there is any chance of inducing one of them to go there; seeing that those clerical brethren pay no heed to our behests and commands, but rather keep continually threatening us with the exercise of their ecclesiastical power.

Some time ago we remarked that the clergymen here exercised the right of promoting probationary schoolmasters [many of whom had been soldiers] to full rank, at a salary of twenty *guilders* a month, the provisions of an assistant teacher, and four pints of wine; without, too, any promise being obtained from them to serve for another term of years. It was in these circumstances we found that those promoted men only remained till the term of their military service had expired, and then decamped in the character and with the pay of schoolmasters; whereas they ought, after promotion to have remained some

years longer in the country; for at the time of leaving they had acquired a working knowledge of the language, and were able to be of most use to the schools.

Wherefore we have publicly announced that, henceforth, all probationary schoolmasters, who have been raised to full rank by the clergymen, shall be bound to serve in that capacity for five successive years. . . .

We note your statement that we show mercy in a wrong way by permitting the *Inibs*—those wretched old worn-out Formosan women, whom some call priestesses—to leave Tirozen and settle in Dorko. You ordered us to banish them from all places where the Word of God was preached in Formosa and elsewhere, as they were considered to be a decided hindrance to the propagation of true religion. But surely that would be very hard upon those innocent creatures, the greater number of whom were baptized by Junius and instructed by him, in the hope that they might become instrumental in converting others. Would it not be regarded as an act of gross cruelty if baptized Christians were deprived of the privileges of the Gospel, and not be permitted to dwell in places where the Word of God is preached? In that case, their second banishment would be worse than the first; for in Tirozen they were at liberty to read the Word of God; but now you wish to cut them off from enjoyment of that privilege, and from having any communion with other Christians.

Let us now endeavour to understand the reason for banishing these people to Tirozen at the time when Christianity began to be preached in Formosa. Of this, the recent notification or edict says nothing, except that the *Inibs* were then completely under the dominion of heathen doctrines and superstitious rites, and that they also encouraged abortion. This was indeed very pernicious at a time when all the natives were as yet heathen, and the first attempts were being made to introduce Christianity into the country. For this sole reason those women were banished from the country, after having received the promise and assurance that, so soon as they abandoned their malpractices, they would be allowed to return.

They have now for eleven years been reminding us of this promise, the non-fulfilment of which is entirely traceable to the influence and bitterness of Daniel Gravius; whereas his brethren, as well as the whole Consistory of Tayouan, have entertained less harsh and kindlier feelings. Seeing, however, that the futility of the reasons he assigned was becoming more and more apparent, he devised another plan, and had the effrontery to try and bring you and the Batavia Consistory round to his opinion by portraying those *Inibs* in such black colours that one would suppose them to have been she-devils; whereas many among them are as well versed in the catechism as some of the best Christians who have ever been converted by Gravius in Soulang.

Such, then, are the circumstances in which those poor creatures have continually, and with supplications that would move any heart, been begging us to deliver them from their wretched position, and to grant that permission which would enable them to live among their friends and relatives, before death

should prevent them from doing so. This request was granted them, with full consent of the Consistory, and under a few reasonable conditions; so that, just before the arrival of the first ship from Batavia, they had left Dorko, and had settled down in the neighbouring villages of Mattau, Soulang, Sinkan, Bakloan, and Tavakan.

Not more than forty-eight women have returned, two hundred and two of the original two hundred and fifty who were banished having died by reason of old age or of destitution. If we now distribute those forty-eight among five villages, we shall find that there are not more than ten for each village. How easily any clergyman could keep a watchful eye on them! And this is perhaps necessary; for if they are left entirely to themselves, they may easily return to their former superstitions and exercise a pernicious and fatal influence over other blinded people in Formosa.

It was for these reasons, therefore, and after due deliberation in the Consistory, that we have permitted the *Inibs* to reside in those villages till we shall in due time receive further instructions from Batavia. In case you do not approve of the action we have taken, they can be expelled from the villages within twenty-four hours. But we confidently trust that, after you have perused the report of the Consistory, and weighed the reasons which led us to adopt this resolution, your heart will be filled with pity and commiseration for those poor creatures. If not, they must make the best of things and bend to your command.

Before leaving the subject, we should also beg you to remember that the hardship which those women have to endure has a very depressing effect on several principal inhabitants of the villages who are closely related to them; it being thus somewhat evident that an adverse decision from you now might give rise to much hatred against us, and stir up sedition that would work havoc like some pestilential disease. . . .

We have also learned from your letter that, in the case between Gravius and the Chinese Saqua, the former has appealed to the Court of Justice in Batavia, and has been absolved from the sentence pronounced upon him here. At the same time you seem to ascribe bad intentions and a bad character to our judge who decided the case. But we can assure you that the proceedings were conducted by a committee specially appointed by Commissioner Versteegen himself. And we may add that, if the judge in Batavia had known as much of the case as the judge who pronounced sentence here, the result would never have been to the disadvantage of Mr. Saqua. . . . Herewith, etc.—NICOLAES VERBURG, THOMAS BREUGEL, JOHANNES DANKERS, REYNIER DAMMANS.

98. From the Governor and Council of Formosa to Governor-general Carel Reyniersz and the Councillors of India.—Zeelandia, 24 November 1652. . . . Agreeably to the consent you have given, the Rev. Gilbertus Happart and his family will leave by the vessel that is about to sail. The clergyman who arrived here last, namely, the Rev. Wilhelmus Brakel, would have taken his place in the north of Formosa had not death so suddenly

snatched him away from us. Hence we have but three clergymen remaining; for which reason the judicial persons in the north, as well as those in the south, will have to superintend the schools.

But it is something astonishing that neither in the district of Favorlang nor in that of Takkais is there to be found one single person among the Formosans who has been baptized, although the clergymen have been labouring in those districts more than eight years. Nobody need use both eyes to see that the pastors who were appointed to feed those sheep have not used their talents as they ought to have done.

The daily complaints of the Chinese leaseholders in the north sufficiently prove how very superficially this Gilbertus did his work of converting the heathen. Your Excellency can hardly imagine what measures he adopted in order to rob the leaseholders of their deer's flesh and skins, and what tricks and malpractices he employed to fill his own purse.

But, for the present, we shall restrain our pen from writing any more on this subject—although we have matter in abundance to enlarge upon—as we have found out by experience that such communications are not to your liking. We shall therefore continue to withhold our observations, and content ourselves with ruminating upon them in private. . . . Herewith, etc.—NIC. VERBURG, THOMAS BREUGEL, JOH. DANKERS, R. DAMMANS.

99. From the Council of Formosa to Governor-general Maetsuycker and the Councillors of India.—Tayouan, 24 October 1653. . . . During this year, a considerable number of persons, both of old and young, have died of ague and measles in the southern region, as well as in the northern villages. Those diseases still prevail, so that many rice-fields have been left uncultivated, and we fear the consequence will be that the Formosans will have much to suffer this year from hunger and privation. It is owing to this sickness, that the work of the church and the schools has been going backward; for the judicial officers, as well as the Rev. A. Hambroek and a great number of schoolmasters, have been obliged to desist from their labours, partly on account of the prevailing scourge, and partly because they themselves were ailing.

In May last the Rev. R. Tesschemaeker departed this life. On 8 August the Rev. G. Happart also succumbed, so that under these circumstances the church will very much feel the want of clergymen, which is very lamentable in the present condition of things.

The Rev. I. Backerus has been called by the Consistory to Favorlang. We wish this had not been the case; because our Council decided to appoint him to Soulang or Mattau, as two clergymen are required for that district and the neighbouring villages if we wish the ecclesiastical work to be properly attended to. The Consistory here, being of the same opinion, gave their vote in conformity with that idea.

But on the 28th of the following month the Consistory of Favorlang handed us a petition wherein we were most pressingly urged not to put our resolution in force, and reasons were stated for calling Mr. Backerus to their

place. Accordingly, after the Council had most attentively weighed this matter, it was decided by a majority of votes to meet the honoured wishes of the said Consistory, giving our permission to Mr. Backerus being called to Favorlang.

At the same time, we informed those brethren that they were not to suppose our first resolution had been adopted without good and solid reasons, or that we set it aside now from any other desire than to suit their convenience. They were also assured that we did not wish to quarrel with them and thereby retard the progress of Christianity, or bring their work to a standstill; such a condition of things being indeed very far from our thoughts. . . . Herewith, etc.—Your most obedient servants, CORNELIUS CAESAR, ALBERT HOOGLANDT, ADRIAEN VAN DER BURCH, REYNIER DAMMANS, and PIETER VAN ALPHEN.

100. From the Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Zeelandia, 26 February 1654. . . . We have sent the Rev. Albert Hooglandt and the judicial functionary Bastinck, with some delegates, to the northern districts, in order to examine into political or judicial affairs, and to visit the churches and schools. These institutions—God be praised—are in a very satisfactory condition; but in consequence of the demise of Mr. G. Happart and several schoolmasters, with the prevalence of most malignant diseases, which have been raging in that part of the country, some of the schools are not in so flourishing a condition. This you will be able to see from the reports of the delegates, whereof we herewith enclose a copy.

Surely it is most desirable that you should complete the number of seven clergymen for Tayouan and the Formosan district; for it is certain that the Church of God here would greatly increase thereby. The inhabitants of Tamsuy and Quelang—where Roman Catholic priests converted a very considerable number of natives to Christianity—long to be taught and instructed by one of our own padres.

In the south of Formosa, where there are many Christians who are already baptized, the aged people are becoming averse to attending the church and schools, saying they are always being taught one and the same thing, without being baptized, although they know the catechism of the Christian religion as well as persons in other villages. This is a thing very much to be regretted. With due deference to your opinion, we think it would have been better never to begin the work of conversion in those places rather than allow so many baptized persons to turn again to heathenism. Our purpose could just as well have been served by stationing a judicial officer with some soldiers amongst them, who would have gained their good-will and insured their allegiance.

Before the departure of this ship, our Council decided that delegates should be sent to inspect the southern schools and churches also, and as the chief of the district heartily agreed to the proposal, we requested the members of Consistory to appoint several delegates; but, after deliberation on the subject, they declared that, while quite willing to agree to our proposal, they felt perplexed

about putting it into execution on account of the malignant diseases which were then raging down south. Another difficulty was that there would not be sufficient time to make proper inspection, if a report was to be sent to Batavia before the departure of this ship. They likewise declared that if the clergyman stationed here were to fall ill, the churches and schools in the surrounding villages would suffer very materially by his absence, and this indeed would most positively be the case. For the Rev. A. Hambroek, who is a most zealous man, has his hands quite full at present; in fact, he cannot do anything more. The conclusion, then, to which the Consistory came, was that it would be better to delay the visitation of those schools and churches till a more fitting season.

According to your orders, we have again laid before the Consistory the measures proposed by you for banishing the *Inibs* and giving them another place of residence, but at the close of renewed most serious consideration, our reverend colleagues persisted in their former resolution, and that chiefly for three reasons. First: because no complaints whatsoever have been made concerning the conduct of these *Inibs*. Secondly: because the Consistory of Batavia has not produced any adverse reasons to the Consistory of this place. And, thirdly: according to their last letter, because the Consistory of Batavia did not think it desirable to cancel the decision we came to. We trust therefore you will be pleased to leave the matter as it now stands; and we shall be glad to hear in your next that you agree to this.

The Consistory here has also most urgently requested that we should beseech you to provide Tayouan with as many clergymen and teachers as you possibly can; so that the work begun may, by the blessing of God, be continued, and many benighted heathen be brought to a knowledge of the truth. We cannot, therefore, refrain from informing you of this their request; and we too beg you to bear it in mind. . . . Herewith, etc. . . . Your most obedient and humble servants, CORN. CAESAR, FRED. COYETT, ALBERT HOOGLANDT, ADRIAEN VAN DER BURCH, REYNIER DAMMANS, PIETER VAN ALPHEN, THOMAS PEDEL.

101. Ex-Governor Verburg's Report on Mission work in Formosa.
—10 March 1654. Inasmuch as our predecessors have, on quitting office, committed their observations and the result of their experience to paper, and thereby spread much light on the condition of this island, the nature and character of the people who inhabit it, the wonderful fertility of its soil—so abundantly blessed by God Almighty—and many other things on which its welfare depends; we now resolve to follow this example by taking up our pen, not with the intention of amusing ourselves, but—as indicated in the heading of this Report—of giving a short account of the condition and prosperity of the island of Formosa to the best of our knowledge,—which knowledge has been acquired by our own personal observation as Governor during a period of four years.

In order to fulfil this task in a proper and orderly way, we shall divide the

matter about which we are going to write into ten principal divisions or heads ; and we desire to treat each subject with as much fulness or conciseness as the case may require.

NINTH HEAD : containing an account of the hopeless condition of the work for converting the heathen in Formosa, occasioned by the lethargy of some clergymen, and the death of others ; with suggestions how measures could be taken to ensure greater progress in that work.

It may appear strange to some that I, a political agent, should thus venture to meddle with things belonging to the sphere of the Church ; and they may be still more surprised if I enlarge—as it is my intention to do—on the principal methods which have been followed till now for converting the heathen in Formosa ; but, in spite of that, we certainly feel called upon to express a very decided opinion about this matter, in opposition to those who fancy that they alone are appointed to do such work, without allowing the chief authorities to meddle in the least.

In this connection, we confidently hope that among upright clergymen who lead a pure and blameless life, there will be found some who possess sufficient wisdom to admit that the ordinances of God should be regarded and received with impartiality, and that they will sympathise with us, and entertain the same opinion as we do, namely, that all Christian Authorities should be faithful foster-fathers of the Church of God ; and that the clergymen themselves, according to the dictates of conscience and without any respect of persons—for it is the duty of every clergyman to admonish men from his pulpit for the sins they have committed—will feel bound to use their talents for promoting the interests of the Church, and do their best to introduce such improvements as may really serve for the glory of God's holy name, and the salvation of the souls of men.

Surely, too, the one who writes on this subject and in this spirit—and here we declare, as in the sight of God, that we have no other object in view,—ought to be listened to without feelings of partiality ; nay, more than this, if his proposals for furthering Christian work are acknowledged to be sound and good, every one concerned should stretch forth willing hands and render him whatever help is possible.

And here, I sincerely regret to say that, after closely watching the work of converting the heathen in Formosa for four years, the condition of things appears to me to be lamentable. The young natives—although they have been baptized—learn some doctrines by heart like parrots, but do not really understand what they repeat, or the truth of the things they learn by rote.

Thirty years ago, some zealous and pious clergymen began the good work of converting the heathen here ; but, considering the capacities of their scholars, they embodied the fundamental principles of Christianity in a catechism which was easy to understand. Their successors, however, flying above the lowly things beneath them, and unwilling to continue building on foundations laid by others, have done away with this catechism and have intro-

duced new and higher things ; so that many a scholar has become bewildered, and many have gone backward.

These changes and alterations seem to be endless. Each clergyman tries to put into practice what his own imagination devises, or what he fancies will best further the work ; but then, when such a clergyman dies—and this often occurs in Formosa—the whole fabric tumbles down, and we see nothing but a heap of ruins.

Now I ask any one to say if this manner of acting must not lead to confusion and prevent the blind heathen from coming to a saving knowledge of God. Our daily experience testifies that it is so. For who can declare before God that, among the thousands of natives who have been instructed here for many years by clergymen and schoolmasters, there is one single individual who understands the doctrines of the Christian religion in such a way that he could be accepted as a sincere and living member of the community of believers ? As for me, if any one such native can be produced, I shall with real Christian joy present the Church and Schools of Formosa with a sum of one thousand *guilders*.

Nor can I imagine who originated that report about the wonderful conversion of the heathen in Formosa ; a report which has been spread not only in our native country, but throughout all Europe. It would have been better to remain silent ; or, seeing how unfavourable the state of matters really was, a more desirable course would have been to devise means for bringing forth fruits worthy of conversion. Such means we shall now precisely point out, in the hope of remedying matters a little, and even although some may regard our attempt with very little favour.

In the first place, and with due deference to better opinion, I think that the clergymen of Formosa, in conjunction with the clergymen of Batavia, should consult together as to framing some method of instruction as would be most suitable and expeditious for bringing the Formosans to the true knowledge of God ; and that none of the clergymen should be allowed to impart any instruction except according to this method after it has been approved of and adopted.

Moreover, to give greater authority and stability to such a regulation, it ought to receive the approbation of the highest authorities. And we think that, in this particular case, it would be better for the Governor-general and councillors of India to give their approbation than for the Governor and councillors of Formosa to do so, as the authority of the former would carry more weight than that of the latter. For, the clergymen being under the authority of the Governor—and frequently a very decided difference of opinion exists between them—might fancy that they could not agree with him in this matter. If, however, the Governor-general were to give his approbation, every obstacle would be immediately and completely removed.

The Governor and his Council should, however, have full power and authority to reprimand and correct any such ministers or clergymen as should attempt to transgress a regulation which had jointly been adopted and regarded as definite.

I do not doubt that, with this union of thought and plan, and with the support of some such zealous men as are required for this holy work, we should be able to lay a foundation on which could be built a house to the Lord that would be thoroughly abiding; whereas under present circumstances the Company is incurring great expense without the work being done in an effective way.

Secondly: we think that so long as the clergymen go on extending at the rate they have been doing, no good and abiding result can come from the work of Christianising the heathen in Formosa. Hence this flight, so to speak, should be reduced to much shorter distances. By extending our field of operations too far, the work will certainly not advance, as our experience of the present time but too clearly proves. To show the correctness of our assertion we may here mention the districts of Favorlang and Takkais, both situated on the north side of the Ponkan river. For nine whole years several clergymen have been labouring in those districts; but up till the present day, not a single soul has been found worthy to receive holy baptism.

Now, although the heavy and dull appearance of those uncivilised people does not offer much chance of improvement, we cannot withdraw the clergymen from that part of the country, where there is far greater prospect of catching a goodly number of deer than of converting any souls. And yet, it was very desirable to recall them this year, as we have now only three clergymen in all Formosa, and it seems most important that all of them—except one who must conduct divine service at Tayouan—should be stationed in the neighbouring villages.

In other words, I think it would be better not to provide the north or south of the island with any more clergymen at present, but to place all our schools under supervision of the judicial officers, leaving the schoolmasters to do the necessary work till such time as the inhabitants show greater signs of civilisation, and become fitter objects for the higher instruction of the clergymen.

In the meantime, we should station all the ministers at our disposal in the villages of Soulang, Sinkan, Mattau, Bakloan, Tavakan, Tirozen, Dorko, and Tevorang; and if these clergymen, actuated by apostolic zeal, could succeed in thoroughly engrafting the doctrines of Christianity into the hearts of the inhabitants, then I think that many shoots and branches, as it were, would eventually appear, and Christianity would spread to other neighbouring places as a matter of course. In my opinion this is the right plan by which to nourish the Formosans, and thus it is they would be fed and strengthened with that food which grows in the garden of divine knowledge and wisdom to the salvation of their souls.

Thirdly: great attention should be paid and care taken in order that the schoolmasters who are employed in the country for converting the inhabitants, should be persons of good repute, walking blamelessly in the way of Christianity, and without giving any offence whatsoever. Otherwise, they are unprofitable servants, who, instead of bringing in the harvest of the Lord by teaching others,

require instructions themselves that will enable them to walk in the path of Christian virtue.

Alas ! I must confess that in Formosa there are to be found too many schoolmasters who are such unprofitable servants, who lack all Christian virtues ; and I am pretty sure that if the goats are not separated from the sheep and a thorough cleansing effected, the Company will sooner or later have great cause to repent of not having attended to this matter. For, in addition to very many schoolmasters who are of no possible use in converting the heathen, there are also many who make the natives greatly suffer by the illegal means which they often make use of ; and as they are controlled by the clergymen—under whose wings they generally take shelter and find protection—it is impossible for the judicial functionaries to reprimand them as they deserve ; for they always, under some hypocritical pretext or other, contrive to escape punishment.

Hence we see that those harpies are set upon obtaining as much profit as they can, by depriving the poor country folk of the harvest to which they look forward. It is therefore not surprising that the natives feel more hatred than love for us ; and that they will one day endeavour in some way or other to cast off from their necks the heavy yoke that presses upon them.

We, therefore, see no possible remedy against this evil but to place the schoolmasters under immediate supervision of the judicial functionaries ; so that, when found transgressing, they may be surrendered into the hands of justice, and meet with their just reward, without the clergymen endeavouring to screen them from the consequences of their misdeeds.

Fourthly : I do not consider it at all right to punish the inhabitants more than is absolutely necessary for not attending the schools. At present the fine consists in having to give a deer-skin. But these people are so poor that they cannot always produce a deer-skin ; and often they have not even rice enough in their dwellings to fill their hungry bellies. Surely, then, this punishment is far too severe. It is indeed surprising that the people are good-natured enough to be fined a deer-skin in such circumstances. For who has ever heard that a person should be forced to believe a certain doctrine if he does not himself heartily desire to accept it ? Obviously the shepherds must gradually succeed in implanting such a degree of piety in the hearts of the people that they will involuntarily desire to attend the church and the school, and in that way get themselves still more freed from Egyptian bondage, and show that their conversion may not be called in question by the enemies of our religion.

In conclusion, we might enlarge on another topic, namely, that in order to do this glorious work in the most efficient manner, it is necessary that Formosa should be provided with a sufficient number of clergymen, be it three, four, or five, according to the number of ministers that our native country can send out. These clergymen should be men of the right sort, not thinking of worldly things, but dedicated body and soul to their spiritual vocation, and possessing all those qualities which are required for feeding the lambs of God.

But who can venture to prescribe to clergymen without giving offence ? For my part, I shall in no wise venture to point out the faults of those in India

for fear of creating disturbances. No: I would rather keep silent just now; preferring to speak privately with my masters, and to put down for them in writing other particulars relative to this subject.

But, for the welfare of the churches and schools in Formosa, I desire to say one thing more: that it is highly desirable the clergymen who come hither with the object of converting the heathen, should be induced to bind themselves to remain here for ten successive years, even if in the course of those years their salaries should have to be considerably increased. The work of the Lord would thereby be advanced beyond measure; inasmuch as they would then become acquainted with the language, the assistance of the schoolmasters as interpreters would no longer be required; and, above all things, they would not unexpectedly leave their communities, as many of them have done.

Let us, however, now desist from saying any more on this topic, and pass on to a brief consideration of the tenth head.

Thus we have discoursed of those things which relate to the welfare of the United Dutch East India Company, and which concern all those who love Formosa. This Report of ours we have, as was proper, first shown to the Governor-general and his Councillors of India at Batavia, on our return from Tayouan, on 10 March 1654. (Signed by me) NICOLAES VERBURG.

102. From the Formosa Day-Journal.—27 February till 6 November 1654. As but a very small number of clergymen have been sent out from Holland (to Batavia), two of them only have been sent here, namely, the Rev. Abraham Dapper and the Rev. Robertus van Sassen. We trust they may render good service to the Church of God in this island. According to our opinion, they would be of most use in the neighbouring villages.

It was a mistake of the Council of Formosa to appoint the Rev. J. Backerus to the Favorlangian schools, where the people, on account of their rude and uncivilised condition, are nowise fitted to receive any higher instruction, whereas the schools in the principal villages near this have been altogether deprived of the services of that minister. It will be very necessary to adopt another course of action in future.

It would be an excellent thing if certain improvements and a greater degree of order in the schools and churches could be brought about, for the people might then be freed from many vexations, at least were the schoolmasters not to raise any trouble.

The regulations adopted to prevent all conflicts between the servants of the church and the judicial powers in Formosa were very well framed, after having first been well considered. It showed great foresight that precedence was given to the church.

Each of the clergymen and each of the judicial officers may now keep three dogs, and each of the schoolmasters may have two dogs, in order to obtain game for their own private tables. A greater number than these is not allowable.

The settlement of several pecuniary claims of the Rev. D. Gravius should now be attended to, were it only to get rid of this confused account. The income from certain lands, granted to Mr. Gravius by Mr. Verburg as a kind of benefice for five years, with the proviso that in case Mr. Gravius left Formosa before the five years expired he should enjoy the revenue from those lands one year after his departure, has also been granted to him for the year in question, so that now all further disputes will be avoided.

103. The Governor and Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Castle Zeelandia, 19 November 1654. . . . As regards matters relating to the churches and schools in these and the surrounding villages under supervision of the Rev. A. Hambroek, as well as those in the districts of Favorlang and Takkais under control of the Rev. J. Backerus, we are glad to say that they are all in a promising condition, and progressing very fairly.

But in the south, according to the accounts of the judicial officer Olario, very little can be done to advance the spiritual work. For if the people were compelled to attend the church or the schools, it would be like taking the bread out of their mouths; seeing that they—as already stated—have the greatest difficulty in obtaining a livelihood, or even the bare necessities of life.

Towards the end of the month of December, we intend to send several political as well as ecclesiastical delegates to the south, to ascertain whether or not it is necessary to continue the church and schools there; our fear being that we shall not be able to obtain any favourable report.

The clergymen, too, seem inclined to the opinion that we had better desist from our efforts, as they do not see how difficulties are to be overcome; those difficulties all arising from the clergymen's unwillingness to serve in the south, on account of the unhealthiness of that part of the island. This does not seem strange to us; for about ten months ago we sent twenty soldiers to Verovorong, and more than half of them have already perished. It is for this reason that the clergymen, few in number, are averse to giving their services in so dangerous a place.

We shall, however, want three or four more clergymen to do the necessary work here and in the surrounding places; and we must therefore request you to remember the Formosan district whenever you have the opportunity of doing so.

As soon as the churches and schools in the south have been visited, we shall send you a report of the condition wherein they were found. In the meantime, we shall leave matters on the same footing till such time as we receive further orders from you. . . . Herewith, etc. . . . CORNELIS CAESAR and other members of Council.

104. From the Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Zeelandia, 19 November 1655. . . . The clergymen Kruij and Hambroek desire to return sincere thanks for having given your

consent to their being granted the income from certain lands set aside for that purpose by the Council. According to your orders we shall not in future grant such privileges to any clergymen. Should they, however, desire to obtain them, we shall refer them to you. . . .

The five clergymen whom you sent out to us this year to serve in Formosa have arrived here in safety, and are enjoying excellent health. The brethren of the Consistory, without exception, regard them as properly and legally appointed, so that we have now eight clergymen and one clerk in Holy Orders in Formosa.

The following fields of labour are assigned to them :—

The Rev. J. Kruyf to serve in Tayouan.

The Rev. A. Hambroek in the districts of Mattau and Dorko.

The Rev. J. Backerus in the district of Favorlang.

The Rev. M. Masius in Tamsuy and Quelang.

The Rev. H. Bushoff in Soulang, Bakloan, and Tevorang.

The Rev. A. Winsemius in Sinkan and Tavakan.

The Rev. P. Mus in Tirozen and the neighbouring villages.

The Rev. J. Campius in Takkais and the surrounding villages.

It has also been settled and approved of by the brethren of the Consistory, that the churches and schools in the southern villages shall belong to, and be superintended by, the clergymen residing at Sinkan and Soulang. It was further decided that they should do this work by turns, for one year each; that the clerk in Holy Orders Holthusius should be appointed their permanent assistant, to reside in Bakloan for that purpose; and that the villages in the south be visited monthly, weather permitting.

The catechist Joris Daensz has, at his own request, been stationed in the village of Swatelay, so that in the absence of the clergymen and clerk in Holy Orders, he may attend to the churches and schools.

The resolutions passed by the Consistory in matters concerning the stations that the five clergymen who have just arrived will have to occupy, and concerning the superintendence of the churches and schools in the south, were placed before the Council of Formosa for ratification. After due consultation we at last resolved to approve of the proposals laid before us, although it seemed very desirable that a clergyman should permanently reside in the south. As, however, the Consistory assured us that the work there would be well attended to, we at last conformed to their wishes, as may be seen from the resolution we passed on 18 September. We trust that you will fully approve of the course we have adopted.

We pray that God Almighty may long preserve the lives of the before-mentioned clergymen, so that His glorious name may become more and more known among the benighted heathen.

The three catechists have been stationed as follows: Barent Hessingh in the Favorlang district, Frederick Pennochius in the Takkais district, and Hendrick Metselaar in Tevorang.

The Council and Consistory request you not to send any more catechists

from Batavia, as we consider the schoolmasters will be of much more use to us than the catechists, who are generally too advanced in years.

The clergymen return their very sincere thanks for the pipe of wine which you have had the kindness to forward to them. Herewith, etc. . . .

CORNELIS CAESAR.

105. From the Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Zeelandia, 21 December 1655. . . . We have this moment received a communication from the Rev. A. Winsemius, in which he informs us that the Rev. J. Campius departed this life at Takkais on the 17th instant, after an illness of three or four days, and that his wife also is sick unto death.

The Rev. A. Hambroek is at present very feeble, so that it would not surprise us if the Lord our God should take him to His kingdom. Nevertheless we hope that he may be restored to his former state of health; for his demise would be a very great loss to the Church of Christ, seeing he has made very good progress in the language of this country, having daily and most diligently applied himself to acquire the knowledge thereof.

May Almighty God spare the lives of the remaining servants of the Church, so that they may be enabled to preach the Word of God among the heathen. Herewith, etc. . . . CORN. CAESAR, FRED. COYETT, RENIER DAMMANS, PIETER VAN ALPHEN, THOMAS PEDEL, and JOH. VAN DEN EYNDE.

106. From the Governor and Council of Formosa to Governor-general Maetsuycker and the Councillors of India.—Formosa, 30 November 1656. . . . Before we received your first letter, the construction of the three houses for the use of the clergymen in Takkais, Tirozen, and Sinkan, had already advanced so far that the stones required in Sinkan and Tirozen—contracted for by the Chinese—were nearly all prepared. The window frames had also been made, so that it was now impossible to arrest operations. We trust, therefore, you will not take it amiss that we have proceeded with the work without waiting for your further orders.

The front parts of the houses we were obliged to make of stone. As to the other walls, they can be made of clay according to your wish; and the house which we intend to erect at Takkais can be entirely built of that material. We beg you to pardon us for not having followed out your orders in every respect. In future we shall endeavour to pay closer attention to your injunctions. . . .

The clergymen Leonardis and Hamsingh arrived safe and sound at Tayouan. After lots had been drawn as to who should occupy the different stations, Mr. Leonardis was assigned the Favorlang district and Hamsingh that of Takkais, so that these stations are occupied as before, which arrangement will, we trust, meet with your approbation and be conformable to your wishes.

The clergymen, without exception, desire me to tender you their thanks for the pipe of wine with the gift of which you honoured them.

As regards another matter referred to in your letter, namely, the wish of the Consistory of this place to have the right of calling clergymen without referring to the Batavian Consistory, we have communicated your reply to the brethren; but they seemed rather discontented, wherefore we hope that they themselves will address you on this subject.

They, however, seemed well pleased with your advice, or your proposal, to draw lots as to who should visit and inspect the churches and schools in the south every year: in fact they have adopted it, and decided that the work shall be done in that way. After the clergymen had jointly called upon the name of the Lord, lots were drawn, and the result was that Mr. Hamsingh should visit the churches and schools in the south this year, Mr. Kruyf next year, and Mr. Hambroek the third year, and so on for seven years. But as Mr. Hamsingh is still quite a novice, and Mr. Kruyf unacquainted with the language there, besides very frequently ailing, Mr. Hambroek offered to undertake the task of doing this work for the next three years, being actuated thereto, according to his own account, by pure zeal and fervour.

Mr. Hambroek also informed us that he was quite willing to take the whole work in the south on his own shoulders permanently; provided, however, that two or three native teachers from the different southern villages might reside with him in Mattau. These teachers he would daily instruct in the catechism and the doctrine of Christ. According to his assertion, he would even render them perfectly fit to do the work in the south under his personal supervision. At the same time he clearly intimated that, if his proposal were adopted, he expected to be remunerated accordingly.

In answer we informed him that his proposal did not at all displease us, but that it was out of our power to give him any decided answer before we informed you thereof. We, however, took it upon ourselves to communicate his proposal to you, and to recommend you to accept it. No further steps have been taken in this matter; but we expect that the Consistory will write to you about it.

We also see that many of the clergymen do not at all agree about the manner in which the doctrine of Christ should be implanted in the hearts of the Formosan Christians or natives; some being desirous of employing the Dutch, others the Formosan language, for that purpose. Inasmuch, then, as this is a subject which is daily brought before our attention, we have thought it expedient to request each clergyman to give us his opinion upon it in writing, and to inform us what he thinks is the most useful, the best, and the most profitable method of doing the work. We further requested them to consider whether it would not considerably retard the progress of the Church of God if you resolved to make a change in the use of the languages.

We are now looking for the answer to these questions which we begged them to send us. When we receive them, we shall forward them so that you may be able to judge which of the two opinions is the sounder, and afterwards inform us in what way you desire the work to be carried on. Till now, the instruction has been given in the native language; and we shall continue this

till it pleases you to give us instructions to the contrary. The problem is a very important one, and its consideration requires the closest attention; for which reason we have desisted from forming any resolution whatever, leaving it entirely to your wise judgment to furnish a solution.

The clergymen display much zeal in propagating the Christian religion among the Formosan Christians living here and in the neighbourhood. They intend to leave in the beginning of the month of December to visit the churches and schools in the south. The result of their experience will be brought to your knowledge at a later period. Herewith, etc. . . . Your humble and most obedient servants, CORNELIUS CAESAR, FREDERIK COYETT, FREDERIK SCHEDEL, R. DAMMANS.

107. From Minute-book of the Church at Tayouan.—5 October 1657. The newly appointed Governor Mr. Coyett with his Council have handed to us a communication from Batavia about the present condition of ecclesiastical matters in Formosa, and especially about our schools in the south, and we are extremely sorry that, therein, the high authorities censure the Consistory of this place as regards its method of procedure in that part of the island. More particularly, it has both surprised and grieved us that the offer of the Rev. Anthonius Hambroek to superintend the entire work in the south—which he considered would be materially advanced by his making himself acquainted with the language spoken there—has been rejected; while the proposal to deprive the Consistory of the control of ecclesiastical matters there by handing it over to political functionaries with the one object of civilising the people for political purposes, has filled the members of Consistory with dismay.

For this reason they find themselves obliged to communicate the result of their deliberations on this matter, and to inscribe the same in the books of the Consistory, so that they may be able at any future time to justify their action before all persons who may have reasonable grounds for inquiry.

In the first place, we cannot understand how the high authorities should express surprise that it is only now, after the lapse of so many years, we have discovered that the southerners have been taught in a language which was unintelligible to them.

We are able, however, to assert that this is not the case, as is evident from investigations made not long ago by some clergymen of the Consistory—see the report in our archives from the Rev. Herm. Bushoff of 14 August 1656, and one from Rev. Anthonius Hambroek of 2 March 1657. This will also appear from several documents, letters, and other papers of the Consistory; the contents whereof could not have remained unknown to the Commissioner who, in name of the high authorities, took part in our deliberations. And, lastly, there are the communications that passed between us and the Governor-general and councillors of India on this subject.

We are therefore of opinion that the extracts from our Minute-book which were last year forwarded to the Governor-general by the Consistory, should have been examined, and especially the extract of 14 August 1656, which

stated that the Consistory, after hearing from Mr. Bushoff's report that the people of the south of this island were not being instructed in their own language, decided that the resolution of 16 January 1645 must conscientiously be adhered to—the one that was adopted a second time in March 1656. And in order to show how clearly the resolution of 1645 mentions this matter, we shall here quote its exact words. They are these:—‘Inasmuch as the villagers living to the south of us who have been considered by the schoolmasters and clergymen to be fit candidates for baptism, are not sufficiently acquainted with the fundamental principles of Christian doctrine, owing to their meagre knowledge of the Sinkan tongue, in which they were taught these principles, it was resolved, . . . Since the language spoken in the south differs widely from the Sinkan tongue, and instruction in the catechism has been given in the latter dialect, the Consistory now resolves that this instruction shall in future be given in the southern vernacular.’

Moreover, the same document states what measures were taken for the carrying out of this resolution, and by whose instrumentality these were put into force. It also refers for the first time to the introduction into all schools of the catechism compiled by the secretary of our Consistory, and adds that the Council should be informed of this, and of our intention to have the catechism translated into the southern language by the clerk in Holy Orders, Hans Olhoff.

In addition to the foregoing we may further remind you of the words we employed in our letter to the brethren of the Amsterdam Classis, dated November 1649, in which we said that the Sinkan language—which alone was known to Mr. Junius—was not spoken or understood in any of the southern villages.

Hence it is clear the Consistory should not be accused of having only now discovered that the people of the south were being instructed in a language they did not understand. On the contrary, we have been acquainted with this fact for a long time without being able to remedy the evil.

It will thus be seen that the astonishment of the higher authorities refers to a thing which really does not exist, and should not have been expressed to the discredit and disparagement of the Consistory. Much less should this surprise have been accompanied by such public censure as was contained in the general letter from Batavia to the president and councillors of Formosa, not only because we ourselves were already in communication with them before their receipt of that letter, but because we thereby were given good cause to feel aggrieved at the short memory of those who could hardly have forgotten the details which have just been mentioned.

Surely, then, the censure expressed in that letter—in which the higher civil authorities insinuate some things, and impute others, to the Consistory—is no trifling matter; seeing that the Governor himself has characterised it as showing, not only neglect, but great, if not even excessive, neglect. Nor is it one person, or a few members of the Consistory, who have been censured, but all teachers in general; both those who are residing here, and those who have served the Church from the very beginning.

Therefore, it need only be remarked further, that if the documents dated 1656 which we forwarded to Batavia had been more carefully examined, those in authority would not have found it at all necessary to censure us as they have done—treatment which they seem to think we should bear with all meekness and humility. Had the documents contained anything that was indistinct or unintelligible, they could easily have asked for an explanation.

We now proceed to consider your refusal of Mr. Hambroek's offer to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the southern language and thus improve the method of instructing the people of that region. This refusal is expressed in the following words: 'We cannot see that Mr. Hambroek will be able to introduce that improvement of which he speaks.' Surely such a statement will not tend to give him much encouragement. Though it may not quench all his fervour, it certainly cannot serve to inspire him. We have no desire to expatiate here on the contempt which these words imply for the opinion of the Consistory concerning Mr. Hambroek's capacity, but we maintain that it was for the Consistory of this place alone to decide this matter, and that no other person's opinion could be more trustworthy.

After thus declining the proposal of Mr. Hambroek, the intimation follows that the superintendence of our southern schools should be placed in the hands of the judicial officers residing there, and be attended to by them as circumstances may permit. Our reply is that, in the interests of our baptized brethren in the south, we conscientiously cannot agree to withdraw the influence which the Church may still be exercising amongst them, and that it is our duty to continue the use of every possible means for bringing the people there to the further knowledge of God and of the Christian religion. We therefore believe it to be the function and positive duty of the Consistory to remonstrate against the adoption of this proposal, and to point out how ruinous it would be to interrupt and gradually suspend the divine work in the south, under the mere pretence of civilising the inhabitants—a proceeding which would prove to be both unwarrantable and unpardonable on the Day of Judgment.

Seeing, then, that the officials here approved of Mr. Hambroek's proposal that the south should be wholly entrusted to him—he promising to perform this difficult and important work to the very best of his ability—and that the means required for taking up this appointment have not yet been granted to him, the Consistory will again request the Governor and councillors of Formosa, that the south may remain under superintendence of the Consistory, though it is well understood that the high authorities in Batavia refuse the means to execute this plan, and have expressed their desire that the south be placed under the supervision of the judicial officers.

The Consistory now begs for approval of the following arrangements, so that the object in view may be attained:

1. It is requested that the Governor should instruct the political functionary, Mr. Hend. Noorden, to give his assistance to the clergyman who may be commissioned to study the southern language, by translating some words and

phrases ; not, however, so as to prevent him from performing the usual daily duties of his judicial office, but only to render such help as was given to the Rev. Hans Olhoff on more than one occasion. For this purpose, it is proposed that when this functionary visits Tayouan, either to partake of the Lord's Supper or on business, he be permitted to remain a few days with the said clergyman and assist him in his work, putting down in writing such things as could not otherwise be so easily communicated.

2. That the clergyman studying the language of the south may from time to time, according to his own free will and choice, be allowed to summon such schoolmasters as he considers most fitted to assist him at Tayouan, or at any other place where he may be residing ; the care of their schools meanwhile devolving on the schoolmasters of other places.

3. That the aforementioned Mr. Noorden, or the schoolmasters summoned to assist for the time being, shall have liberty to choose from each of the three districts in the south where different dialects are spoken, one person acquainted with the dialect of the south, in order that they may become better acquainted with the analogy or dissimilarity of the dialects of those districts.

4. That at the time of the north monsoon, when the monthly lists of the schools are forwarded, such persons only may be chosen from the villages in the immediate neighbourhood as are most thoroughly versed in the Sydeyan tongue ; and that, after they have received proper notice, they will have to leave their villages for a time and be at the call of the clergyman several hours a day, in order that they may render him such help as he requires in the pursuit of his linguistic studies.

5. That at the very first intimation from the Governor, be it oral or in writing, the ministers and judicial officers residing in Soulang or Sinkan shall be bound to send such person or persons as are best able to assist the clergyman in his researches.

6. That every native shall be properly remunerated for each day he is thus employed ; all of them as well as the ministers receiving an extra grant for the work they may be required to do, according to the discretion of the Governor and his councillors.

The brethren of the Consistory confidently expect that a favourable answer will be given to the foregoing. If not, they declare in the name of God that they will be obliged to continue their sighs and complaints, and thus have to suffer in spite of themselves—a state of things far from their inclination, and which they would most willingly avoid.

Furthermore, as it has not pleased the Governor-general and Council of Batavia to adopt the measure we proposed last year as to the employment of the Dutch language in instructing the natives, the Consistory has deemed it proper to inform the Governor and councillors of Formosa of this refusal ; inasmuch as Governor Caesar and his Council addressed us concerning this matter. Our desire is to show that the Consistory is not to blame, should this matter form a subject of correspondence between the Governor-general and the Governor of this island.

We also desire it to be clearly understood that the proposal to introduce the Dutch language was not a novel idea that we hit upon during the deliberations of our Consistory—as the Governor-general pretends it was—but was suggested by the Governor here to the Consistory. We further wish to have it recorded that the Consistory has taken due note of the resolution passed at Batavia, in which it is declared that the proposal to introduce the Dutch language was unanimously rejected, and that the Consistory here, after deliberating on the subject, unanimously declared that they will not raise any further opposition, but will completely acquiesce in the decision of the Governor-general.

We now desire to give our advice to the Governor and councillors of Formosa touching the proposal to establish a seminary for training young natives so as to render them suitable and efficient clergymen.

According to the contents of several letters with reference to this matter received from Batavia in answer to others we have sent, and also according to the opinion of the Governor and councillors of this place, the college should be placed in the village of Soulang or of Sinkan, the position of either of these villages being considered preferable to that of the village of Mattau.

As regards, then, this FIRST point, the Consistory resolved that, before any definite step has been taken, it may be well for you to know that in their opinion—with due deference to riper and better judgment—the village of Mattau should be chosen above all others as the place most suited for establishing a seminary; the reasons for this preference being the following:—

In the first place the village of Mattau is situated, like Mesopotamia, in the midst of rivers, so that many a would-be deserter or runaway would be deterred from his wicked purpose of escaping. For it is much to be feared that, especially at the beginning, and after those young natives have been for some time separated from their parents and relatives, they will desire—contrary to what is right and proper in this case—to visit them again. But, if the seminary were erected in Mattau, the rapid current and great depth of the rivers, particularly during the south monsoon, would effectually prevent them from doing so.

In the second place, Mattau is a quiet village, where all the bustle and turmoil of the Chinese, which is such a hindrance to study and consecration to the holy cause of God, is not met with.

Nor can we refrain from mentioning here, that, in Mattau itself, there is a plain or square of great beauty, and well adapted for our purpose. The heights which surrounded the village have been removed, and this plain or square is now surrounded on all sides by trees which have been planted; so that it would seem as if, in times gone by, and the future being yet unknown, this place had been as it were set apart and prepared for our present purpose.

Another thing to take into account here is the stone house belonging to the Company at Mattau. It has a very large and convenient garret, which would save us the expense of building a store-room; while the whole building

could not be easily burnt down, seeing that it consists of stone. Every one who is acquainted with the premises will admit that they are admirably adapted for our purpose. Behind the large house is a smaller one which is built of brick. The dwelling of the Regent is not far off, but separate from the whole seminary and the school. In short, the site and the buildings are most advantageous.

Further, Mattau is situated nearer to the hunting-fields than either Soulang or Sinkan, so that it would be far easier to obtain fresh deer's flesh; and although the abundance and variety of fish may not be greater than in Soulang, yet supplies could be easily obtained, inasmuch as Mattau has more fisheries connected with it than any other place.

Lastly, and most important of all, there is no place in any part of Formosa to compare with Mattau for the number of its officials who are thoroughly acquainted with the Sydeyan language.

Having now considered all the advantages peculiar to Mattau, the Consistory thought there was no place so well suited for establishing the proposed seminary as that village.

As to the SECOND point, namely, the number of young people who should be taken into this house with the view of being trained, the Consistory would say thirty; and that all vacancies, whether by death, desertion, or expulsion for persistent bad conduct, should be immediately filled up, so as to maintain the full complement of students.

Moreover, special care should be taken while selecting young natives from as many different villages as possible, to see that they possess good characters, good memories, and quickness of apprehension. It is also desirable that they should know the prayers and catechism by heart previously, be adepts in learning the Dutch language, and be well acquainted with reading and writing. In short, they should have proved themselves the most willing of all to receive this training. Preference should be given to those who are orphans and to the children of parents who are very poor; while their ages ought to run from ten to fourteen years.

The THIRD point in order refers to the staff, to the directors and teachers required for superintending and instructing those young people. The members of the Consistory deem it absolutely necessary to appoint a regent or director, and propose that Mr. Hambroek should be appointed as such; also a deputy director, for which office they think that Joannes Horsteman is the person most suited. They also think a steward should be engaged, unless the Council thinks that either of the two first-named directors may perform the duties of this office. The question is one which the Consistory desires to leave entirely to the judgment of the civil authorities. If, however, it be considered desirable to appoint a steward, the Consistory cannot recommend a more suitable person than Valentijn Hermansz Verdelft, schoolmaster in Mattau. He could very well attend to his school as usual, and at the same time discharge the duties that would be required of him as steward in the seminary.

The order, manner, and time of instruction ought to be as follows :—

First : as a general rule, the young inmates should be instructed in the Formosan language in the morning, and in the Dutch language in the afternoon.

Secondly : the time devoted to instruction should be :—in the morning, from sunrise, four glasses, that is, from six to eight ; two glasses, or one hour, for breakfast ; then again instruction should be given for four glasses, that is, from nine till eleven.

Thirdly : the time for instruction during the afternoon should be four glasses, that is, from three till five.

Fourthly : till such time as the young folk become better acquainted with the Dutch language, the sub-director, in the early morning lessons and employing the Formosan language, should give instruction in the catechism, zealously endeavouring to implant in the hearts of his pupils the right understanding thereof. The same task ought to be undertaken by the regent from ten till eleven in the morning.

Fifthly : every morning without exception, from nine till ten, the young people must be diligently exercised in reading and writing. Thursday, however, had better be considered a holiday ; and the young fold should then be at liberty to play and amuse themselves, or be permitted to go out.

Sixthly : in the afternoon, the Dutch language should be taught ; and the book written by Commenius called *The Door or Portal to Language*—which contains some familiar phrases in the Dutch and Formosan languages—should be employed for that purpose.

As regards internal management of the seminary, the Consistory would like to see the following rules adopted :—

1. That the sub-director shall have all the young people up in the morning before sunrise ; see that they properly dress, wash, and comb themselves ; and then arrange for morning prayers being read, all present reverently kneeling.

2. That before and after the usual lesson, prayers shall be said or read.

3. That at meals—breakfast, dinner, and supper—a blessing shall first be asked, and afterwards thanks be returned.

4. That while dinner and supper are being partaken of, a chapter from the Bible shall be read aloud.

5. That the young people in rotation shall read a chapter during dinner and supper, and observe the same order with the prayers before and after meals and lessons.

6. That no young person shall be allowed to leave the seminary without the special permission of the director.

7. That the sub-director shall not be allowed to give more than a blow with the ferule by way of punishment in case of misbehaviour.

8. That the young people who remain out longer than the time permitted, shall be punished as the director thinks fit.

9. That every day two monitors shall be appointed from among the young

people by turn, whose duty it will be to mark those who speak any other language than Dutch during college time, or who do not behave properly, and report their names to the sub-director.

10. That the sub-director shall take special care in having the clothes of the children kept neat and clean; the building itself properly cleansed, and all other things looked after that may tend to the advantage and well-being of the institution and its inmates.

The Consistory leaves it to the Governor and Council to appoint a certain number of slaves for servile work; such as, preparing food for the young people, attending to their clothing, and seeing to details of ordinary domestic service. . . .

But we wish now to make a remark on the proposal to withdraw the clergymen from the northern part of our field, and station them within range of the villages in the neighbourhood of Tayouan. The members of Consistory hereby declare that they cannot agree to it for the following reasons. The inhabitants of the northern districts, old and young, have already made fair progress in learning the things taught them by heart; and there is every prospect that within a few years they will be quite as far advanced in the knowledge of the Christian religion as the inhabitants of the villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the Castle. In these circumstances, we cannot but expect that they would feel exceedingly discouraged were the clergymen to be withdrawn. Nor would the clergymen themselves be inclined then to continue their study of the northern language. They have already made a very fair beginning in this direction, but this proposed change would bring them to think that all their work had been in vain, and that no benefit whatever would flow from it.

We now come to what has been said about instruction in the Christian religion by a concise method and according to one uniform plan. This proposal was communicated to us in the form of an extract from a letter of 11 July 1657, which the Governor-general and councillors addressed to the Governor of this island. From this communication we see that the Consistory at Batavia is exceedingly desirous to introduce a good method for imparting instruction, embracing some easy lessons, an easy catechism, and some prayers, the whole being made as concise as possible. Their object is to prevent the introduction of any innovations in future; and, in order to this, the clergymen would have to bind themselves to add nothing to and take nothing from the newly adopted system.

With the view of putting this proposal into effect, the Consistory of Batavia sent us two short catechisms of Christian doctrine; which, after approval, have been used for imparting instruction to the natives of that island. We were at the same time requested to examine these works carefully, and to consider whether they might not be introduced here also, should we see our way to approve of them after mature deliberation.

However, for most weighty and important reasons, we regret to say that we are not able to comply with this request; inasmuch as the catechism

already introduced here has been used for many years in teaching the young natives; who have, moreover, learnt the contents by heart. Add to this that there exists great similarity between those sent us and our own one, not only as regards matter, but also as to brevity and conciseness. It is true there are some slight deviations, but on the whole they are very much the same. Still, those very deviations—of which the natives here are perfectly ignorant—might cause unsettlement by their novelty; a thing which our Consistory would probably much object to, seeing that the inhabitants of this place are most anxious to see the end of their task, be freed from the burden of daily attending the schools, and allowed to attend only once a week to hear the Word of God explained to them. As, therefore, we greatly desire to avoid any possible discontent that may arise from the people having to attend the schools longer than is necessary, we require to avoid every form of novelty, being sure also that our brethren in Batavia have the same feeling of repugnance for anything of this kind.

Thus, after having carefully considered the good intention of the Governor and his councillors, and all other things that may tend to the religious welfare of the Formosans, the Consistory resolved that the Minute on Education mentioned hereafter shall be most rigidly adhered to, and that all clergymen, present as well as future, shall be enjoined to regulate the instruction they give according to these rules, without adding anything thereto or taking anything therefrom, except with express consent of the proper authorities.

First: that in the school for adults and young people the following only need be learnt by heart, namely, the two well-known catechisms: the smaller, containing thirty-nine, and the larger, sixty-nine, questions and answers; the Lord's prayer; the creed; the ten commandments; the prayers to be used before and after meals, as also the morning and evening prayers. In connection with this it should be observed that in no case whatever shall any one be obliged to learn both catechisms by heart, but only one: adults, the lesser one, as they know it only; and the younger natives, the larger catechism, as they have till now learned from it, and have already committed the greater part of it to memory.

Secondly: that no scholar shall be obliged to learn more than the things which have just been mentioned, and that none of them need be burdened with any explanations or expositions in connection with either the larger or lesser catechism, except it be out of school hours.

Thirdly: that all clergymen, catechists, and schoolmasters shall do what they can to promote the knowledge of saving truth, by giving proper instruction from the catechism both to old and young, not only in the churches and schools, but also in the dwellings of the natives.

It has been resolved by the Consistory of this place humbly to request the chief authorities to have the larger catechism printed with explanations and notes, as they think it would provide a most important guide for all schoolmasters and catechists in giving catechetical instruction; this request to be forwarded to the Governor-general and councillors in Batavia through the

Governor and councillors of this island, the Consistory at the same time expressing the hope that the approbation of the chief authorities will reach them not later than next year.

The Consistory also intends to send, in the course of the following year, a copy of the two well-known catechisms with explanations affixed, to the Amsterdam and Walcheren Classis, and to all officials in Formosa, in Batavia, and the Netherlands, that they may be generally approved of. It is further intended to notify all ecclesiastical bodies that it is by no means the desire of the brethren connected with this Consistory to be non-conformists from the Dutch Church by asking approval of the catechisms we are about to send, but to show that the Consistory is obliged to continue using these catechisms, because the natives of Formosa have received instruction from them alone. At the same time, the Consistory fully intends to make use of the Heidelberg catechism when it may please our good Lord to establish reformed churches in this island.

Lastly, the Consistory requests that the gospels of St. John and St. Matthew, translated by Mr. Hambroek into the Formosan language, and which have so often been read here to the edification of the Church, may, after having been duly revised, be introduced and read in public.—Signed, JOHANNIS DE LEONARDIS, Interim President; ANTHONIUS HAMBROEK, JOANNES KRUYF, JACOBUS AMSINGH, Secretary.

108. The Governor and Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Zeelandia, 19 November 1657. . . . The servants of the Divine Word employ their utmost endeavours to proclaim the doctrine of Christianity to the Formosans. The inhabitants in the north are daily increasing in knowledge; but those in the south remain immoral heathen, which must be attributed to the sudden death of their schoolmasters. The political functionary resident in the south, Johannes Olario, has also suddenly died. His place, however, is now filled by one Hendrick Noorden, who possesses the capacities required for the office and whose wife is a native woman. He acted as schoolmaster and interpreter for a considerable time. All church matters we have committed to the care of a clergyman. We shall bear your order in mind that, when any vacancy occurs through the death of a clergymen, to try and appoint one of the ministers residing at a remote station to take his place. This will, however, be a great loss for the abandoned villages, because the people there are as advanced in the knowledge of the truth as those living in the villages nearer to us. It will thus be robbing Peter to pay Paul. We also fear that the clergymen living at those remote stations will feel thoroughly disinclined to continue their studies of the dialects they have been using. We therefore hope to receive further orders from you ere such vacancies occur.

For several reasons which we have already communicated to you, we thought it very desirable to act in conformity with the opinion held by nearly all the brethren here, by teaching the youngest children attending our schools

the elements of the Dutch language, but to continue instructing the elder ones in their own language. Still, for reasons which are not clear to us, but which may be very important, you have not accepted our proposal; so that we shall submit to your decision by acting as if it had not been made, the more so as our Consistory did not communicate the reasons for having sent you the proposal they did.

In answer to your somewhat hesitating consent to establish a seminary in which some young Formosans might be trained as clergymen, and perhaps as teachers who would be able to translate the Dutch language into Formosan, the Consistory herewith enclose a set of rules which explain the manner of instruction they desire to have adopted, and what the probable expense of such a seminary would be. They will look forward to your final decision in this matter with much hopefulness.

There is much need now for having a more uniform system of teaching; one which would be generally adopted and adhered to, and which would lessen the burden which our people have to bear while attending the schools. In keeping with this conviction, the Consistory here examined a short catechism of Christian doctrine sent to them by the Batavian Consistory, and which seems to be generally used in that place. They have, moreover, adopted a resolution whereby the course of instruction in this island will be regulated according to a fixed and uniform plan.

The Rev. Mr. Bushoff will sail on board the ship *Hercules* for Batavia, and Mr. Vinderus has taken his place in Soulang.

The clergymen desire us to return you their best thanks for the pipe of Spanish wine with which you presented them. . . . Herewith, etc. Your most obedient servants, FRED. COYETT, JOHAN OETGENS, R. DAMMANS, THOMAS PEDÉL, JACOBUS VALENTYN.

109. Resolution of the Council of Formosa.—Zeelandia, 24 November 1657. The Council has to acknowledge receipt of an extract from the deliberations of the much-revered brethren of the Consistory as entered in their Minute-book bearing the date of 5 October. It made reference to the quotation from a letter which the Governor-general addressed to the Governor of this island, dated 11 June of the present year, which quotation was sent to the brethren of the Consistory for their guidance, seeing that the subject it referred to was intimately connected with the welfare of Sion among their people in the island of Formosa.

The brethren affirm that they read this communication with great sorrow of heart, inasmuch as the Governor-general censures them for their action relating to the south, as if their judgment were quite erroneous; whereas they again unanimously and solemnly declare that they can in no wise agree to the influence of the Church being withdrawn from the south, much less to have it placed under control of the judicial officer with the object of making its inhabitants merely good civilians; but that, on the contrary, they will employ every means in their power to increase the knowledge of God and of His

divine service among the baptized Christians in that distant part of their field. For this reason the brethren of the Consistory feel bound to declare to the Council that they think it would be most injurious to gradually and imperceptibly suspend Christian work under the plea of civilising the natives and teaching them mere morality—a manner of proceeding which, in their opinion, could not be justified on the great day of judgment.

Such, then, is the substance of the lengthy deliberations of the brethren on this subject, and of the communication they forwarded in justification of their cause; and as they declare their opinion remains the same as heretofore, they now most respectfully request us to give our sanction to the following:—

1. That the south should remain under supervision of the Consistory, and the following persons and means be employed for doing the work there under its discretion.

2. That the Governor should enjoin the judicial officer Hendrick Noorden to assist the resident clergyman in his linguistic studies and in translation work; avoiding, however, such hindrance in the performance of his judicial functions as arose during the incumbency of Mr. Hans Olhoff; it being also understood that, when Mr. Noorden repairs to Tayouan, either to partake of the Lord's Supper or on matters of business, he be allowed for a few days to confer with the clergyman on this matter of the language, and aid him by writing such words and phrases as may be necessary.

3. That the clergyman be occasionally allowed to summon the most capable schoolmasters to Tayouan, or to where he may be residing, that they may assist him in this work, the schools to be meanwhile superintended by the second master in charge.

4. That Mr. Noorden, or the schoolmasters summoned for the time being, be allowed to take one person out of each of the three districts where the respective dialects of the south are spoken, so that the clergyman may become more fully acquainted with the similarity or dissimilarity of the various modes of speech.

5. That at the time of the north monsoon, when the monthly lists of the schools are forwarded, only such persons be chosen as are living in the immediate neighbourhood and are thoroughly versed in the Sydeyan language; those receiving due notice taking it for granted that they must leave their villages for a time, as the clergyman will have power to order their attendance for two or three days, that they may render him the assistance he requires.

6. That on the very first intimation from the Governor, be it oral or in writing, the clergymen and judicial officers in Soulang or Sinkan be bound to send such person or persons as the clergyman may consider most capable of assisting him.

7. That the persons who are thus called be provided each day they are employed with proper remuneration in food; and that later on they, as well as the clergyman who has rendered this extra service, receive a grant in money, according to the discretion of the Governor and his Council.

It has further pleased the Consistory to lay before the Council—so that the

different members thereof may be able to form a competent judgment—their reasons for wishing to establish a seminary in which Formosan youths may be trained for the ministry; to report the decision of the Governor-general and his councillors in Batavia regarding this matter; and to comment on the opinion of the Formosa Council that the proposed seminary should be established in the village of Soulang or Sinkan, on the assumption that the situation of either of these villages offers greater advantages than that of Mattau.

The Consistory also resolved to explain to this Council why, in their opinion, the village of Mattau should be chosen as the place most fitted for the establishment of a seminary. In order to give more force to their opinion they adduce a long series of arguments, which, on account of their length, we do not here repeat; but the whole document—including several observations on the instruction given to the natives and the proposal to withdraw the clergyman from the north—may be read and examined by the several members of the Council.

According to the opinion of the Consistory, this seminary should be attended by thirty young willing natives from several well-known villages, their ages ranging from ten to fourteen years. It would be better were they orphans or selected from very poor families; and they should possess a good character, a retentive memory, and quick perception.

The Consistory have given us a full and detailed plan of the method and kind of instruction they wish to impart; but they desire the question of how the young folk are to be clothed and fed and all matters in connection therewith, as well as the number of slaves thought necessary for servile work, to be entirely settled by this Council.

Finally, the Consistory requests us to petition the Batavian officials that they may use their influence in persuading the chief authorities at home to have the larger annotated catechism, with the gospels of St. John and St. Matthew—which were revised by Mr. Hambroek—printed in Holland. They are convinced that the catechists and schoolmasters will find these works exceedingly useful for catechetical instruction, as may be seen more fully from the records of the church of Tayouan.

After careful perusal of these documents, and full discussion, the Council unanimously resolved as follows:—

1. That the work of conversion of the heathen should remain under control of the Consistory, especially as the chief authorities in Batavia declare in their missive that a clergyman might very well visit the churches every year. We therefore most heartily grant this request; provided the authority of the judicial officer be not curtailed, as has been more minutely explained in the resolution of last year which was communicated to the Consistory.

2. We also very willingly consent to the judicial officer Hendrick Noorden's giving his assistance in the translation of the words and phrases which are in current use.

3. Further, the Council hereby gives the clergyman permission to employ the best schoolmasters near him, or those residing in the south, to assist him in

carrying on the work there. No one, however, may be entirely withdrawn from the service of the school to which he has been appointed, as such an arrangement was very troublesome and led to much that was disagreeable in former years.

4. We agree, too, that the judicial officer Hendrick Noorden or a school-master, on being called to assist the clergyman, may be accompanied by one person from each of the three southern villages where different dialects are spoken, provided that these persons shall not be detained too long or needlessly.

5. Our next decision is that, when the usual lists are forwarded, such persons only shall be employed as are most thoroughly acquainted with the Sydeyan dialect, but here, also, care must be taken that these persons do not remain too long away.

6. The sixth article of the Consistory we totally reject, as it is closely connected with the third article, concerning which we have already explained our wishes.

7. Finally, under this head, we resolve that the natives who may be summoned to the south, shall each receive for every day they are thus employed one catty of rice and three pence of money; but the clergyman superintending this work must in no wise expect to receive a special grant, as he is appointed by the Consistory to do that work; for which reason he must not look for any further remuneration than the Company is accustomed to give, this being in accordance with the letter—which has been already referred to—received from the chief authorities in Batavia.

As to the location of the proposed seminary, we are unanimously of opinion that the fittest place is Soulang. Both Councils have good reasons for selecting it as being the most convenient place. Not many strangers frequent that village; while it is situated on the banks of large rivers, and surrounded by fertile lands, so that there will be no difficulty as to providing the pupils with food. The lengthy arguments brought forward for choosing Mattau are, in our opinion, very feeble.

We are willing to take into consideration the proposal to employ slaves for servile work in connection with the seminary, although we are of opinion that this work might be done by those who have been sentenced to wear chains, or to terms of enforced labour, for their offences.

It may be added here that the rules drawn up for the seminary and the proposed method of instruction, so far meet with our approval; but we think that the entire memorial from the Consistory, without any comment whatsoever thereon, should be forwarded by us to the Governor-general and his councillors in Batavia. We shall then also request their sanction to have the catechisms in the Formosan language printed in Holland.

Thus done and resolved in the Castle of Zeelandia at Tayouan, on the day and year already mentioned.—(Signed) FREDERICK COYETT, JOHAN OETGENS, R. DAMMANS, THOMAS PEDEL, JAC. VALENTYN.

110. The Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Tayouan, 2 March 1658. . . . Considering the manifold complaints that, notwithstanding our repeatedly expressed serious admonitions, the people of Formosa persist in committing the sins of idolatry, adultery, fornication, and even of incest; considering also that many of the inhabitants commit these sins because their natures are so entirely corrupted, or because they are not sufficiently acquainted with the law of God and the laws which we have instituted in this countay, we have unanimously resolved on publishing the accompanying proclamation.

Before coming to this decision, we consulted the Consistory about the matter, and their opinion was that our proclamation in no wise deviates from the righteous law of God. We also carefully kept in mind that there are many weak Christians here who are exceedingly deficient in knowledge, and that the greater number of the natives are still benighted heathen. It should be understood, therefore, that this proclamation is intended for all, but especially to guard the interests of those who are instructed in the principles of true religion and sound morals. Moreover, it accords with the laws of our own beloved country, where laws are intended for people who by the grace of God are gifted with a greater degree of understanding and knowledge than the inhabitants of this place.

Pursuant to the foregoing, we now declare that idolatry in the first degree shall be punishable by public whipping and banishment from this place; that those who are guilty of incest shall be severely whipped in public and wear chains for six years, and that less heinous sins enumerated in the proclamation shall be judged according to circumstances. And in order that none may pretend ignorance, our proclamation shall be translated into all the dialects of this island, and affixed in public to churches and schools. It shall also be read in public once a month; so that the people may be taught, as far as it lies in our power, to abandon the vile practices which are now referred to.

We join with the Reverend brethren of the Consistory in begging you to send by the very first opportunity another pious and efficient clergyman to take the place of Mr. Jacobus Amsing, who died on 24 November in Takkais; so that the good work in that place may be continued in the same excellent way in which it was commenced.

The Reverend brethren send by this opportunity a copy of the explanatory notes attached to the larger catechism of our Christian Faith, whereof we spoke in a former communication. These explanations are in Dutch; and the brethren now—with your sanction—earnestly desire to have the Formosan and Dutch versions printed in parallel columns, and thus made available for the good of the churches. Herewith, etc.—Your most obedient and humble servants, FRED. COYETT, JOHAN OETGENS, JACOBUS VALENTYN, R. DAMMANS, THOMAS PEDEL, THOMAS VAN IPEREN, D. HARTHOUWER.

111. The Council of Formosa to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Formosa, 18 December 1659. . . . On 12th instant the Rev.

Gulielmus Vinderus died at Soulang of thermal fever after five days' illness. He had been taken from Tevorang, a village in his district, to Soulang. Thus the church has again, and very suddenly, to deplore the loss of one of her clergymen—a loss which we fear will prove very detrimental to the work. Provisionally, we have charged Mr. Anthonius Hambroek with the administration of ecclesiastical matters there, seeing that he resides in Mattau, which is not very far away from Soulang.

We most ardently desire that you would send us, if this be anywise possible, some other clergymen by the vessels that next sail from your port. Should you do so, it would not be necessary for Mr. Leonardis to leave the station he now occupies, as he will otherwise have to do according to the order you gave that, on the demise of a clergyman, a colleague from one of the most distant stations should occupy his place.

The services of Mr. Leonardis are very much required in Favorlang. If he leaves, the churches and schools, now in a flourishing condition, would have to be abandoned in order to supply the vacancy. Add to this, we should be putting Mr. Leonardis to very great inconvenience, as he would have to learn another dialect, which task requires about two years' work before one can gain the most necessary knowledge.

We hope to receive your opinion about this subject, and your further orders, within six months after the date of this letter. In the meantime, we shall leave things in their present condition, as we consider this the most advantageous course under present circumstances. . . . Your obedient and most humble servants, FREDERICK COYETT, J. OETGENS VAN WAVEREN, JACOBUS VALENTYN, THOMAS PEDEL, THOMAS VAN IPEREN, DAVIT HARTHOUWER.

112. The Committee of Seventeen to the Governor-general and Councillors of India.—Amsterdam, 16 April 1660.

TAYOUAN.—We are also in receipt of a missive from Governor Coyett and his Council, dated 2 March 1658. They state that, in order to deliver the Formosans from idolatry—which they still seem to practise notwithstanding the most serious admonitions—proclamations have been issued by the said Governor and Council, with the approval of the Consistory, in which persons guilty of idolatry are threatened with the severest punishments, such as public whipping and banishment.

Now since we can in no wise believe that these are the appropriate means whereby to lead these poor benighted people to forsake idolatry and to bring them to the saving knowledge of the truth, we are quite averse to their being employed; it being our conviction that, if they are used, the people will show more and more aversion to our rule, and will be led at last to adopt desperate measures. It is our conviction, moreover, that if we cannot influence the inhabitants by our precepts and instruction, they will be much less influenced by such severe punishments. We are also of opinion that Christians should never have recourse to such measures; and it greatly surprises us that the

Consistory consented to their being taken. We cannot refrain, therefore, from declaring that these measures sorely displease us, inasmuch as they may be considered harsh and cruel, though the object be to Christianise the natives; they are also contrary to the spirit and character of the Dutch nation.

Accordingly, our fervent hope is that the threatened punishments will be considerably modified; and that, although the ordinance may not be publicly withdrawn, it will not be put into execution. . . .

113. Resolution of the Council of Formosa.—Monday, 2 May 1661. After the surrender of Fort Provintia was demanded, and it had been found impossible to hold it, Thomas van Iperen, the Rev. J. Leonardis, and three assistants, were delegated to go and make terms with Koxinga, giving the foremost place in all negotiations to one thing, namely, that our clergymen shall continue to have full and perfect liberty to instruct the Formosan Christians; who, by the grace of God, have already been taught the principles of His gospel. Our delegates are to make the most strenuous efforts to have this condition granted; inasmuch as we take nothing so much to heart as the honour of God's most holy name and the establishment and progress of the Reformed Religion; seeing we consider this to be the foundation of our general welfare, and that which secures the enjoyment of every temporal and spiritual blessing to ourselves and to our subjects.

114. Extracts from the Zeelandia Day-Journal.—Tuesday, 17 May 1661. Some of the people and their elders dwelling in the mountains and plains; indeed, nearly all the people of the south, have surrendered to Koxinga. Each of the elders has received the gift of a light-coloured silk robe, a cap surmounted by a gilt knob, and a pair of Chinese boots. These fellows now speak with much disdain of the true Christian faith which we endeavoured to implant in their hearts, and are delighted that they are now freed from attending the schools. Everywhere they have destroyed the books and utensils, and have introduced the abominable usages and customs of heathenism. On the report being spread that Koxinga had arrived, they murdered one of our Dutch people; and after having struck off the head they danced around it with great joy and merriment, just as they formerly did with their vanquished enemies. All this a certain Steven Jansz had been witness of in the south.

In the army, it was reported that Soulang had been taken and the inhabitants carried away, and that the clergymen Hambroek and Winshem, without knowing each other's fate, had fled to Bakloan.

Tuesday, 24 May. At half-past five in the afternoon a flag of truce was displayed by the enemy, and the Rev. A. Hambroek, accompanied by one Ossewayer, a Chinese mandarin named Sangae, and the interpreters Joncke and Ouhincko—the three first on horseback, the others on foot,—were seen approaching from the *Pine-apples* to the foot of the Redoubt. On being asked what the object of their coming was, they replied that they were the bearers of a letter from Koxinga. Thereupon it was agreed that Mr. Hambroek alone,

or in company with Ossewayer, should be allowed to enter the Castle, and that ensign Claermont should be sent to the mandarin to politely inform him that we would take the contents of the letter into consideration, and that we wished him to remain with the interpreters in the quarter before the fortress, either in a house or wherever else he chose, till we prepared an answer; and with this request the mandarin complied.

On Mr. Hambroek entering the Castle, he handed to the Governor the letter which Koxinga had charged him to deliver. The Governor then called all the members of Council together, and in their presence he opened and read the letter. It contained the following message, as may be seen from the annexed translation.

Letter from Mr. Pompoan to Mr. Frederick Coyett, Governor in Tayouan.

TEYBINGH SIAUTOO TEYSIANGKON KOXSIN sends this letter to Governor Coyett, in Tayouan.

You Dutch people, a few hundreds in number, how can you carry on war against those who are so powerful by reason of their numbers? Really you seem to be bereft of your senses and to have no understanding.

I, Pompoan, say that it is the will of God that all should live and remain safe, without perishing. I am therefore well inclined that men should remain alive, for which reason I have sent you so many letters. You people should well consider that it is a very important matter that the lives of your wives and children should be spared and all your possessions preserved.

I now send you my mandarin Sangae, also the Rev. A. Hambroek and the interpreters Ouhincko and Joncko, with salutations to the Governor, at the same time offering him peace on the conditions which will now be mentioned. I beg you duly to consider what I say.

First: if you surrender the fortress before my cannon have made their effect felt on its walls, then I shall treat you in the same way as I treated the Deputy-governor; that is, I will spare your lives, and if any one has anything to ask, I will grant it, as I granted to him what he asked. I speak the truth and will not deceive you.

Secondly: if, even after my cannon have battered your walls, the white flag be hoisted on the fort, and the Governor with some others, great as well as small, come out to me and ask for peace, then I shall immediately give orders to cease firing, so that you may feel confidence in my word. And when your commanders come to me, accompanied by their wives and children, I shall at once issue instructions to have all my cannon brought on board my ships. This I will do whenever I see that you folk seriously desire peace. By my giving this command, the Governor and his people will be assured that I desire peace, and will therefore have every reason to trust me.

One word more. After peace has been concluded, your soldiers must immediately leave the fortress, and my soldiers will enter it with the object of taking care of the place and of all the houses within its walls. I shall maintain

such a degree of order that your possessions shall not be injured in the very least. I shall also order some slaves, male and female, to remain in the houses to take care of the things; while every person who has a house in Sakam or Tayouan and who desires to live there, will be permitted to leave the Castle and to take all his money and possessions with him.

Yet another word. It is the usage of the Chinese to grant everything that is asked of them, but the Castle or Fortress we cannot leave you, as we attach very great importance to it; but every other concession will be made except the two days for carrying valuables away which were allowed to the inhabitants of Sakam. This condition I will not grant to you, as you have delayed so long coming to a decision, whereas the people of Sakam surrendered before they felt the effect of my cannon. Therefore, after this time of waiting, you people shall not have one hour's delay given you after my cannon have made a breach in your walls: you will have to quit instantly.

Lastly, I know it is the duty of the Dutch, who have come such a long way to carry on trade in this place, to try and keep their fortress. Nor do I see anything like a fault or crime in doing so; it even pleases me. Hence you have no need to fear for having acted thus.

If I speak a word, if I promise anything, the whole world may trust me—they may be certain I shall keep my word. As little as formerly do I wish to deceive any one. Every Dutchman in your fortress, few or many, may preserve this letter: its contents from beginning to end are founded on truth and verity.

Matters have now come to such a pass that we can either spare or take your lives as we please. Therefore you must quickly decide; and if you take a long time for consideration, it will just be like saying that you wish to die.

Mr. Coyett formerly declared that he did not understand Chinese writing, and I have written many letters to him without his having understood them. I now send you this letter by the interpreters Ouhincko and Joncko. They have read and translated it to ex-Deputy-governor Valentyn, who in turn has made it out properly in Dutch. May you folk now take it seriously to heart.

Written in the fifteenth year and twenty-sixth day of the fourth moon.

[On the margin was written: Translated to the very best of my ability,
24 May 1661. Signed J. Valentyn.]

The Council then resolved to send the following letter in reply:—

FREDERICK COYETT, Governor and Director of the castles and peoples in the Island of Formosa, sends this letter to Mr. Koxinga, encamped with his army at Bokenburg.

Last night at sunset we duly received your letter by the hands of mandarin Sangae and the Rev. A. Hambroek, who were accompanied by Ossewayer.

We understand its contents perfectly well; but cannot give you any other answer than the one we sent you on 10th instant, namely, that we are bound,

for the honour of our omnipotent and true God—on Whose aid and assistance we entirely rely—as well as for the sake of our country and the Directors of the Dutch India Company, to continue to defend this Castle, even at the peril of our lives.

It was our desire to send you this answer last night; but, as your troops in the town Zeelandia were busily occupied under our eyes in throwing up works against us on the evening when Sangae arrived, and as that official refused to prevent them from doing so, saying he was not authorised to interfere, we were prevented from executing our good intention, since we were busily occupied in throwing up works in our own defence. Your own soldiers will tell you what answer we returned to the cannon directed against our place, and by this we abide.

(Signed) FREDERICK COYETT.

Tayouan, 25 May 1661.

After writing this letter, Mr. Hambroek gave us some account of the fortunes of our countrymen in the north, of whom he had been one.

He informed us that as soon as the arrival of the enemy was announced, they had all met at Soulang; but the bad feeling of the villagers and the nearness of the enemy had made it advisable to retire to Mattau, and later to Dorko. It being, however, considered dangerous to remain there, and as the want of provisions was beginning to be felt, they proceeded further north to Tirozen.

Meanwhile, the love and good-will of the inhabitants gradually decreased, owing to their having received a letter from the Governor of Fort Provintia—written by command of Koxinga—which stated that if they would submit to the authority of the invading Chief, he would grant them the same terms as he had given to the garrison of that place. These terms the inhabitants—except a few who remained to the north of Zant river, probably with the intention of proceeding later on to Kelang and Tamsuy—considered it most advantageous for them to accept, seeing that the position was now a very lamentable one, especially for their wives and children, and that there prevailed among the soldiers a spirit of disobedience and discord. Moreover, one hundred and sixteen persons, among whom were four clergymen and five judicial officers, had joined the Dutch inhabitants near Provintia. One and all were suffering from want of provisions, and the enemy were also in much the same condition.

By command of Koxinga, eleven persons of different ranks left Provintia to appear before him at Bokenburg. Fifteen had been ordered to come; but only eleven appeared, as Koxinga had permitted four of them to remain to guard the property at Provintia, thus giving due heed to their representation that, if all were to leave the place, the people might create many disturbances and riots. When Mr. Hambroek left, these four persons were still residing there, acting as guardians of the peace.

Before Mr. Hambroek and the other Dutch persons retired to the north, and on the report reaching them that Koxinga was about to land on Formosa

with a hostile purpose, the Mattau people who left on 27 April for the mountains to punish the rebellious Dunckeduckians, returned with three heads which they had struck off. According to the former heathenish custom when celebrating a triumph, they began to dance round these heads and to perform other ridiculous antics. Mr. Hambroek thereupon forbade them, but they were insolent enough openly to contradict and disobey him when he reproved them for acting in their old way.

The chattels of the judicial officers and the clergymen, which they left behind them when fleeing from their respective villages, and which were found later on by the enemy, had been sealed up, and were now guarded by Chinese appointed by Koxinga.

Mr. Bocx and the Rev. Mr. Leonardis received a part of their possessions through written application of the secretary of that mandarin who has been placed in charge of Fort Provintia. Mr. Hambroek had also received the promise that his possessions would be returned to him.

Mr. Hambroek further told us that, in consequence of reiterated requests addressed to him, Koxinga had granted many of their petitions, even allowing them to act freely in matters pertaining to religion.

Wednesday, 25 May.—It being now four o'clock in the afternoon, the friends who arrived yesterday, namely, Mr. Hambroek and Mr. Ossewayer, bade us farewell, taking with them the letter which we wrote yesterday to mandarin Koxinga. We saw nothing of the mandarin who accompanied them. The horses, too, which were left near the redoubt, had disappeared. They therefore proceeded on foot as far as the *Pine-apples*, when Mr. Hambroek approached a place where there were some Chinese, before whom he bowed low. Thus, covered by the white flag, they disappeared from our sight, and proceeded on their way.

These friends greatly rejoiced—as we ourselves do—at our bravery, and the victory which, by the blessing of God, we have so far obtained, hoping that after obtaining some more victories we might be speedily delivered. May the almighty and good God grant, to their and to our own joy, that these hopes may be realised; and may He deliver us and the Company out of the hands of our enemy.

Saturday, 13 August.—Last night we captured two boys and a Chinese. In the morning we interrogated one of the boys and the Chinese, and they confessed the following: that Mr. Hambroek was the boy's master; that Jan Druyvendal and a schoolmaster named Frans van der Voorn, with three other Dutchmen, had been brought as prisoners from Sinkan; that the two first had been crucified at Sakam—the others having been liberated; that Mr. Hambroek, assisted by the interpreter Maurits, had procured Koxinga's permission to offer up a prayer for them; and that, after hanging for three days, they were carried on the crosses, still alive, to Sinkan, where the crosses were again planted in the ground, and where they died, the place of their execution being just before the house of the Governor. Those informants also stated that our married Dutch people were still living there.

Two of Druyvendal's sons were in the house of a mandarin at Tirozen; his wife and her two children being now resident in Sinkan. Mr. Hambroek was at Tirozen, Mr. Winshem had been living with Pruys in Sinkan, but had removed to the south.

Tuesday, 16 August.—This morning at daybreak, a soldier named Hendrick Robbertsz came swimming to the *Pine-apples*, and afterwards to the redoubt. Having been carried into this place, he gave us the following account. Last month, the interpreter Druyvendal and a young schoolmaster had each been fastened to a cross, nails having been driven through their hands, the calves of their legs, and into their backs. In this sad condition they were exhibited to public view before the house of the Governor, our own people guarding these victims with naked swords. At the end of three or four days they expired, after meat and drink had been forbidden them all that time. The reason for their execution was said to be that they had incited the inhabitants against the Chinese. They, however, denied to their last breath that they had ever done so.

Saturday, 27 August.—In the morning at dawn, a Dutchman from Sinkan named Pierre Megriet, entered this place. He reports that, after the surrender of the Fort Provintia, he remained there eighteen days along with several disabled persons. Those who enjoyed good health were sent, immediately after the surrender of the place, to the villages lying in the north and south, among these being the schoolmaster de Heems and Jan Lamberts. Afterwards, fourteen of the invalids were carried to Sinkan to be taken care of there, but before they arrived seven of them died.

The Chinese had stored much gunpowder and paddy in the church at Sinkan. The inhabitants loudly complained of the injustice in taking away from them their very best lands, their rice, cattle, and waggons. The poor people had to bear this in silence, and even to appear contented. The elders amongst them went about in Chinese robes of great value.

Our people, the Dutch, disregarding the prohibition of the Chinese, often repaired to the village with the object of picking up stray articles of food wherewith to fill their hungry bellies; but very often they were prevented from doing so, and had to suffer great want.

Robbertsz had also seen two of our countrymen, whose names he did not know, crucified at Sakam. Their hands were crossed over their heads and fixed with a nail to the cross, another nail being driven through the calves of their legs and another through their arms. In this way the poor creatures suffered awful torment during the three days preceding their death. But that was not sufficient, for those barbarous heathens carried them to Sinkan, where they died, and where they were buried; which was more than might have been expected. The Chinese soldiers left the natives perfectly unmolested, but the others often foully abused them. Moreover, the Chinese had forced every one who bore a Dutch (Christian) name to change this name according to the desire of parents or friends. Severe punishments were threatened if this command were not obeyed.

Forty-two of our countrymen, who were wrecked on board the vessel *Urk*,

had all, except the purser and his servant, been taken to Sinkan with ropes round their necks: one wearing only a pair of trousers, and another only a shirt. The Chinese mandarin commanded fourteen of those poor sufferers to be beheaded by the Sinkandians, who were obliged to obey. The chiefs of the villages killed most of them. Five others, namely, the purser Stephen den Dromer, his servant, the surgeon, the mate, and another person, were carried to Sakam. We do not know what was the subsequent fate of the others, but we trust they were sent to the south.

When he [Robbertsz] was taken in a sampan to Sinkan, the Deputy-governor Valentyn with his family and servant, the clergyman Leonardis with his family, the schoolmaster Jonas, all the surgeons of the villages, also the surveyors Philip May and Joannes Brummer with their families, and a few soldiers, were left behind in Sakam. The schoolmaster Ossewayer received permission to dwell in the house of his wife's mother. Mr. Winshem and his wife, with the schoolmaster Samuel, were living at Sinkan when he left; all under shelter of the mandarin who had taken up his abode in the house of the judicial officer. The Rev. A. Hambroek and other friends also visited Sinkan; but, accompanied by several women and children, he had gone northwards, after staying only a few days.

Monday, 24 October.—We examined a second time the two black boys who had escaped from the town on the 13th of this month. One of them still persists in saying that a number of the Dutch people, including Mr. Hambroek and Jan Lammersen, were decapitated in Sinkan, and that many others died of privation. He declares that he saw Ossewayer and some soldiers beheaded; that the vessel *Urk* was cast ashore and the crew killed in Sinkan; that all the remaining Dutch people were killed in the villages; the schoolmasters Jonas, Mr. Ananias, and Philip May only are still living at Sakam; the Governor, the Rev. Mr. Leonardis, and Bronner, with two attendants, having been carried to China.

115. The Governor-general and Councillors of India to the Governor and Council of Formosa.—Batavia, 21 June 1661. . . . We sympathise with you in your wish that a greater number of efficient clergymen should be employed in the propagation of the Gospel in Formosa; but we ourselves feel the want of ministers, so that it will be exceedingly difficult to supply Formosa even with the usual number of seven clergymen—although, as a rule, Formosa has been better supplied than any other place.

In your letter you maintain that if a greater number of clergymen be not sent out, the progress of the work will be very slow; that a burden must thereby be laid upon the natives which they will be very unwilling to bear, and that work carried on by so small a staff as the present can never be productive of any satisfactory result. In answer, we may say that we can very well understand your feelings; but, on the other hand, we think that you might have seen far more favourable results if you had restricted your operations while endeavouring to convert the heathen; this being clear from

your complaint that very little progress of a satisfactory kind has been made.

It also appears that you are far from pleased at our having ordered the Rev. Johannes Leonardis to leave Favorlang and live at Soulang; but it is surely better that the more distant stations should be without a clergyman than those villages which lie in the vicinity of the Castle, seeing the people there are more civilised and better instructed in the Christian religion than the others. We still abide by the opinion that this rule should be followed; for, if not, we fear that the work already done will prove to have been done in vain, and that you must never expect to see the Formosans possessing an adequate knowledge of Christianity.

Nor is it at all certain that we shall be able to send you a clergymen in place of the late Rev. Wilhelmus Vinderus, as no new clergymen have as yet arrived from Holland. As soon, however, as efficient and suitable ministers arrive from that country, we shall have due regard to the lack of clergymen in Formosa, and shall endeavour to supply the demand.

The accompanying communication from the Directors of the Company, of 16 April 1660, shows how exceedingly displeased they are at the very stringent proclamation you issued in 1658, against idolatry in Formosa. From it you will learn the reasons why they expect a greater measure of moderation to be shown; and you will also see that, while they do not insist upon the withdrawal of the prohibition, they do not wish that it should be enforced. The Directors insist on this matter being immediately attended to, on the Formosans being relieved from the burden now imposed upon them, and relieved also from too stringent rules about school attendance—should those rules be the least incompatible with the demands of Christianity—so that the work may not be retarded.

From your resolution of 11 June 1660, we see that you have ordered the villages in the south to supply those natives condemned to wear chains in that district the quantity of rice required for their sustenance. But according to our opinion this is exceedingly unjust, seeing that those prisoners—like their fellow-unfortunates in Tayouan—are employed in work for the Company, and should be provided for in this way just as other prisoners are. We, therefore, fully expect this will be done in future, in order that the above-mentioned villages may no longer have to bear that burden.

We were somewhat surprised that the Rev. Anthonius Hambroek should request us to discharge him from his office in Formosa, seeing that during his long-continued work he has acquired such an eminent knowledge of the language and people there that he cannot but be of great service to the Church of God. Hence we feel very much inclined to dissuade him from retiring, and should be highly pleased if he continued his labours.

But if, contrary to our expectation, he still persists in the request addressed to us, you must grant it and consent to his leaving. In that case, however, he must bear well in mind that he and his family may not expect to remain in Batavia; for they will require to go on to Holland, seeing that he cannot be of the same service here as in Formosa.

As far as we can make out, Mr. Hambroek feels excessively displeased at the offensive and indiscreet conduct towards him of the judicial officer at Soulang. If this really be the case, he surely must know that we do not at all approve of such conduct, our invariable desire being that clergymen should be treated with the respect due to their sacred calling. We therefore request you to examine into the matter, and to take such measures as will prevent a repetition of this complaint.

A certain Daniel Hendrickx has arrived here, *viâ* Malacca, from Holland. We understand that he has lived twenty-three years in Formosa, where he was employed as an interpreter and schoolmaster; and that, according to all reports, he has occupied those positions to your satisfaction, having shown an amount of diligence which was very creditable to himself. We also hear that he is a truly pious man of irreproachable conduct, that he was esteemed for his kindness and affability towards the people, and that he excelled all the other schoolmasters in his knowledge of the native language.

As he has expressed his inclination to return to Formosa, we have given our consent to his doing so, considering the great services he can render to the schools. We have further granted his request to be stationed in the village of Soulang, and nowhere else, so long as he remains in our service in that island. We have also given him the title of catechist, and have, moreover, granted him a small piece of ground near the village for the sustenance of his family. We beg you to take due note of the foregoing, and carefully to see that he is put in possession of the benefits we have promised him. We think he is well worthy of them, and that he may in this way be induced to devote his whole life to the service of the Church in Formosa.

The schoolmasters, Dirck Scholten and Hendrick Stratingen, who were formerly employed in Formosa, have both just arrived from Holland, and are on the point of leaving, with their families, for your island. As we trust they will render us good service, we beg you to employ them.

Seeing that we cannot at all consent to the erection of another fortification on the north side of the lower castle, we . . . as Tayouan and Formosa are already abundantly more than provided with fortifications. The times are very different from what they were formerly, when the Company could better afford such things. Now they are glad to cover expenses only. Some regard ought to be paid to this fact; and you should not be led away by idle fears by supposing that it is necessary to add so many new strongholds in Formosa. Herewith etc. . . . Your friends, JOAN MAETSUYCKER, CAREL HARTSINCK, ARNOLD DE VLAMING VAN OUDTSHOORN, NICOLAES VERBURG, and DIRCK J. STEUR.

116. From the Day-Journal of Commander Caeuw.—Castle Zeelandia, 21 October 1661. This afternoon two little black boys deserted the town and made their appearance at the Castle. One of them was a slave of the sub-factor Mr. Michiel Baly. The other was free born, but had been serving as a slave in the house of the mandarin Beepontok, Governor of the town.

They told us as a fact—they themselves having been witnesses thereof—that

Koxinga, enraged because his troops were daily diminishing in number, and especially because so many of his men had been killed and wounded on the 16th of last month, when our vessels appeared before the batteries of the enemy, had first feasted and then ordered the decapitation of all the Dutch soldiers who were in his power—not only those who surrendered themselves after Fort Provintia had been taken, but also those who were posted at the various stations in the country. The clergymen Hambroek, Mus, and Winshem, as also Ossewayer, the former secretary of the court of justice, and Gillis Bockx, former judicial officer in Soulang, with several inhabitants of Sakam, had been treated in the same way—first regaled and then decapitated. But the clergyman Leonardis, Valentyn, the former unworthy Deputy-governor of Provintia, with his wife and five children, and the greater number of the little Dutch boys, had been sent to China. The half-sister of Mr. Leonardis' wife, a girl of sixteen and the offspring of a Quinam father and a Japanese mother, was married to a Tartar mandarin living at Sakam, where she had not only already adopted the Chinese dress, but had also bandaged her feet. The daughter of Mr. Hambroek, a very sweet and pleasing maiden, Koxinga had made one of his concubines, and she had consequently been placed in his harem. All the remaining Dutch women were guarded in Fort Provintia.

It afterwards appeared, when these two boys were put to the torture, that they had been sent out to spy the Castle; they, however, persisted in declaring that they had told the truth.

20 November.—The catechist Daniel Hendrickx, whose name has been often mentioned, accompanied the expedition to the south, as his great knowledge of the Formosan language and his familiar intercourse with the natives rendered his services very valuable. On reaching the island of Pangsuy, he ventured alone—probably with rather much confidence in himself—too far inland and too far away from us, for he was suddenly surrounded by a great number of armed natives, who first killed him, and then carried away in triumph his head, arms, legs, and even his entrails; leaving only the mutilated trunk behind.

117. Letter from Rev. Joannes Kruyf to the Rev. P. Baldæus, Ceylon.—Negapatam, 13 October 1662. . . . After my arrival here on 6th October with my family, I was seized with a violent fever, which disabled me from writing much, yet did not hinder me from remembering my hearty service to you by Mr. Roos, captain of our ship, and the factor Mr. Reuf. Whether the same was brought to you or not, I am ignorant as yet, having for some time after been so dangerously ill with my distemper that my recovery was almost despaired of; but am now by God's peculiar mercy so far recovered, that I went first to church on Thursday last, and preached twice the Sunday following, and I intend to visit the sick to-morrow, and to administer the Holy Sacrament on Sunday next.

To give you a particular account of the late miserable state of the Isle Formosa, is both beyond the compass of a letter, and my present strength: and

though I tremble at the very thoughts of it, yet will I mention the chiefest transactions. The first assault of the furious Chinese was made against the Castle of Sakam; whereabouts, after cutting down some of our soldiers, they seized my eldest son, and the young brother of my wife, who had one of his arms cut off.

The next day our ship called the *Hector*, while engaged with a vast number of Chinese junks, was blown up, and in her some of our best soldiers, among them being my own father-in-law, Thomas Pedel. After a few days' defence, the fort at Sakam was also forced to surrender from want of fresh water and other necessities; the ministers, officers, schoolmasters, soldiers, and most of the inhabitants of the flat country having to make the best terms they could for themselves. The squadron of ships commanded by Mr. Caeuw (after it had for a short time rejoiced our drooping spirits) was dispersed by tempests, and the ship *Urk* forced upon the sands, taken by the enemy, and nothing more either seen or heard of her.

In short, the country being overrun by the Chinese, our soldiers everywhere routed, and Koukeren laid waste in sight of the Fort, such of our countrymen as had not secured themselves by timely flight fell into the hands of the merciless enemy, who sacrificed the Rev. Mr. Hambroek with his son, and divers others in Tirosen, to their fury; as also Mr. Peter Mus, minister of Favorlang, and Mr. Arnold Winsheim, minister of Sinkan—who had their heads cut off—and their wives with many others, carried into slavery.

Meanwhile there being great want of necessities in Castle Zeelandia, the soldiers died daily of bloody flux, scurvy, and dropsy; so that in nine months' time, having lost about 1600 men, both by famine and sword, we were forced (for the preservation of our lives) to capitulate.

One cannot without tears think of the unexpected destruction and ruin of so many families, and of nearly thirty ministers, partly in their lives, partly in their fortunes (among whom I had my share, having lost all I had gathered in fifteen years' time), the loss and dishonour of the Company, with other unspeakable miseries—my own being none of the least as it includes the loss of three parts of my library. All of which we ought to look upon as the effects of God's just indignation, on account of our manifold sins.

I have no more to add except that it is by not the least among other afflictions, that matters are so ill represented and so seriously misjudged at Batavia.—Subscribed, your affectionate colleague to serve you,

JOANNES KRUYF.

118. Catalogue of Books found in the Church Library at Tayouan.—

1. Syntagma Polani,	.	.	.	.	.	f. 7	18
2. Jacobi Laurentii, Shield of Faith,	.	.	.	.	.	3	18
3. Mercerus in Genesin,	.	.	.	.	.	5	12
4. Paraeus in Genesin,	.	.	.	.	.	8	0
5. Musculus in Matthaeum et Joannem,	.	.	.	.	.	6	0
6. Opera Zanchii, 2 folios,	.	.	.	.	.	28	0

7. Paraeus ad Hebraeos et Corinthios,	. . . . .	f. 8	8
8. Piscator in 8vo. in 4 parts in N. Test.,	. . . . .	8	0
9. Paraeus ad Hebraeos,	. . . . .	2	16
10. Ferus in Matthaeum et Diotericus,	. . . . .	2	0
11. Merlinus in Job,	. . . . .	2	0
12. Paraeus de Gratia,	. . . . .	2	16
13. Sacroboscus de Spheris,	. . . . .	2	16
14. Doeslaer against the Mennonites,	. . . . .	4	18
15. Eusebii Church History,	. . . . .	5	18
16. Alstedii Cursus Philosophiae,	. . . . .	8	0
17. Biblia interlineata,	. . . . .	16	0
18. Biblia Hebraea,	. . . . .	4	10
19. Thesaurus Festi,	. . . . .	4	12
20. Udemans against the Anabaptists,	. . . . .	1	16
21. Plessaeus de veritate religionis,	. . . . .	1	8
22. Vorstius de Deo,	. . . . .	3	5
23. Drusus in Prophetas,	. . . . .	1	7
24. Teelincks Treatise,	. . . . .	2	6
25. Erpenii Grammatica,	. . . . .	2	0
26. Josephi Historia,	. . . . .	2	12
27. Amsingh against the Baptists,	. . . . .	0	18
28. Theatrum histor.,	. . . . .	2	12
29. Lexicon Scapulae,	. . . . .	3	10
30. Paraeus in Jacobum,	. . . . .	2	14
31. Opera Wittakeri,	. . . . .	8	8
32. Triglandi Opera, Dutch, }	. . . . .	30	0
33. Amesii Opera, Latin, }		
34. Chemnitzius in N. T.,	. . . . .	19	12
35. Chronica Carionis,	. . . . .	2	12
36. Templeri Metaphysica,	. . . . .	0	15
37. Biblia Trimellii,	. . . . .	8	4
38. Lexicon Pasoris,	. . . . .	2	3
39. Ternovius de Trinitate,	. . . . .	4	12
40. Martini grammatica hebr.,	. . . . .	1	4
41. Alstedii Theologia Catech.,	. . . . .	3	6
42. Instit. Calvini, idem in Epistolas,	. . . . .	7	0
43. Theophylact. ; Lactant. ; et Aretius in Acta,	. . . . .	4	0
44. Grossius ? in Biblia,	. . . . .	3	0
45. Melific. historica,	. . . . .	3	0
46. Scotan. in Petrum,	. . . . .	2	16
47. Stepperi Postil.—Itinerar. Script.—Crispin, On the condition of the Church ; idem against the Anabaptists,	. . . . .	16	16
48. Walaëus against Corvinus and Collatio Hagiens,	. . . . .	5	12
49. Pentateuchus in N. T. arabicum,	. . . . .	7	16
50. Cartae in Proverb,	. . . . .	2	16

51. Brokeri Antidotum,	f. 2 16
52. Paraeus de Statu Peccat. et Justificat.,	6 10
53. Summa exemplarium,	2 16
54. Tileni Loc. comm.,	2 16
55. Taffyn, on Repentance,	2 0
56. Books on Medicine,	2 0
57. Histor. arabic,	1 10
58. Sibelius in 133 ^{um} Psalmum,	2 0
59. Aromaticum, liber,	2 8
60. Aretii Loc. comm.,	3 12
61. Bucani Loc. comm.,	2 0
62. Clavius Comment. in Spheram,	2 16
63. Tomb: Parables,	1 0
64. Perkerus de Descensu,	3 0
65. Tremellii Grammatica,	1 0
66. Luther Knecht. wille,	1 0
67. On the Globe,	1 0
68. Anatome Arminianismi,	1 1
69. Consensus Orthodox	1 0
70. Animadvers. histor.,	1 0
71. Festi Disputat.,	1 10
72. Synopsis pur. Theolog.,	2 16
73. David's Repentance, {	1 0
74. Becan. Tractatus, }	
75. Opera Ciceronis,	7 0
76. A small collection of little books,	15 0

Total, . . . f. 360 16

119. A Prayer before Divine Service, by Rev. R. Junius.—O God our Father, our only true and eternal God, who hast created heaven, and who alone created the earth, the sea, the mountains, the woods, and the waters; who lastly made man, and who rested on the seventh day, behold we are here come together in this our church. We villagers fear Thee; we believe in Thy Word; come down unto us and acknowledge us; for we look to Thee as our only God. We no longer seek after the gods of our ancestors, who were heathen; we desire to cast those gods behind us and to abandon all our former errors. We will humble ourselves before Thee, O our Father, in the morning and in the evening, before and after our meals.

Thou hast said: 'Remain in your dwellings, cease from your labours on the Sabbath'; and who would say nay to this commandment? According to Thy ordinance we have met here, and have come together, that we may hear Thy Word proclaimed from Thy Book. O God our Father, when Thy servant the minister expounds Thy Word, give us an open ear to listen to him,

that we may understand what is said, that we may believe in that Word; then indeed we shall understand and believe.

Although they are very manifold, do not Thou remember our transgressions and our failings. We pray Thee take them all away, and cast them into the depth of the sea. Remember Thy Son Jesus Christ, who had compassion on us, and who will redeem all those who believe in Him; then wilt Thou no longer be angry with us. Look, then, in Thy mercy upon us, that we may praise and magnify Thy name as long as we live; and that, when we die, we may still praise Thee to all eternity in Thy house on high.

O our Father, continue to hearken unto us. Give ear unto the words which Thy Son Jesus Christ, when in the flesh, taught men, saying: 'Our Father which art in heaven,' etc.

120. A Sermon by Rev. R. Junius on Psalm l. 15.—*Call upon Me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me.*

On former occasions I have taught you that our God is not like the gods of the heathen. Although He wishes the people to serve Him, though He commands them to humble themselves before Him, does He therefore desire that sacrifices should be brought unto Him? Does He say: 'When you set snares in the fields and catch deer, give Me the tongue, the liver, or the kidneys, of the deer'? Does He say: 'Serve Me with pinang, siriy, beverage, cooked rice, or the flesh of swine'? Why should He say that? If we serve Him in that way He will be angry and filled with wrath. Is God indeed a man? Is He like unto the heathen who have a god? Does He wish to eat? Does He wish to drink? Is He hungry? Is He thirsty? Rather is it He who nourishes us, who expects and demands that men should praise Him alone in all sincerity, with their mouths and with their hearts.

God says unto us, 'If you desire to serve Me, call upon Me. Let Me hear your voice. Give Me your hearts, and glorify My name. If you are in trouble, if you are ill, or if you are hungry, then, silently, fervently, and plaintively call upon Me. Pray to Me alone. I will hear you, and when I have heard you, you will praise Me.'

Our God, the only one true God, spoke these words to our forefathers in times past. He Himself has revealed these words unto us, saying: 'Ye children of men, ye people who inhabit this world, I have something to say to you. If ye are ill, or poor, or in trouble and difficulty, call upon Me, no matter what is the cause of your distress. It shall be no vain thing for you to call upon Me with sincere and plaintive voice in the name of My Son Jesus Christ; for, while calling thus upon Me, I will listen unto you with pleasure, and grant your petitions; and then, when I have heard and granted your prayers, ye shall praise Me and glorify My name.'

God teaches us three things in this text.

FIRSTLY: That we are to call upon Him.

SECONDLY: That He will hear us.

THIRDLY: That we are to praise Him.

1. God says : 'Call upon Me in the day of trouble.' In other words, God here says to us, 'If you are in trouble or sickness, call upon Me alone, and in all sincerity.' Thus, our prayer should be addressed to the one true God, and not at random to strange gods. We must call upon Him alone; for He Himself says : 'Upon Me alone shalt thou call : to Me alone shalt thou pray. I am the Lord thy God, therefore ye must call upon Me only.' These are the words of God the Father. Let us now listen to the words of Christ. What does the Son of God say? Does He say : 'Call upon many and different gods'? Why should He say so? He rather declares our duty in these words : 'Thou shalt call upon My Father, the only true God, and say, Our Father who dwellest above in the heavens.' And does not the Holy Ghost give similar testimony? His words are the same, for He has taught us to cry : 'Abba, Father.'

Our forefathers have in times past thus called upon God, and have obeyed the words of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. We their posterity, who are Christians, must do likewise. Listen to what the prophet David, who feared God exceedingly, has said. He says : 'To Thee alone, O God, I call.' Therefore all Christians, and all who have this fear, do call upon Him alone. The prophet Daniel did so in these words : 'O Lord, hearken when Thy servant calls upon Thee.' It is thus that other Christians have done in times past, saying : 'O God, look down from Thy throne when we call upon Thee.'

Why must we not recklessly serve strange gods? Why do you say that we should call upon the one true God? Listen and I will tell you. Because He Himself has said : 'Call upon Me alone. I alone am your God : do not follow any strange gods.' What, then, will our great and mighty God say unto us if we despise and reject His Word?

2. If you now desire that God should hearken unto you and grant your prayers, call upon Him alone; 'I will listen to him only who calls upon Me alone.' Our God is not like the gods of the heathen; for, though they have ears, they do not hear. But God hears and listens to our words, if we call upon Him in the right way.

Our God is an almighty God; for it is He that dwells in heaven and does all things as He listeth. He is not like men; like our fathers here upon earth. It is true they may love us; but, can they heal us when we are ill? The only God is so mighty and powerful that He can do so. Why should we at random follow after strange gods? Is our God not a merciful God? Does He not love all who pray unto Him? Let us therefore in all sincerity call upon Him alone. Let us not adorn strange gods, but honour our Father, the only God : for He has said unto us, 'Call upon Me'; and He has promised that He will listen to us.

Let us also admonish all who do not obey these words, and do not call upon God alone. Let our anger be turned against those who call upon mere men, seeing we should all pray to God alone.

I say, therefore, we ought to censure those who foolishly worship strange

gods, who commit all kinds of idolatry, who call upon and sacrifice to *Tekaroupouda*, *Tamagisangan*, and *Tapaliapeang*. It is evident that they reject the Word of God; that they mock at the ways of our God. They who act thus are heathens. They are not sincere, and they halt between two opinions. Such men shall not enter into heaven, but shall dwell among the devils; because they have not believed the Word of God, but have rejected it.

This then is the condition of those villages that have not yet cast away their idols. The inhabitants thereof are still heathen. They serve strange gods at random. They live in error, and offer sacrifices to their priestesses, who do not yet know God, nor believe in Jesus Christ, the only Son of God. Let us have nothing to do with such people; for it is evident that they are still heathen, and servants of the devil.

3. Let us now see what manner of people you villagers are, after having cast away your idols. What is the condition of your minds? One of continued contempt for the Word of God? Still prone to former evil customs? Perhaps of enmity against the only true God? Do you, indeed, serve Him alone?

Begin by examining yourselves whether you men and women still secretly bring sacrifices to the elders of your gods? If so, it is clear that you are yet heathen, that you laugh and mock. Surely this is ungodliness; for when God says, 'Look unto Me as your only God,' you refuse to do so and will not believe this word of His, 'Call upon Me alone.' Thus, failing to think of Him, you still abide by your former customs and manners, which are heathenish. When will ye desist from lying and mocking at God? The women who are present, when will they forsake the evil deeds of their ancestors?

I know not if you have yet been converted. But remember, if you persevere in your crooked ways, and continue to mock at God, you shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, but go to hell, there to abide with the devils. Turn entirely unto God; call upon the only true God; call fervently upon Him. Think of Him only; ask Him only for counsel; and humble yourselves before Him: then He will have compassion upon you, and be merciful unto you. Often have you been exhorted to call upon God and pray unto Him. God says, 'Ye shall look unto Me alone as your God, and call upon Me.'

But you may ask, 'When shall we call upon Him?' Listen to my words, and I will tell you. It is good and proper that we daily call upon Him, in the morning, in the evening, when we eat and drink. That was the custom of our forefathers in times past; for they served God in the morning and at night. The prophet Daniel called thrice a day unto God, and so did the prophet David; at morning, noon, and night. Jesus Christ, the Son of God, when walking in times past here upon earth, called unto His Father early in the morning. Before day had dawned, about the time of cock-crowing, He called upon God His Father. Sometimes He prayed in the evening, and sometimes during the whole night.

Although it is well that we daily call upon God, yet we should continually

and without ceasing call unto Him when we are in trouble, or in sickness; for these are the words of God: 'Call upon Me in the day of trouble. When in trouble or difficulty, when you are ill, then call upon Me. Call upon Me daily: in the morning, when you rise; in the afternoon, when you take your meals; in the evening, when you lie down, and when you are healthy and strong. Do not hesitate to call earnestly upon Me when sick, or in trouble, or suffering from hunger. Let your cries then ascend unto Me. Cry unto Me in the day of trouble.' Thus did our forefathers when their enemies were many and cruel, when they suffered sickness and hunger: being afflicted, they fervently called upon God.

But what, now, is the state of your own minds as to believing in these words, and as to calling upon God? In the morning when you rise, and in the evening on lying down, do you also use the words of earnest prayer? How often during the day do you call upon God? I fear many of you do not once call upon Him. In the morning you rise without giving Him one thought; and in the evening you lie down without thinking of Him. Some of you do not serve Him at all. 'Call upon Me in time of sickness, in the day of trouble?' Do you even listen to these words? I ask you only this one question, In times of sickness, does the thought of God ever enter into your minds?

Why should you think of God? He sends you sickness, He sends you trouble, and yet you will not say: 'O God, take away my sickness; heal me; cast away my trouble.' Surely that is very disobedient; very wicked. When you are sick, or in trouble, you think of having your bodies rubbed. You remember your priestesses, and you spend your possessions in vain; whereas if you fervently called upon God, He would take away your sickness, He would deliver you from your trouble.

Seeing, then, that you have erred, being ignorant of the Divine Word, turn now unto God. Be converted, and forget the manners of your forefathers. Follow the commands of God your Father; for He can give calm and quiet to the troubled mind, so that it shall be like still water. If weak, He can give you strength; if you are in trouble, He can take all your trouble away; for He says, 'Call upon Me in the day of trouble.'

God says: 'Call upon Me: sometimes aloud, sometimes in thought. Thus, if any one scoffs at you when you call upon Me aloud, then call upon Me in the silence of your hearts.' By doing so, you will be like unto Moses, the friend of God, who called upon God before all the people, although they would not believe his words. You will be like Hannah, the mother of Samuel, who moved her lips only as she silently called upon God. Therefore, God says, 'Call upon Me sometimes in the secret of your heart; for I know your thoughts: I know you through and through.' Do not imagine God will not hear you when you call upon Him in secret. He knows what the state of your mind is. Listen to His words again: 'If you earnestly call upon Me, then call aloud and with fervent words. Call upon Me: call fervently upon Me. Pray unto Me: let your words be well heard. Call upon Me with

all your strength : let the people and the strangers among you hear that you call upon Me. When you call upon Me, I will hearken unto you, and grant your petitions.'

Give ear, then, ye Christian people of the village, to the refreshing words of your Father ; for God says : 'Ye shall not call upon Me in vain : I will answer you and grant your requests. I will open my ears unto your cries : I will not turn a deaf ear unto you. I will not neglect to listen to your words when ye call upon Me.' Believe these words ; for God is their author, and He is sincere and cannot lie. Thus He was at the time when our forefathers lived. Sometimes they have called upon Him only once, and yet He listened unto them. When Hezekiah was sick unto death he called upon God. The Lord heard him, took away his sickness and healed him. The prophet David called in times past upon God, and God heard him and caused him to go in the right path. Some of the early Christians also did so. They prayed to God to send them rain. They said : 'Send down, O God, Thy rain upon us.' And God listened to their prayer, He collected the clouds over their fields and sent down the rain upon them.

Thus God has done in times past, and He does so still. If we call properly upon Him, will He forget to listen unto us ? In former days, when we set out on our journey to Takariang, we called upon God, saying : 'O God, preserve us ; go Thou with us ; make us valiant.' And what was the result ? Did God not hearken unto us ? Did He not lead and guide us ? Did He not make our enemies quake ? At other times we called upon God in our retirements ; we prayed Him to send us rain. What did we see ? Did He not collect the clouds over our fields and send down the rain ? Therefore believe His words. When you call upon Him, call upon Him with all your strength and with much fervour, and He will listen unto you.

Perhaps you may say to me : 'I have indeed called upon Him, and yet He has not heard me.' You say that which is true. He has not hearkened unto you when you called upon Him ; for you would not listen unto Him, you will not obey His words, you reject them. Sin and ungodliness still reign in your hearts. God will not listen unto those who are yet full of sin. Forsake your sins and be cleansed from them ; cast far away from you your failings and your wickedness ; then He will hear you and answer your prayers.

And why should God hearken unto you though you should call upon Him all day long ? Because you do not desist from despising His Word, from thinking of your strange heathen gods, from bringing sacrifices to them, from labouring in your fields on the Sabbath ; because you do not dedicate that day to the service of God ; because you disobey your fathers and mothers ; and because you still go on committing adultery, fornication, and lying. This is the reason why He does not listen to you, and why He will not answer your prayers. It is in vain to call upon Him so long as this evil continues.

Let us therefore, one and all, put away our sins from us. Let us, one and all, say : 'O God, take away the sins that we have committed in times past. We desire no longer to be ungodly. We shall sin no more. Wash us

in the blood of Christ ; we believe in Him ; for He bore in His body the punishment of our iniquities, and hath redeemed us.' Let us say : ' Hearken unto us, O God, when we call upon Thee.' Let us daily, unceasingly, call upon Him. Let us not cease from calling upon Him in time of sickness, in the day of trouble ; for then He will be merciful unto us and hear us.

121. First Shorter Catechism by the Rev. R. Junius.—Translated by Mr. Hans Olhoff, preacher in Formosa.

1. *Who hath created heaven and earth and all things ?*

God.

2. *How many Gods are there ?*

One.

3. *And yet your forefathers have said there were many Gods. Is that true ?*

No : our forefathers have erred.

4. *Is God very powerful ?*

Yes.

5. *Is He everywhere ?*

Yes : He is everywhere, in all places.

6. *Does He also see everything ?*

Yes : He sees all our thoughts.

7. *Has God a Son ?*

Yes : He has a Son.

8. *Who is His true Son ?*

Jesus Christ.

9. *Has He any other true sons ?*

No : He has no other real true sons.

10. *But has He others whom He had adopted as His children ?*

Yes.

11. *Who are they ?*

All persons who believe in Him.

12. *Does He also adopt you as His child ?*

Yes.

13. *Why ?*

Because I praise Him, and glorify His name.

14. *How many natures has Christ ? Is He man or God ?*

He has two natures : a divine and a human one.

15. *Has Jesus Christ compassion on us as man ?*

He has great compassion on us.

16. *In what way has His compassion been shown ?*

He died for us ; we should have gone to hell and been cast into the fire, if He had not taken our place.

17. *Who would have cast us into hell ?*

God.

18. *Why would He do so ?*

On account of our sins.

19. *Had Christ a father according to the flesh?*
No.
20. *Had He a mother?*
Yes: He had a mother.
21. *Who was His mother?*
Mary.
22. *Has He also a mother according to His divine nature?*
No: He has no mother.
23. *But has He a father?*
Yes.
24. *Who is His father?*
God.
25. *If Christ died for us as you say, how shall we render Him homage?*
The homage of our tongues, of our mouths, and of our thoughts, and that in all sincerity.
26. *But would the flesh of swine, pinang, stewed rice, and other things, not be acceptable to Him?*
No: if He desired these He would simply take them.
27. *You say that God hath created the heaven and all things; how many persons did He first create?*
Two.
28. *What were their names?*
Adam and Eve.
29. *How did God create them? Good or bad?*
He created them good, like Himself.
30. *Yet they sinned; who led them to sin?*
The devil.
31. *Wherein did their sin consist?*
They ate of the forbidden fruit standing in the midst of the field, and that God had forbidden them to do.
32. *Have we inherited the sins of Adam and Eve?*
Yes: the sin of Adam and Eve is also our sin.
33. *Have you too sinned?*
Yes: where are the persons who have not sinned?
34. *How do you know you have sinned? Who has told you so?*
God has revealed this to me in His Book.
35. *How many commandments are there in His Book?*
Although there are many, yet God Himself gave us only ten in the beginning.
36. *Repeat these ten words.*
- (1.) I am Jehovah, your God, I alone; ye shall have no other gods.
 - (2.) Do not commit idolatry.
 - (3.) Do not lightly take in vain the name of Jehovah, your God.
 - (4.) Do not enter your fields on Sunday, remain within doors, and listen to My Word proclaimed in My house.

- (5.) Obey your father and mother.
- (6.) Do not kill other men, and do not commit abortion.
- (7.) Do not commit adultery, and do not visit women in secret.
- (8.) Do not steal.
- (9.) Do not envy other persons.
- (10.) Do not covet the goods nor anything that is in the house of your neighbour.

37. *If we reject these commandments will God be angry with us?*

Yes, greatly : for God says : ' I will cast you into hell, into the fire.'

38. *As we have sinned, will God also cast us into hell?*

He would have cast us into hell, into the fire, if Jesus Christ had not taken our place.

39. *How many sacraments are there?*

Two.

40. *What are they called?*

Baptism and the Administering.

41. *What is Baptism?*

A Christian ordinance which Jesus Christ has taught us, in which the minister baptizes the people in the name of God the Father, in the name of God the Son, and in the name of God the Holy Ghost.

42. *What does the water with which the minister baptizes the people signify?*

It signifies the blood of Christ, which He shed for us on the cross.

43. *From what does this blood cleanse us?*

It cleanseth us from our sins, and takes away the depravity of our souls, and purifies them.

44. *What is the Administering?*

A Christian ordinance taught us by Jesus Christ, in which the minister presents bread and wine to those who come before him.

45. *What does the bread signify?*

It signifies the body of Jesus Christ, who was broken on the cross for those who believe in Him.

46. *What does the wine signify?*

That signifies the blood of Jesus Christ, shed on the cross for those who believe in Him.

47. *Who has taught us these words : ' Our Father who art in heaven ' ?*

Jesus Christ.

48. *When did He teach us this?*

In times past, when He dwelt upon earth among men.

49. *Whom did He first teach?*

His disciples.

50. *How many disciples had He?*

Twelve.

51. *' I believe in God the Father ' : in what God do you believe?*

I believe in God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost.

52. *Are there three Gods ?*
No : one.
53. *Why do you then say there are three ?*
Because we are taught thus in His Word.
54. *'I believe in Jesus Christ, God's only Son, our Lord.' Who is our Lord ?*
Jesus Christ.
55. *'He was conceived by the Holy Ghost.' Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost ?*
Jesus Christ.
56. *'Mary did bear.' Whom did she bear ?*
Jesus Christ.
57. *Was Mary old or young ?*
She was young, and had not known man.
58. *If she had not known man, whence came the child ?*
She conceived it by the Holy Ghost.
59. *'He hath suffered under Pontius Pilate.' Who has suffered ?*
Jesus Christ.
60. *In what did His sufferings consist ?*
His wounds were manifold : in His head, in His hands, in His back, in His feet, in His side.
61. *Wherefore did He suffer thus ?*
For our sins and the depravity of our hearts.
62. *Why did He suffer from so many wounds ? Was not one wound sufficient ?*
No : our sins were many and not one ; for this reason he received many wounds.
63. *'He was crucified and died.' Who was crucified and died ?*
Jesus Christ.
64. *Where did He die ?*
On the cross.
65. *When He died, did He remain on the cross ?*
No : he was taken away by the people who believed in Him.
66. *Where did they take Him ?*
They buried Him.
67. *How many days did He lie in the grave ?*
On the third day He rose again from the dead and became alive again ; He ascended into Heaven, and now sits on the right hand of God.
68. *When He rose on the third day, did He immediately ascend to Heaven ?*
No : He tarried still forty days here upon earth.
69. *What did He do during those forty days ?*
He taught those who had believed in Him.
70. *Where is Christ according to His divine nature ?*
Everywhere.
71. *Where is He now according to His human nature ?*
With God in heaven.

72. *What is He doing there?*

Interceding for the persons who believe in Him.

73. *Does Christ also intercede for you?*

Yes: He does.

74. *Why?*

I believe in Him and praise Him.

75. *Will Christ come again?*

Yes: He will return and judge those who have died in former days, and those who are living when He comes again.

76. *When our bodies have died will they also rise again?*

Yes.

77. *When?*

On the day of judgment.

78. *When our body dies does our soul die at the same time?*

No: the soul lives on eternally.

79. *Where does the soul go when the body dies?*

To God in heaven.

80. *Where do the souls of the heathen and of wicked men go to?*

To hell, into the fire.

122. A short Formulary of Christianity compiled by Rev. R. Junius, and left behind him in Soulang, Sinkan, Mattau, and other villages.

1. *Who hath created heaven and earth and all things?*

God.

2. *Which God?*

God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

3. *How many Gods are there?*

One.

4. *Yet you say: 'God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost'; are there then three Gods?*

No: how should there be three? It is God who has revealed it thus in His Book.

5. *Where is the dwelling-place of God?*

In heaven.

6. *On what do His feet stand?*

On the earth and on all places.

7. *Do you believe in God?*

Yes: I do.

8. *What do you believe concerning Him?*

I believe concerning Him that He is the true God, who made the heaven, the earth, and all things.

9. *When God created the heaven, the earth, and all things, is there anything in heaven He made which we can see?*

Yes.

10. *What is that?*
The sun, moon, and other things which we see.
11. *Has He also created things we do not see?*
Yes.
12. *What things?*
His angels.
13. *For what purpose did God create angels?*
To praise Him and to glorify Him.
14. *Can the angels descend here upon our earth?*
Yes: they can.
15. *What do they do here?*
They take care of us, and guard us.
16. *Who has commanded them to descend?*
God.
17. *What does God say to them?*
Descend upon the earth and guard my people, the Christians, who praise Me and glorify My name.
18. *Have the angels also sinned?*
Yes: they have sinned.
19. *What sin did they commit?*
They transgressed and rejected the words of God.
20. *Did God become angry with them?*
Yes: He became angry with them.
21. *What did God say when He was angry?*
God said to them: 'I will cast you into the depths of the fire for having transgressed My words.'
22. *What are they now?*
Devils.
23. *Where is the abode of the Devil?*
Beneath the earth, in the pit.
24. *Can he take a single hair of ours?*
No.
25. *What does he seek?*
He seeks our souls.
26. *Who is the stronger?*
God.
27. *If God created the moon and the stars, are there any other works He made here on earth?*
Yes.
28. *What are they?*
All the swine, the animals, and all things here on earth.
29. *In how many days did God create heaven and earth and all things?*
In six.
30. *What did He do on the seventh?*
He rested, and ceased from all His labours.

31. *How many persons did God first make ?*

Two.

32. *What were their names ?*

Adam and Eve.

33. *Why did God first make the animals, and not man ?*

If He had first made man, what else would have been found on earth ?

34. *Of what was Adam's body made ?*

Of earth, of mud, one little basketful.

35. *Could that mud move ?*

No : it could not.

36. *What did God make, so that it might move ?*

The soul.

37. *What did God say after having created the first man, Adam ?*

'It is not good that the man should be alone ; I will make him an help meet.'

38. *Of what was the body of Eve made ?*

Of one of Adam's ribs.

39. *Could this rib of Adam move ?*

Certainly not.

40. *What did God do to make it move ?*

He gave it a soul.

41. *When this body from Adam rose, what did he say ?*

'This woman is of my rib, and of my flesh.'

42. *What did the woman say ?*

Eve said : 'My body is made of his rib.'

43. *Who taught her ?*

God.

44. *What did God say to her ?*

Thus your descendants shall do.

45. *Did God make Adam good and perfect ?*

Yes : God created him good and like unto Himself.

46. *Did Adam always remain good and perfect ?*

No : he transgressed and rejected the Word of God.

47. *In what way did they transgress God's Word ?*

They ate of the apples in the midst of the field.

48. *Was it a great sin that they ate of the apples and fruit in the midst of the field ?*

Yes : for God said, 'Those fruits are mine, eat freely of the fruits growing on the borders of the field.'

49. *Who caused them to eat ?*

The Devil.

50. *What did the Devil say to her ?*

'Go and eat of those nice fruits, then ye will be like unto God.'

51. *Was God angry when He saw that they had eaten of the forbidden apples growing in the midst of the field ?*

Yes : He became very angry with them.

52. *What did God say to them in His wrath?*
'I will cast you into the pit, into the fire; because you have sinned.'
53. *Have you also sinned?*
Yes: I have sinned; where are the people who have not committed sin?
54. *How do you know you have sinned? Who told it you?*
God has said it in His Book.
55. *How many commandments has God given us in His Book?*
Though there are many, yet God gave us first these ten commandments.
56. *We say: 'Our Father'; who is our Father?*
God.
57. *Who taught us the 'Our Father' prayer?*
Jesus Christ.
58. *Whom did He first teach?*
He first taught His Apostles.
59. *We say: 'I believe in Jesus Christ the Son of God.' Who is the Son of God?*
Jesus Christ.
60. *Has He also other true sons?*
No.
61. *Are there any whom God calls His children?*
Yes.
62. *Who does He adopt as His children?*
He adopts those who believe in Him.
63. *We say: 'I believe in Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, our Lord.' Who is our Lord?*
Jesus Christ.
64. *We say: 'Mary hath borne.' Whom did she bear?*
Jesus Christ.
65. *Was Mary old or young?*
She was young, and had not known man.
66. *We say: 'He suffered under Pontius Pilate.' Who suffered?*
Jesus Christ.
67. *We say: 'He died on the wood of the cross.' Who died?*
Jesus Christ.
68. *Where did He die?*
On the wood of the cross.
69. *Did He always remain there?*
No: those who believed in Him took him down.
70. *Where did they lay Him?*
In the grave.
71. *How many days did He abide in the grave?*
In three days he again came to life.
72. *When the body of Christ rose, did He remain long here upon earth?*
Not longer than forty days.

73. *What did He do here upon earth?*

He taught His Apostles.

74. *How many Apostles had He?*

Twelve.

75. *When did He teach them?*

Before His resurrection, when He went about our earth in His body.

76. *You say that the body of Christ is dwelling in heaven; will He always remain there?*

No: He will return.

77. *When will He come back to our earth?*

He will return on the great day of judgment.

78. *Who will be the chief judge on that day?*

Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

79. *When He comes again who will come with Him?*

His servants, the angels, with their flutes.

80. *What becomes of the souls of the Christians who have already ascended up into heaven?*

They will descend with Christ, and seek the bodies in which their souls formerly dwelt.

81. *How many sacraments are there?*

Two.

82. *What are they called?*

They are called Baptism and the Administering.

83. *What is Baptism?*

It is a Christian ordinance which Jesus Christ the Son of God established, and in which the minister sprinkles water on the forehead of the people in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

84. *What does the water signify which the minister applies to the foreheads of the persons?*

It signifies the blood of Jesus Christ, shed on the cross for those persons who believe on Him.

85. *What does the water take away?*

It takes away our impurity, our blackness, and renders our souls beautiful.

86. *Wherefore the need for this?*

Because of our sins and our unrighteousness.

87. *What does the Administering signify?*

It is a Christian ordinance established by Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in which the minister administers the bread and drink placed before him.

88. *What does the bread signify?*

It signifies the body of Jesus Christ, which was broken on the cross for those who believe on Him.

89. *What does the drink signify?*

It signifies the blood of Jesus Christ, which was shed on the cross for the sake of those who believe on Him.

SOULANG, November 1649.—*This Catechism was used by me in all the schools of Soulang, Sinkan, etc., as a concise Formulary of Christianity. Till the year 1647 the people of Formosa were baptized when they were able to answer these questions from memory.* (Signed) DANIEL HENDRICKSEN.

123. A Larger Catechism by the Rev. R. Junius, and used by him during the last year of his residence in Soulang for instructing a class of about fifty men chosen from the surrounding villages.

1. *What do you believe concerning God?*

I believe He is the only, true, eternal and most powerful God, who has created heaven and earth, and all that therein is.

2. *What is the name of God?*

God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost.

3. *How many Gods are there?*

One.

4. *If there is but one God, why do you say: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost? Are there then three?*

Why should there be three? There is but one only, true God, as He has taught us in His Word.

5. *If God made all things in the beginning, does He still reign? And does He take heed to the creatures He hath created?*

Why should He not heed them? Everything living here upon earth listens to His Word, and does as He pleases. Can a hair fall from our heads without the will of God?

6. *Are there any other gods?*

There is but one true God, whom it behooves us to serve, and upon whom we should call.

7. *And yet your ancestors and your priestesses have declared that there are many gods. Did they tell the truth?*

No: they erred in this matter: they served their gods in their ignorance, and served the devil.

8. *Where does our God dwell?*

His abode is in heaven and on earth. He dwells everywhere; for heaven is His throne and the earth is His footstool.

9. *Does God know everything?*

Yes: He knows the thoughts of men: if a person imagines anything in His heart, God knows it. He knows when we do right, and when we do wrong.

10. *How about His eye? Is it turned here also? Does He see everything?*

God sees all things: He looks into the corners, into the remotest places of our hearts.

11. *Does God also love men?*

Yes: He does love us. Has He not created us? Does He not daily show forth unto us His loving-kindness? As a father pitieth his children, so He loveth and pitieth the children of men if they serve and fear Him.

12. *By whom were heaven, and earth, and all things here below created ?*
By this true God.

13. *When did He create them ?*

In time past, when nothing as yet existed.

14. *In how many days did God create this world ?*

In six days ; for in six days He created all things.

15. *What did God do on the seventh day ?*

He rested from all the works which He had made.

16. *Has God now said that we too should work during six days only ?*

Yes : for He says, 'Occupy yourselves and do all your work in six days ; but on the seventh you shall rest and cease from your work, on the seventh you shall serve me only ; for that day belongs to me.'

17. *Has God created only heaven ? What other things above this world did He create in six days ?*

God created the sun to give light unto us by day, and the moon and the stars to give light by night. He created the thunder, lightning, rain, wind, and all things that we see above us.

18. *Has God also created the angels, His servants, who are in heaven ?*

Yes, He has : God created them too ; for they had a beginning as we ourselves had.

19. *How did God create them ?*

He created them good and upright, in His own image.

20. *Why did God create them ?*

To praise and magnify Him ; continually to adore Him, and to show submissiveness and obedience.

21. *Whence then the great number of devils ?*

First they were angels, good and upright ; but they rebelled against God's word and became devils. God has rejected them and cast them into hell, into the depths of the earth.

22. *You say that God created the earth. Did He make the earth only ? Has He not also made other things ?*

Yes : He created all things here below on our earth.

23. *Tell me what God has created here below.*

God made all things without life : namely, the water, the mountains, the valleys, the woods, the herbs, bushes, and stones. He made all things that live : such as, the fowls of the air and everything that creepeth upon the earth. He also created all the fish that swim in the waters and in the sea. Is there anything that He has not made ?

24. *What do you know of man, of his beginning ? Has God created him ?*

Did God not create man on the sixth day, after He had made all things here upon earth ?

25. *Why did God not first create man ?*

God would have first created us, when there was yet nothing to be found on earth ; but how would man then have been able to support himself ?

For this reason He first created all the animals of the field, over which man received dominion.

26. *How many persons were made at the close of God's work of creation?*

Two.

27. *What were their names?*

Adam and Eve.

28. *How did God create them?*

He created them good and in His likeness.

29. *Which of the two did He create first?*

The man, Adam.

30. *Of what was the body of this man made?*

Of earth; for God took a lump of earth, and made the body of Adam from this lump of earth.

31. *When God had created the body of Adam from earth, could it move, or walk, or speak?*

No: not at first; for the God of heaven had not yet given it a soul; but after receiving this soul, it could speak, walk, and move.

32. *Of what was the body of the woman formed?*

Of the flesh and the rib of Adam; for God took a rib of the body of Adam while he slept, and made Eve, the woman, of that selfsame rib.

33. *When Adam awoke from his sleep did he acknowledge this woman?*

Yes: he said, 'She is of my body, of my rib; I will love her. She is like my body; for her body is of my body, of my rib.' Thus Adam spake.

34. *What did Eve say to Adam? Did she too say something?*

Yes: she said, 'Adam, I love you. Your body is like my body; I will not be naughty, I will obey you; and although I forsake my father and mother I will not forsake you. We will not separate; for our bodies are like unto one body.' Thus Eve spake.

35. *Were they married?*

Yes: God caused them to join their hands, and He married them.

36. *What did God say when He married them?*

He spoke thus to Adam first, having created him first: 'It is not good for you to be alone and not to have a companion or a wife, therefore I have created this woman for you; she will accompany you when you go into the fields; for her body is like your body. This woman only shalt thou love, marry and take her hand; thou shalt not forsake her, thou shalt be good and kind to her; thou shalt not love any other women, but love her only; for My wrath is against adulterers, who shall be cast into hell among the devils. If you hearken unto My words and obey Me, I will also love you.' These were the words that God spake unto Adam.

37. *What did God say unto Eve?*

He said: 'You woman, you Eve, you must love this man Adam; for from his body, from his rib, wert thou formed. Him alone shalt thou love and regard. Thou shalt also be good and kind to him; for I made him first. Be therefore obedient and faithful, and love him as thine own body. Do not love

any other man. Ye shall not forsake each other nor abandon each other ; for I have joined your hands. If ye do not hearken unto My words, I shall turn My wrath against you, I will cast you into the fire.' Thus God spake.

38. *Has God now commanded us, their posterity, to follow the same example ?*

Yes : He has ; for God says, ' Ye men, if your hearts be inclined to love a woman, I command you to be united in the bonds of marriage in the church of your community. Likewise, any woman who loves a man must be married by joining hands with him in the house of God ; for My wrath shall be against those who reject My words and My institutions. I will punish all adulterers and whoremongers ; and all who do not follow this My ceremony, I will cast them into hell.'

39. *You have said that God created man. How did He create him ? Did He create him good and upright ?*

He created him good and perfect, in His own image, without sin.

40. *Did they remain so, or transgress, like the angels of old, who became devils on account of the change they underwent through ungodliness and sin ?*

They did not remain long good and upright ; but became changed, and ate of the fruit growing in the midst of Paradise, which God had forbidden them to do. They rejected the Word of God, and believed the devil, who said : ' Eat of the fruit growing in the midst of Paradise.' Thus the words of the devil were listened to and believed, while no heed was given to the words of God.

41. *Was God very angry with them ?*

Yes : He was exceedingly wroth against them, and would have cast them into hell and into the fire if Jesus Christ, the Son of God, had not redeemed them. Their transgression has brought upon us death, poverty, and all manner of disease. If Adam had not sinned, we should always have remained good and upright.

42. *What have we to do with their transgression ? Have we thereby also become sinners ?*

Yes : for the sin of Adam has become the sin of his posterity ; he having sinned, we all sin with him.

43. *Have we also many sins ?*

Yes, we have many sins : some in consequence of the sin Adam committed, some which are our own and which we daily commit ; for our sins are more in number than the hairs on our head, or as the sand on the shore of the sea. Where is the person who can count how many sins he commits ? Indeed, they are many.

44. *Does God feel angry towards us because we have sinned ?*

Should he not be very angry with us ? He says that His wrath was great against Adam and Eve, who committed but one sin ; should He then not be much more angry with us, who commit so many sins ?

45. *What does God say when He is angry ?*

' You shall experience much sickness and many difficulties as long as you shall live upon the earth ; when you die I will cast your souls into hell ; for

I hate all sinners, and those cannot come to Me whose souls are defiled and whose minds stink.'

46. *All men have sinned. Will God then for ever remain angry with us? Will He cast us into hell?*

He would have done so if Christ had not come, if Christ had not taken away our sins, if He had not appeased the wrath of God and made peace for us. If Christ had not died and His body suffered punishment in our stead, we should all have been cast into hell. But Christ has turned the wrath of God away from us, and has paid what we owed. If Christ had not delivered us, we should have remained the children of the devil unto all eternity. Christ opened the gates of heaven, which otherwise—on account of our sins—would have remained closed against us. Were men only to believe in Him, He would baptize their souls with His blood. Those who persevere in their sins and reject the Word of God will, according to the Word of God, be cast into hell. If they do not become converted, they must hereafter dwell in fire with the devils.

47. *For what reasons has God created man?*

For two reasons :

1st. God said, 'I will give man dominion over all the beasts of the earth which I have created.'

2nd. He also said, 'I will cause man to praise Me, as My angels in heaven do praise Me : with My angels he shall continually glorify My name.'

Therefore, God created us that we men may have dominion over all the beasts of the field, and that we may praise Him.

48. *In what manner does God desire to be praised by us?*

We praise Him when we call upon Him, when we humble ourselves before Him, and obey His Word. We praise Him by teaching other people His Word and Sacraments—as He has taught us—and to praise our God. We also praise the name of God and glorify it when we censure those who mock and despise Him.

49. *When we sin and despise the Word of God do we then also glorify the name of God?*

No : we do not ; we dishonour it.

50. *Whom do we honour and glorify when we sin?*

The devil. If we listen to him, God will hereafter cast us into darkness ; for we are the children of darkness if we obey the devil.

51. *If we do not daily praise God, in the morning and in the evening, is God then angry with us?*

Yes : He is ; all those who do not hold converse with God and who do not praise Him, are they not like unto the beasts of the field ? God will cause His wrath to descend upon them ; God will reject them.

52. *Our sins are great in number. Some of them have arisen because Adam sinned, some are of the soul, and some of the body ; for, from the sole of our feet even to the head, there is no soundness in us. Our whole body, as also our soul, is sick ; as sin has made us sick, and sin has defiled us, God will, according to His Word, cast*

us into hell, into the fire. What remedy does there now exist? Is there any one, do you know any one, who can take away our sins and reconcile us to God, so that He may heal us?

Yes: I know of such a one.

53. *Who is he?*

He is the only Son of God, Jesus Christ, the son of Mary: He is both God and man.

54. *What has Christ done for us?*

He has redeemed us, and by dying on the cross He bore in His body our punishment. He has borne the sin of man on the cross, and has paid to God what He demanded of us.

55. *How many natures has Christ?*

Two. He is the true and eternal God according to one nature; according to the other, He became really man. He has a body and a soul, but both are without sin.

56. *Is it quite certain that Jesus Christ is the Son of God?*

Yes: He is the only and true Son of God; for according to the words of the Creed we say, 'I believe in Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son.'

57. *Why do you say that Christ alone is the Son of God? Are we not all the children of God if we are sincere Christians?*

Although we are children of God, we are not children as Christ is; God having only adopted us into the number of His children.

58. *Can you say anything about the one nature of Christ?*

According to His one nature, He is man as we are: He had a mother and a body.

59. *Did He bring His human nature with Him from heaven?*

No: He was conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, and born of Mary in Bethlehem.

60. *But can we say that He has a father and a mother according to His divine nature?*

According to His divine nature, He has no mother; but He has a father; for God is His Father.

61. *Has He a father and a mother according to His human nature?*

According to His human nature, He has no father, for He was conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost; but He has a mother, the virgin Mary, who had known no man.

62. *If Mary had not known any man, how did she become pregnant?*

By the Holy Ghost: the Holy Ghost overshadowed her, and the body of Christ was conceived in the womb of Mary. That is the reason of His being without sin, not like us who commit many sins. We have a father and a mother from whom we have inherited sin, and who have brought sin upon us.

63. *When Christ became man, did He cease to be God?*

No: He always kept His divine nature. He took the human nature upon Himself, and thus He has two natures.

64. *Where is Christ dwelling according to His divine nature?*

He dwells in heaven, He also dwells on earth, in all places: His divine nature will never leave us.

65. *Where does Christ dwell according to His human nature?*

He dwells only in heaven; for He ascended into heaven.

66. *Where is His seat there?*

On the right hand of God, His Father.

67. *What is He doing there?*

He is interceding for all who believe in Him, and who praise Him.

68. *Has Christ loved us? Has He also had compassion on us?*

Yes: He has had great compassion on us.

69. *Can you tell me how Christ has shown all this love and care for us?*

He delivered us; He suffered; He died for us; has been buried; has risen again; ascended into heaven; and now sits on the right hand of God the Father. If Christ had not died, if He had not borne our chastisement, we should have been punished, body and soul, in hell; for we have sinned.

70. *How did He suffer?*

In His body and in His soul: His entire human nature suffered.

71. *When, and how long, did He suffer?*

From the days of His youth till His death. He suffered without ceasing.

72. *Who caused Christ to die?*

Pontius Pilate.

73. *Why did Jesus Christ suffer? Did He commit any sin?*

No: He committed no sin; the sin and disobedience of the whole human race was the cause of all His sufferings and of His death.

74. *Why did He suffer and die here upon earth?*

That He might raise us up again and lead us to heaven. Hence He did not die in vain; for He has redeemed all who believe in Him, and who praise Him.

75. *Where did Christ die?*

On the cross.

76. *Who has He redeemed?*

He has redeemed all who believe in Him, all those who fear Him as a child fears his father.

77. *Has He also redeemed the ungodly, who do not listen to God's Word, and despise it?*

No: He has only redeemed those who are sincere and true Christians.

78. *Has He redeemed you?*

Yes: He has.

79. *How do you know that He has redeemed you?*

Christ Himself hath said: 'I have redeemed all who believe in Me and obey My words'; but I believe in Him and listen to His word; from which it appears that He has redeemed me.

80. *Were the pains and sufferings of Christ in His body many?*

Yes: the crown of thorns on His head, the stripes on His back, the nails

penetrating His hands and feet, caused Him great suffering. He had also a great wound in His side, this being caused by the thrust of a spear.

81. *Why did He receive so many wounds?*

Our sins were many, therefore His wounds were many.

82. *You say that He died on the cross; did He remain long there?*

His body did not remain long on the cross.

83. *Who took Him down from the cross and buried Him?*

His disciples took Him down. They were sincere Christians and loved Him. They laid Him in a coffin and buried Him.

84. *Did His body remain long in the grave and decay, as our bodies will do?*

No: He abode two days in the grave; on the third day He rose again according to His own words, for He said: 'When you kill Me, when you have buried Me, then it shall appear that I am the Son of God; for on the third day I shall rise again'; and indeed He rose on the Sabbath, early in the morning.

85. *Why did Christ die on the cross?*

Because He desired to take away all the evil within us, and to do us good.

86. *From how many evils has He delivered us?*

From four:—1. Our sins. 2. The power of the Devil. 3. Death. 4. Hell fire.

87. *What good has His death brought to us?*

He has taken away our sins, reconciled us to God, and justified us before heaven, where we shall abide hereafter. He has also given us life eternal; for His death has opened heaven unto us, which our sins had closed.

88. *Is there any one else who can bring us to heaven?*

There is no one except Christ alone.

89. *If Christ died, will Christians also die? If Christ has risen, will Christians rise with Him?*

Yes: for as Christ died, so sin dies in the hearts of Christians; and seeing that Christ has risen, the souls of sincere Christians will rise with Him.

90. *Did Christ remain long on earth after He had risen from the dead, or did He soon ascend to heaven?*

No: He abode forty days on this earth.

91. *Why did He not immediately ascend to heaven? What did He do here on earth?*

He taught His disciples all that they should declare to the people of the whole world.

92. *Where did He go on the fortieth day?*

He ascended with His disciples into a high mountain, where He spoke to them for the last time; there He left them and ascended to God in heaven.

93. *Who ministered unto Him? Who took Him up into heaven?*

The clouds hid Him from the eyes of His disciples, and carried Him up to God.

94. *Is Christ no longer here upon earth according to His human nature?*

According to His human nature Christ no longer dwells here upon earth, for He ascended to heaven, and is seated on the right hand of God the Father; but, according to His divine nature, He dwells among us in all places.

95. *Why did Christ ascend to heaven?*

As Christ ascended to heaven, we are sure that He prays for us and reconciles us to God. His ascension likewise teaches us that we, too, shall ascend to heaven. Because Christ ascended, He no longer dwells personally with us; but He has sent His Holy Spirit, who leads us to believe in God, and who shows us the right way that we should follow.

96. *You say that, according to His human nature, Christ is dwelling in heaven; will He always remain there?*

No: He will not; for later He will again appear on earth.

97. *When will He come again?*

On the great day, on the day of judgment.

98. *What will He do when He comes again?*

At His coming, He will judge all men who have died, and also those who are then living.

99. *Who will be the judge?*

The Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was born of Mary, who suffered, died, rose again on the third day, and ascended to heaven.

100. *What will He judge?*

He will judge our works, our words, and our thoughts.

101. *Is the day, month, and year of His coming known to us?*

No: God has not told us when Christ will again appear, but has kept this a secret from us.

102. *When Christ comes again who will accompany Him?*

His servants the angels, many in number, with their trumpets and *schalmeyen*.

103. *What do you know concerning the souls of the Christians which have already been taken to heaven?*

They will return with Christ, and seek the bodies in which they formerly dwelt.

104. *If those bodies have passed into a state of corruption, and are again turned into dust, will they also rise again?*

Yes: they will rise; for when the trumpets of the angels sound, all men who have died shall rise again. Though their bodies have been cut into pieces by an enemy, though they have been drowned or burnt in the fire, they must all rise to judgment.

105. *Are there any others who will appear on that day of judgment?*

Yes: all the devils will appear, as also the souls of the wicked who are now in hell fire.

106. *What will Christ do when men appear before Him?*

He will sit on a great throne, and separate the godly from the ungodly.

107. *Where will He then place the godly, who have believed in Him, and have looked forward with many sighs to His return?*

He will place them with the angels on His right hand.

108. *Where will He place the wicked?*

On His left hand, among the devils.

109. *What will Christ say to the sincere Christians placed on His right hand?*

He will address them with kind words saying, 'Ye My children, ye Christians, who have believed in Me, and obeyed Me, enter into heaven, enter into My mansion which is lovely and beautiful, there to praise God. My servants, My angels: these are they whom I have baptized in My blood, and whom I have elected. Take them, body and soul, to heaven; show them the way leading to heaven. They shall be like unto yourselves, obeying God and singing His praises.' Then the angels shall take them up into heaven, unto the dwelling-place of God, there to enjoy life eternal.

110. *If now the godly and those who have believed in Christ go to heaven, where will all the wicked and those who have despised God remain?*

They will be thrust into hell, into the fire, to the dwelling-place of the devil. They will be cast into darkness; for they followed the devil and loved the darkness. They will be cast into the depths of the earth, where there will be great heat and great torment, with serpents and centipedes. Christ will say, 'Ye devils on My left hand! take all these men away that I have placed on My left hand. Like you, they are ungodly; they would not believe in Me nor obey My words. They have rejected My words and My commands; therefore I, too, will reject them. They shall always remain with you in hell; so you may be cruel to them, and reign over them; for they are your children. Depart from Me, ye disobedient, ye wicked ones; for I do not acknowledge you. Go into hell fire, prepared for you and for the devils.' After Christ has spoken these words, the devil will be excessively cruel to them, taking them and casting them into hell fire.

111. *What do you believe concerning the Holy Ghost?*

That He is one true God with the Father and the Son. He had no beginning, having been from all eternity; He has no end, for He remains unto all eternity. He is in heaven and here upon earth, and He also dwells in the hearts of the godly.

112. *Can we see Him?*

No: we cannot see Him; for He is like the wind. We cannot see God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, as we see the objects around us.

113. *Where does the Holy Ghost dwell?*

He dwells in the hearts of sincere Christians; for He loves the souls of Christians, whom Jesus Christ has baptized with His blood.

114. *Does He also dwell among the wicked, in the souls of the ungodly?*

No: He will not dwell in the souls of the wicked; He hates those who are defiled by sin.

115. *Seeing the ungodly have not the Holy Ghost, who is it that dwells among them and reigns over them?*

The devil is their captain. He is the father of lies, who loves all that is unclean; and, for this reason, he dwells with pleasure among the ungodly.

116. *As the Holy Ghost has taken the place of Christ's bodily presence here, what work does He carry on in the souls of Christians?*

Is he idle? He is very diligent in converting men. He takes away their darkness; He raises their minds to God, whose word He teaches them; He leads them to believe in Christ, and to think of God. He takes away their sins, and sprinkles their souls with the blood of Christ; and He also comforts us when we are afflicted and bowed down.

117. *If you now call diligently and zealously upon God in the name of Christ, does your mind then become refreshed as when the dew falls?*

Yes: certainly; it becomes refreshed.

118. *Who brings this about?*

It is the Holy Ghost who refreshes our hearts, just as water is brought to the thirsty one.

119. *If we have not the Holy Ghost, can we call upon God?*

No: we cannot; for the Holy Ghost puts into our hearts and mouths what we ought to say. He renews our minds; which are like iron, and as hard as a stone. We cannot believe the Word of God if the Holy Ghost does not enable us to believe.

120. *With whom does the Holy Ghost love to dwell?*

He loves especially those who fear God, who serve and honour Him, and who believe in Christ. He does not cease from helping such people.

121. *When will the Holy Ghost come to us?*

When we lead a life of piety, and continually call upon God, saying: 'Bestow upon us the Holy Ghost, that He may dwell in our hearts and minds.' If we daily say so, and forsake our sins, He will come unto us and soften our hearts, which are naturally as hard as a stone; He will comfort our minds when we are sad and perplexed; He will alter and convert us, teaching us to love God. He alone can cause the Word of God which the minister proclaims in church, to increase in our hearts.

122. *If you now love the Holy Ghost, and call unto God that He may send the Holy Ghost, how do you call, and what do you say to God? Let me just hear what you would say, and what words you would use.*

'Here I am, O God, I call upon Thee. Although my body is of the earth, although my soul is altogether defiled with sin—for my sins are without number,—yet Thou hast said, "Call upon Me without ceasing." Therefore, I call upon Thee and bend my knee unto Thee. I call unto Thee to send Thy Holy Ghost down upon me. Let Him always remain with me. I am laden with uncleanness, I am wicked; but He can take away my wickedness, all my sin, and all my uncleanness. He enlightens my mind, which is full of darkness. The Holy Ghost will plant Thy Word in my heart, make it increase, and raise it up. He will make me to love Thee. He will apply the blood of Christ to my soul, and baptize me with the same. He will refresh my heart. I shall no longer sin and despise Thy Word; for I fear Thee, as a child fears his father. Do not refuse to let Him dwell with me; then shall I not refrain from serving Thee in all uprightness, and from glorifying Thy name among men. Holy Ghost! Thou true God, hearken unto me. Take up Thy abode in my body, enter my dwelling, guide me, teach me the way of

God, the way wherein I should walk, that narrow and small path which leads to heaven; for the way is unknown to me. O God, my soul is blind and exceedingly weak, the road is slippery, and if the Holy Ghost takes me not by the hand, I shall fall. Therefore, take away my sloth and my feebleness; raise up and renew my heart. O Holy Ghost, cause me to call upon God, that I may speak to Him as my Father; for I know not how I should address God, unless Thou teachest me. If Thou dost now hearken unto my prayer, then I will not cease from daily praising Thee and glorifying Thee here upon earth, now, hereafter, and to all eternity. Amen.

123. *What do these words signify: 'I believe in the Christian Church which is found in all places where true and sincere Christians are'?*

I believe that many men are wicked and ungodly; but there are some whom God has elected, namely, those who are sincere Christians and who love God; and that in many places there are some who have been baptized by Jesus Christ the Son of God, and who meet together every Sabbath in the house of God to hear His Word.

124. *What then is the condition of those who, as you say, are sincere? Are their hearts still filled with uncleanness? Are they baptized?*

No: they are no more unclean; for Christ has taken away their sins by shedding His blood on the cross for them, and He has imparted unto them His goodness and righteousness.

125. *Are there many Christians? Can you count them?*

We cannot count them; as they are many whom God has elected, and as those who serve Him on earth have also been adopted as His children.

126. *Who acknowledges them? Who causes them to come together on the Sabbath in the house of God?*

Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

127. *Who are the persons whom Christ causes to come together in all places?*

Only those whom God has elected and adopted as His children, and whom He will hereafter take to heaven.

128. *Why has God chosen to elect some to dwell with Him hereafter in heaven? Why has He rejected some whom He will cast into hell?*

Thus hath He willed. Who can prescribe the law unto Him? Had He cast us one and all into hell no one could have ventured to say that He did wrong, since we have all sinned against Him. If God wills to take some persons to heaven, then He testifies His love to those He has elected.

129. *But tell me now, has God also elected you?*

Yes: I am a child of God. I am a sincere Christian; for I fear and love Him exceedingly, daily I praise and glorify Him, and I believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God; whence it is seen that He has elected me.

130. *Those whom God has adopted as His children, will they always remain His people and be the children of God?*

Yes: they will; for God the Father guards and preserves them, the Son of God has baptized them, and He continually prays for them in heaven. The

Holy Spirit dwells in their souls and never leaves them. When their bodies die, the angels will carry their souls to heaven.

131. *Can we know what distinguishes those who belong to this Christian Church?*

Yes: we can. They have a minister who teaches them the entire word of God in sincerity and purity; they keep the day of the Lord in their church; and they have the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. Such people are the people of God, and are sincere Christians.

132. *How does God regard them? Has He compassion on these Christians, on this church, on His people whom He has elected? Does He love them?*

Yes: He does.

133. *How many good things does He bestow upon them?*

Although we receive many good things, yet four of them excel all others when seen by the eye of faith.

134. *Mention them.*

- (1.) The possessions of Christ are the possessions of Christians.
- (2.) God takes away their sins.
- (3.) Their bodies shall rise again.
- (4.) They shall hereafter have eternal life in heaven.

135. *What do you mean when you say: 'I believe that the possessions of Christ are the possessions of Christians'?*

That the bodies of Christians, of sincere and true Christians, are like unto the body of Christ; for He is our head, and we Christians are His body.

136. *What benefits have Christians in common?*

They have God for their Father, who has adopted them as His children, and who keeps and preserves them. They have Christ, who has redeemed them. They have the Holy Ghost, who dwells in them. All that belongs to Christ is theirs; His beauty is their beauty; His sincerity, their sincerity; the house of Christ is their house. They are united as one, and hereafter they shall enter heaven; for they have all one faith. They have the same sacraments and the same love for each other; they also all love God, and look forward to the day when He will take them up into heaven. We can, therefore, truly say that the possessions of Christ have come to be the possessions of Christians.

137. *What other blessings has God conferred upon Christians?*

God takes away all their sins: some inherited from Adam and Eve; but very many of them their own.

138. *What is sin?*

It is a sin when we despise the Word of God and the ordinances He has given us in His Word, or when we cast behind our backs even one word of the ten commandments which He gave to us in times long past.

139. *If you serve the idols of heathenism and not the one true God, is not that sin?*

Yes: certainly; God has commanded in His Word, 'Thou shalt serve no strange gods, but Me only.' If now I serve strange gods, it is clear that I reject the Word of God.

140. *Have Christians also many sins?*

Yes: they have; their sins are many. Who can count his sins? they are as many as the hairs of the head, as the sand on the seashore.

141. *Does God take away all their sins?*

Yes: He pardons all their sins; He casts them behind His back into the depth of the sea. He ceases to be angry with us, and remembers our sins no more.

142. *Why will God take away sins?*

Because Christ has borne our punishment, and our sins in His body on the cross. Christ has paid the debt we owed to God. He baptizes our souls with His blood.

143. *If Christ had not borne the punishment in His body, would God have taken away our sins?*

We should have always remained full of sin; we should have had to give our bodies and our souls to God, to receive punishment in hell fire.

144. *Is there any one else who can take away our sins?*

No: God alone can take away our sins.

145. *Does God also take away the sins of those who are not Christians, and who do not believe in Christ?*

No: He does not; sin abides continually with them; Christ has not redeemed them; hereafter their bodies will suffer punishment in hell, for they have sinned and are ungodly.

146. *When does God take away sin?*

When Christians diligently call upon Him; are sorry and cast down because they have sinned; and daily cry out, 'O God, take away my sins.' When they pray thus, believe in Christ, desist from sinning, and become converted, God takes away their sin. Whenever Christ baptizes us with His blood which was shed, He also frees us from our uncleanness and sin.

147. *What other blessings does God impart unto the community of the saints?*

God will raise their bodies again, even although they be dead and already corrupted in the grave. Christ will also bring them forth to appear for judgment.

148. *When shall they rise again?*

When the trumpet of the angels shall sound.

149. *Shall this body of yours also rise?*

Yes: certainly; my body shall rise again. This my body that has served Him on earth shall serve Him in heaven: my flesh and my bones shall rise again.

150. *Where will the soul then remain?*

The souls of Christians, who in former times ascended to heaven when their bodies died, will descend here upon earth with Christ; then they shall all return to the bodies wherein they formerly dwelt.

151. *Who will cause them to rise again? Who will cause all the parts of their bodies, after having been turned into dust, to be joined together again?*

Our God, who made our bodies of the dust of the earth, will again restore our bodies after they have been turned into dust.

152. *Why will God cause those who have died in times past to rise again?*

To take some to heaven who have believed in Christ, and to cast those into hell fire who believed in the devil and did not love Christ.

153. *If our bodies hereafter rise again, shall we have to die first?*

Yes: every one must die; there being not one person who can escape death. Our ancestors died, and their posterity must also die.

154. *What is the reason why we must die?*

The sin of Adam and Eve. If our forefathers had remained upright, would we then have died? Therefore, it is because of sin that we must die.

155. *Does man know the day whereon he must die?*

No: certainly not; for although God has appointed the day whereon we must die, yet we are ignorant of that day, month, and year. But when the day of our death comes, we cannot escape it.

156. *When the body dies, does the soul then also die?*

No: the soul cannot die.

157. *Why does the soul not die like the body?*

Our soul is of God, and not of the earth as the body.

158. *Must we always bear in mind that one day we must die?*

Yes: for if we continually remember that we must die, we shall not be so ungodly and ready to sin, but continually think of God, and diligently serve Him.

159. *What other benefits does God confer on Christians?*

He gives them life eternal; He will hereafter take them to heaven; He will cause them to live in His house, which is large and cool.

160. *What do you know of your life here upon earth? Will it always last?*

No: I must once die; but after I am dead, my body will rise again and know nothing of death, for I shall thenceforth live for ever in eternity.

161. *What kind of abode is it in which Christians shall live hereafter for all eternity?*

They shall live in heaven, in the house of God, which is beautiful and full of light; for Christ has said, 'In My Father's house are many mansions; I will ascend and prepare a mansion for you.'

162. *Will that house be an enduring house?*

Yes: it cannot become old as our houses do; it is very high, and the ungodly cannot come near it. God also declares in His Word that no man on earth can say how beautiful it is; it being more resplendent than the sun.

163. *When Christians enter heaven where will they live?*

They will live with God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. With the angels they will praise God; they will see Him face to face. There will be the body of Christ, who died for us in times past. We shall be with our Brother if we have believed in Him; we shall be with the angels who always remained upright; we shall dwell with those who like ourselves have been sincere Christians, who here upon earth continually

served God. We shall be with our forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. We shall also be with Moses, the servant of God; with David, who always feared God. Who would not wish to live there always? All there are upright, and we shall dwell with them for ever in the house of God, in life eternal.

164. *What do you know of heaven? Is it a beautiful place? Shall we live there in perfect quiet and rest?*

Yes: we shall; Heaven is very beautiful, very lovely. Sickness, sorrow, difficulties, will be there unknown. There will be in heaven neither wounds nor pain, neither hunger nor poverty, nor any kind of labour. Our souls will be like the dew, always cool. No man can describe the beauty and loveliness of heaven. No eye has ever seen it; it has never entered the heart of man to say how beautiful heaven is. In heaven we shall daily honour, praise, and glorify God: there will be no other occupation for us in heaven.

165. *Will this loveliness and beauty be enduring, and will Christians always live there?*

Yes: they will; this beauty, this loveliness, these riches, will remain, and Christians will live there for ever. When many thousands of years have passed away, it will be the same as on the first day. True Christians shall live eternally in heaven.

166. *If true Christians will always live with God in heaven, What will be the fate of the wicked? Will they always live?*

Yes: they, too, shall live eternally; not in heaven, but in hell, in darkness, and in company with the devils.

167. *When will they enter hell?*

When their bodies have died God will cast their souls into hell among the devils, where they shall abide till the coming of Christ. On that day their bodies will rise again; and then God will cast them into hell, where they shall live unto all eternity.

168. *Where is hell? Where is that fire?*

Beneath the earth, in the depths of the earth, in darkness.

169. *Shall they dwell there?*

Yes: they shall dwell in the house of the devil, in the place of moaning and lamentation; because they rejected the Word of God. For that reason, God will cast them among devils.

170. *With whom will they dwell there?*

They will dwell with devils, and those who have sinned and have been ungodly. They will live among snakes and centipedes, which will bite them.

171. *How will it be there? Will it be very wretched?*

Yes, certainly: it will be very wretched and very dark. There will be no light. Its inmates will be always burning in flames as they suffer from hunger and thirst, and weep everlastingly. We cannot describe all the misery they will have to suffer in the fire.

172. *Shall they always remain in hell?*

Yes: as Christians will always dwell in heaven, so the wicked must always remain in hell. For hell will have no end, and those who are there cannot leave it to approach the place where God is. Therefore, I believe that the ungodly will always dwell with devils in the depths of hell, and with all those who like themselves have been ungodly, and have persisted in rejecting the Word of God. I believe, too, that all who have believed in Christ and who are God's children, will live unto all eternity in heaven.

173. *Who are the persons that will hereafter live with God?*

All who have been converted and who are upright in heart; who have believed the Word of God, and trusted in Christ according to the words of John iii. 16: 'For God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not go to hell, but enjoy life everlasting in heaven.'

174. *Whence comes this faith? Can we believe of ourselves?*

It comes from God; for man cannot believe of himself. God must give us that faith, for we cannot know Christ if God does not teach us to know Him. The Holy Ghost implants faith in our hearts. When we diligently give ear unto the preaching of the Word of God, be it at school or in His house, He causes our faith to increase; and the two sacraments serve also to strengthen it.

175. *Who are the persons that believe in God?*

Only the people and the children of God, whom He has chosen. God enables all such to believe.

176. *What do you know of the others? Do they also believe?*

The children of darkness and of the devil do not believe: they do not know Christ. On the contrary, they despise Him and reject His Word.

177. *If the Holy Ghost implants that faith, where does He implant it?*

He implants it in the hearts of Christians; leading them to believe.

178. *When we listen to the Word of God, does faith come then also?*

Yes: for the Word of God is very powerful. When God's servant speaks to us, the Holy Ghost comes and plants that faith in our hearts.

179. *Who has sent the ministers? Do they come of themselves?*

No: for the Son of God, Jesus Christ, their Head, has sent them. He has thus spoken to the ministers: 'Go unto the whole world; cause all men to hear My Word, make them acquainted with it, speak to them every Sabbath concerning God. Those who are converted and believe in Me, ye shall baptize in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.'

180. *What words are they to preach to us?*

God's Word only, which He has revealed in His book, the Bible. If they bring any other message to us, God will be angry with them.

181. *What are the words which they must teach and make known to us with all diligence?*

They must daily teach us to know Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Son of Mary, who died on the cross.

182. *Do people sin if they will not listen to the Word of God which the clergyman proclaims unto them?*

Yes: they certainly sin, and God will be angry with them. If they will not listen to His Word, God will not hearken unto them.

183. *If a person in church sleeps, or talks, or allows his heart to be filled with wicked thoughts, does he also sin?*

Yes: he commits a great sin, which God will write down in His book, and show to him on the day of judgment.

184. *If a man despises the servant of God, does he thereby despise God Himself?*

He does indeed. For clergymen are the servants of God; whoever disobeys them when they teach God's Word, disobeys God Himself.

185. *When are we to come and hear the Word of God preached?*

Every Sabbath day when we meet together in the house of God, we should listen diligently to His Word, and God also will listen when the Christians meet.

186. *But will mere listening to the Word of God increase our faith? Are there not other means of increasing our faith?*

The two Sacraments.

187. *Who instituted the sacraments?*

Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

188. *How many sacraments are there?*

Two.

189. *Mention them.*

The one is baptism, the other the Lord's supper.

190. *Why did Christ institute these sacraments?*

To strengthen the weak and feeble souls of true Christians.

191. *What do the sacraments show us?*

They show us the death of Christ on the cross.

192. *What is the sacrament of baptism?*

It is an ordinance of the Christians which Jesus Christ instituted, in which the minister baptizes the foreheads of the people in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

193. *What does the water signify?*

It signifies the blood of Jesus Christ, which He shed on the cross, and with which He has redeemed us.

194. *Why is it the will of Christ that the minister should baptize the people with water?*

As the water with which we wash takes away the uncleanness of our bodies, so the blood of Jesus Christ will take away the sins of our souls. Those sins make us unclean, but the blood baptizes our souls and cleanses them.

195. *When does Christ wash the souls of Christians with His blood?*

When the clergyman baptizes them, sprinkling their foreheads with water, in the name, etc.

196. *What is the condition of those whom the clergyman has not yet baptized?*

Their souls stink, and they are loathsome to God; for those sins are not yet taken away which cause them to stink in the presence of God.

197. *Who applies the blood of Christ to our souls?*

The Holy Ghost. He sprinkles our souls with that blood, He baptizes our souls with the blood of Christ.

198. *What is the condition of Christians when Christ has baptized them with His blood?*

They are pure and beautiful. When Christ baptizes them, He takes away all their sins with His own blood. Daily He renews them, He converts them, He teaches them to know God and to serve Him.

199. *Can the water of baptism take away the sins of men?*

No: the water cannot take away our sins; the blood of Christ alone can. That blood baptizes us, and heals our souls, which are sick and feeble.

200. *What kind of persons may the clergyman baptize?*

He should baptize those only who are true Christians, who serve God, who are converted, who believe in Christ and know Him. He ought not to baptize those who are still heathen and ungodly, who continue to reject the Word of God. This is what Christ has taught us.

201. *Is the minister to baptize adults only? May he not also baptize little children, who have not yet any understanding?*

Yes: he must also baptize the children of Christians; that is to say, the children of baptized Christian parents.

202. *Would it be right for him to baptize children of the heathen?*

No: he must not baptize them.

203. *Why does the minister baptize little children, who are as yet without understanding?*

Because like all adults they come into this world defiled by sin; their progenitors Adam and Eve having defiled them and caused them to sin.

204. *When the minister baptizes them are they then freed from sin?*

Yes: they are, according to the words of Christ; for when the minister baptizes the children, Christ baptizes them with His blood.

205. *Where do the souls of little children go, when they die after having been baptized?*

The children of Christians who die after having been baptized by a clergyman, are taken by God to heaven.

206. *When unbaptized children die, where do their souls remain?*

As long as sin abides with them, as long as Christ has not taken away their sins caused by the transgression of Adam, they cannot come to God, but go to hell among the devils.

207. *Do parents who are baptized sin if they do not bring their children to be baptized?*

Yes: they sin fearfully; because it is evident that, if they do not let their children be baptized, they do not love them, but prefer that they should go to hell; seeing that the souls of those who are not baptized with the blood of Christ which He shed upon the cross, must go to hell.

208. *After the minister has baptized us, must we endeavour to be converted to God and lead an upright life?*

Yes : certainly we must be diligent in loving and serving God. If we do not forsake sin God will be very angry. If, after having been baptized, we again return to former uncleanness, God will cast us with that uncleanness into hell, to dwell among devils.

209. *Who has instituted the other sacrament which we call the Lord's supper ?*

Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

210. *What is the Lord's supper ?*

It is a Christian ordinance instituted by the Son of God, Jesus Christ, in which the minister presents Christians with bread and wine.

211. *What is the minister to present to true Christians ?*

He shall give them to eat bread that is broken, and he shall give them wine to drink.

212. *Why did Christ, at the close of His life, offer bread and wine to His disciples ?*

Because they were to do so in remembrance of Him. 'That bread,' He said, 'is like My body. When you see that broken bread, remember also My body which was broken on the cross. When you drink that wine, you shall think of My blood which was shed upon the cross. For as men are strengthened when they eat bread and drink wine, so also My body and My blood shall strengthen your souls.' Thus Christ spoke.

213. *When you eat of the bread which the minister presents to you, and drink of the wine, will the body of Christ be as meat, and His blood as drink unto you ?*

Yes : according to His promise ; for He has declared to us in His Word : 'When Christians eat of the bread presented by the minister, I will give them My flesh to eat and My blood to drink, and I will also strengthen their souls.' Thus has He spoken.

214. *What does Christ mean when He says we are to eat of His flesh and drink of His blood ?*

The saying means that, if you believe in Christ, it is the same as if you ate Christ's body. It will then appear that He will take away all your sins ; for the Holy Ghost will come unto you, and dwell with you to all eternity.

215. *To whom did Christ in times past first present this bread which signifies His body ?*

His twelve disciples.

216. *At what time of the day did He offer that bread ?*

After sunset, at night, before He was bound by the cruel Jews.

217. *Who has recorded and described this ordinance unto us ?*

The Apostle Paul, in 1 Cor. xi., saying, etc.

218. *Can this bread and wine heal our souls ?*

No : only the body and blood of Christ can strengthen our souls.

219. *Why will Christ give us bread and wine to eat and drink at the Supper ?*

In order that we may remember His loving-kindness unto us. It appears that the apple which grew in the midst of Paradise, and whereof Adam and Eve partook, has caused us to be defiled ; but if we now eat of the flesh of the

body of Christ and drink of His blood, then our souls will be healed; for Christ will heal us with His body and with His blood.

220. *What do you understand by the words: 'To eat the body of Christ and to drink His blood'? Can we actually eat His body?*

No: we cannot actually with our mouths eat His body and drink His blood; but when we come unto Him and believe in Him, we eat His body and drink His blood.

221. *Since we cannot actually eat His body, is there any other way whereby we can partake of the body of Christ?*

Yes: for all Christians spiritually partake of His body.¹ In a spiritual way, we can eat of the body of Christ and drink of His blood.

222. *How then does the soul partake of His body and of His blood?*²

By faith: for those who believe in Him eat His body, and those who come to Him drink His blood.

223. *Why did Christ institute the Supper?*

To strengthen the weak and tender souls of true Christians.

224. *To whom may the clergyman present this bread and wine? May he do so quite at random?*

No: he may not. The clergyman may give them only to those who are sincere and upright Christians and children of God, those who continually love and praise God.

225. *How shall it then be with the ungodly and those who will not forsake sin?*

Such persons may not approach this table; for they do not desire Christ, and Christ does not desire them.

226. *If any who are not upright Christians, but heathen in their hearts, approach that table and partake of that bread, will God be angry with them?*

Yes: God will be exceedingly wroth with them for having mocked at Him. He will cast them into hell fire.

227. *In what state of mind must those persons be who approach this table?*

They must first try themselves, and see what manner of thought they have. If they are not sincere; if sin has still dominion over them; if they are disobedient, unconverted, and without fear of God, they may not partake of this bread. But if they remember their sins, if they repent of those sins, and are truly sorry they have committed them; if they believe in Christ, that He will take away their sins; if hereafter they sincerely intend to lead a life that will be pleasing unto God, continually loving and praising him, they may approach that table. On such persons Christ will have compassion; He will give them to partake of His body and to drink of His blood; and He will deliver them from all their sins.

228. *If Christians have searched their hearts, and feel afflicted and sorry that they have sinned and have despised God's Word, but desire henceforth to love Christ*

¹ Literally: all Christians have a soul with a mouth.

² Literally: what kind of mouth has the soul got?

and believe in Him, and continually to serve God, will this food strengthen their faith?

Yes: by it, their weak faith will thereby be strengthened and increased; it will make their souls sincere, and lead them to remember God.

229. *Do Christians commit sin if they do not partake of this bread and drink of this wine?*

Yes: they sin exceedingly; they thus show their disobedience; that they are like their forefathers, who despised the Word of God; for when God said 'Thou shalt not eat of the fruit growing in the midst of the garden,' they nevertheless did eat thereof. So when Christ, the Son of God, says, 'Eat of My body and drink of My blood and believe in Me,' and we will not eat, will not drink, it becomes very manifest that we are disobedient.

230. *May those persons who do not sincerely repent of their sins, who evidently do not believe in Christ, and who love neither God nor man, partake of this bread?*

No: they may not partake of the bread; for they do not love the one true God. He who hates his brother, he who is angry with him in his heart, may not approach that table. Therefore they who partake of this bread and wine must love one another.

231. *God will grant us still more benefits; for His love towards us is great. God the Father sent His Son unto us here upon earth; the Son of God, Jesus Christ, came into this world to die for us, and the Holy Ghost does not cease from doing us good. Is it not, therefore, our duty to love God in return for this?*

Yes: it is; if God grants us so many benefits, we ought to love Him and serve Him, body and soul, without ceasing.

232. *Is it acceptable to God when we bring unto Him, as our forefathers did, offerings of swine, cooked rice, and pinang?*

No: God will be angry with those who serve Him as the heathen do.

233. *What, then, shall we render unto God? What does He desire?*

God's desire is that we should desist from sin, be converted, and become upright. God wishes us daily to humble ourselves before Him, and diligently to call upon Him.

234. *You say that God desires us to be converted. What do you mean by being converted? When is a person converted?*

We are converted when God takes away our crooked thoughts, and when we desist from evil and obey the Word of God. We are converted when we become sincere; when we abandon all sinful heathenish customs, and when we duly regard the Word of God and the ordinances instituted by Him.

235. *What should be the state of your mind when you say that you wish to forsake all those unclean things which originated in the fall of Adam and Eve? Ought you not to feel sorry for the sins you have committed?*

Yes: and I am truly sorry that I have sinned, that I have provoked God my Father and despised His Word.

236. *Will you leave off sinning if you really repent of your sins?*

Yes: we must forsake sin, and daily serve God with diligence.

237. *Do we act rightly, if, while desisting from sin, we do no good, and do not obey God's Word as revealed in His book?*

How would that be acting rightly? God desires that we should obey His Word, and serve Him without ceasing. We must love the ordinances and commands of God; for in His book He teaches us that we shall rise again from our sins as Christ rose from the grave.

238. *Can we convert ourselves and become upright, so that God need not do this for us?*

No: we cannot. If God says to us, 'Be converted,' we must respond by saying, 'Convert Thou me, O God, and make me upright; for only then shall I be converted and be made upright.'

239. *How is it that we cannot convert ourselves?*

Because there is no soundness whatever in us; because we are blind and dead through the sin of Adam and Eve. There is not one who can do good or think aright.

240. *By what word must I be guided in order to be converted?*

By the Word of God and His Book.

241. *Are there many words in His Book, the Bible?*

Yes: the words that God has revealed unto us are very many. His Book is a large one.

242. *How many words did God give us in the beginning?*

Ten.

243. *How did God give us these ten words? Did He write or paint them?*

Yes: He painted and wrote them with His own hand on two thin, large, and long stones, like tables.

244. *How many words did God write on these stones?*

He put four words on one stone and six on the other, making ten altogether.

245. *Who was the man who received these two stones from God?*

Moses, the servant and friend of God, who spoke with God in His presence. It was he who received those stones, who showed and gave them to the people.

246. *Are all these ten words from God?*

Yes: they are; for God spoke all these words.

247. *Mention the four words of the first table.*

'I am the Lord thy God,' etc., I.-IV.

248. *Mention the six words which He wrote on the other stone.*

'Honour thy father,' etc., V.-X. These are the six words which God placed on the other table. If the words on both tables be added together, we have the ten words which God gave in the beginning.

249. *What does the first commandment teach us, which says: 'I am the Lord thy God'?*

That commandment teaches me that I must acknowledge Him as the only God, honour Him alone, serve Him alone with my heart, and that Him alone I must love; for there is no other God but Him alone, who has created all things.

250. *Are there others upon whom we shall call?*

There are no others; for though there be angels, though there be men, though there be heathen gods, God's wrath will be great against those who call upon strange gods and not Him alone. God has commanded us in His Word to 'Cast away the idolatry of the heathen and their unclean customs and hypocrisies, which are of the devil.'

251. *To whom shall we go, to whom shall we speak, when we are weary and heavy laden?*

We must go to God alone, for He will hear us in times of sorrow and distress.

252. *Do Christians sin greatly who halt between two opinions and love strange and heathen gods?*

Yes: God will be exceedingly wroth against those who do not love Him alone.

253. *What will God do unto such when they die?*

He will be angry with them here upon earth; and after their death, He will cast them into hell and darkness, to be with their father, who is ungodly like themselves; for they cannot enter heaven, seeing they have served strange gods, and not the one true God.

254. *What does God teach us when He says: 'Thou shalt not make to thyself any image'?*

This second commandment teaches us that we must serve Him only, submit to His Word and obey His ordinances; and that we must not sacrifice unto stones or any such thing, but serve him alone with our minds and hearts.

255. *If we take heed to the cry of birds, or to dreams, will God be angry with us?*

Yes: He will be very angry. What are the birds to you, that you should listen to their cries? What are dreams to you, that you should give heed to them? We must submit ourselves to His command which He has revealed in His Word.

256. *What will God say to our sacrificing swine, rice, pinang, and syri?*

He will be greatly incensed against us. 'Why cast away your beverage and your food? Am I a man to be hungry? Am I one who must eat and drink? Your body and your soul are the sacrifices I desire. If you do not forsake the worship of strange gods, I will send famine, and make your fields like a stone and the sky like iron. I will not let the clouds give you any rain; because you do not serve Me alone according to My Word.'

257. *In what way must we serve God, seeing He rejects all heathen sacrifices?*

We must bring Him the sacrifice of our bodies and of our souls; and remember Him only, and daily call upon Him; for He is the only true God, and strange Gods are of the devil. We should therefore bring to Him the sacrifice of our hearts, and daily humble ourselves before Him.

258. *What does this saying of God mean: 'Thou shalt not take the name of God in vain'?*

It means this: Ye people, if you wish to speak with God and call upon Him, approach Him with a humble mind, address Him with fear, call diligently and seriously upon Him; approach Him with a serious mind, do not despise Him and mock at His ordinances. When you come unto Him, be humble and full of fear.

259. *Does a man sin when he is intoxicated and takes the name of God in vain?*

Yes: he does; for that is a great sin. God will punish those who take His name in vain.

260. *If you hear any one take the name of God in vain, but remain silent and do not correct him, will God be angry with you?*

Yes: He will; for I shall be like to the one who sins.

261. *If God now wishes us not to take His name in vain, what are we to do?*

God desires that we glorify Him in our words and deeds.

262. *What is meant when we speak of rendering glory unto God in words?*

Christians glorify the name of God with the words proceeding out of their mouths:

(1.) When they are not ashamed to let their fellow-men hear that they believe in God.

(2.) When they call upon His name.

(3.) When they praise God for benefits received.

263. *Can we too glorify God?*

Yes: we glorify Him if our words are consistent with our deeds, and we follow His ordinances; if we, as children of God, love God from the heart.

264. *Do not those who are Christians, and also teachers of the Word of God, commit great sin if they live like heathen, and do not cease from despising the Word of God?*

Yes: none should rashly use the name of God, for God will be very angry with them; seeing that they deceive other people who do not yet know God. They lead those into sin who are still heathen, and cause them to despise God.

265. *What do the words of the fourth commandment teach us?*

They teach us that, when six days have elapsed and the seventh day commences, we must then cease from our work and attend to the things of God, seek Him in His church, hear and respond to His Word, by petition and by praise.

266. *Why must man rest from his labour?*

Because God Himself rested on that day; for in six days He created all things and on the seventh day ceased from His work. In His Word He commands us to follow His example.

267. *Do those then sin who, even after sunset, go into the woods to fetch wood, who draw water, or go a-fishing?*

Yes: they do; for God has said, 'Thou shalt serve me all day long.'

Has He also said: 'Only half the day'? Therefore those sin who go secretly into the fields and do any work on that day, even after sunset.

268. *Why do we rest on the Sunday?*

Because Christ rose on that day. Therefore we should remember every Sunday the uprising of Christ from His sleep.

269. *Do those persons also sin who, although they do not go into the fields, remain quietly at home, passing their time in sleep, without attending God's house to hear His Word?*

Yes: they do; God has said, 'Ye shall every Sunday come together in My house to listen to the words of the clergyman. On that day, ye shall serve Me, and call upon Me with all the other Christians, and there humble yourselves in My presence.'

270. *What about those persons who, on Sunday, go to other villages to sell their wares? Do not they also cast the Word of God behind their backs?*

Yes: they do; because they endeavour to sell their wares, but neglect to seek God. For this reason the elders must censure them.

271. *Do not those reject the Word of God who, when in church, are sleepy, or who go to sleep, or talk; not listening to the clergyman?*

Yes: for they do not give heed to the Word of God.

272. *Why do we keep the Sunday?*

God has commanded us to do so, and it was on the seventh day that God rested. True Christians should come together in God's house to serve Him; for, if we serve Him, He also will serve us during the other six days, going with us into the fields, and giving us strength to be diligent in our work.

273. *What will God do to those who profane the Sabbath, who do nothing but work, or who go into the fields to fetch wood?*

God will fill their fields with weeds; He will not guard them, but will cause all kinds of animals to ravage them; and command the worms to destroy the seed.

274. *What does God teach us in the fifth commandment, when He says, 'Honour thy father and thy mother'?*

It is as if He had said: 'Ye children, be obedient and submissive to your father and mother, and to the Authorities. Do not disobey them; do not despise them; do not mock at them.'

275. *Who is our father and who is our mother?*

Those who have brought us up, those who rule over us and are older than we are.

276. *Will God be angry with a child who despises his father and mother when they are old?*

Yes: He will; that child shall not live long who insults his parents.

277. *What is the duty of a father towards his child?*

To bring him up in the fear of God; to let him become acquainted with the Word of God; and to send him to school.

278. *What does God command in the sixth commandment?*

That we are not to kill any one; either in thought or by our words, our gestures, or our hands. We must not be angry with any one without cause, but rather be well-inclined and loving to every one.

279. *Can we kill any one in thought?*

We kill our brother in thought when we hate him in our heart, or when we are angry with him. God has forbidden us to hate our brother.

280. *Can we kill any one with our mouth or with our tongue?*

Yes: we can; we do so when we say that we wish any one were dead, or when we envy any one very much.

281. *Will God be angry with those who practise abortion?*

Yes: for such a woman rejects His Word and kills her own body. God will be very angry with those who murder their own children.

282. *Do the Authorities sin who cause a person to be put to death for having committed a great crime?*

No: for God has commanded them to have no compassion on any one who has committed murder.

283. *What does God teach us in the seventh commandment?*

God here forbids all adultery and fornication, the use of obscene words and idle talk of the heathen, and the harbouring of evil thoughts. In effect, He says: 'Ye men, be satisfied with one wife; ye women, with one husband. Do not think of others; let your eye and your mind be clean; for is not your body the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost? Keep your body fair; do not stain your soul, and cause the Holy Ghost, who dwells in you, to depart.'

284. *Must those marry who are unmarried?*

Yes: for God has taught them in His Word to do so.

285. *What will God do unto those who commit adultery and fornication, and will not marry?*

He will cast adulterers and prostitutes, with all who will not cease from committing their sins, into hell fire.

286. *What does God teach us by these words, when He says, 'Thou shalt not steal'?*

That we must not take what belongs to our brother or to any one else, but have compassion on him.

287. *What is it that leads people to steal?*

Idleness and poverty. If men do not diligently labour in the fields, then they begin to think of stealing.

288. *What does this mean, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy brother'?*

It is as much as to say, 'Ye men, despise not your brother, nor say anything that is untrue behind his back.'

289. *Does a person commit sin when he utters a lie?*

Yes: he does; for God hates a lie: He abhors our not telling the truth. We must always speak the truth to every one.

290. *Why has God forbidden us to lie, and to deceive others?*

Because the devil is the father of lies, and God is very angry with those who lie. When they die, they will not go to heaven, but to hell.

291. *What does God teach us in the tenth commandment?*

That we must not let such thoughts enter into our hearts as are displeasing to God; that we should struggle against sin, and love what God loves, and hate what God hates.

292. *Has God forbidden us to have pure thoughts?*

No: He has not; but He has forbidden us to harbour unclean thoughts that do not accord with His Word. He has also forbidden us to have thoughts that are of the devil.

293. *Is there any one who can obey and fulfil these ten commandments?*

No: there is no one; for as long as we live here upon earth, sin cleaves unto us, however upright we may be. Indeed, we daily break these commandments of God, and sin without ceasing.

294. *In what place will sin cease?*

In heaven: we shall no longer sin after God has taken us to heaven.

295. *But why does God command His servants to teach these ten commandments, if we cannot perfectly fulfil or obey them?*

It is the will of God that these words should be taught us, that we may see our sinfulness, how sin has defiled us, and how manifold our sins are. We thus learn to believe in Christ, and to go to Him that we may be baptized with His blood. The doctrine of these ten commandments calls us to praise God, that He may send His Holy Spirit to renew us.

296. *But do true Christians, though continually sinning, resemble the ungodly who sin greatly? Tell me what the real difference is between the children of God and the children of the devil, though both commit sin.*

There is a great difference between the children of God and the children of the devil:

- (1.) Although the children of God continue to commit sin, yet Christ has baptized them, so that sin might not have dominion over them. It is quite otherwise with the children of the devil, who commit many sins; for Christ has not baptized them, and sin has complete dominion over them.
- (2.) A child of God knows that he has sinned, and is therefore afflicted; but the children of the devil are not.
- (3.) Christians hate their sins; but the children of the devil love their sins, and delight in sinning.
- (4.) Though a child of God may commit sin, still he repents and turns unto God as his refuge. But the ungodly do not repent, and feel no sorrow for having committed sin.
- (5.) A child of God sincerely loves the Word of God; the children of the devil do not love the Word of God, nor do they inquire after God or after His Word.
- (6.) A Christian diligently seeks after God; a heathen runs after sin with much delight. This is the great difference between the two.

297. *Does God require anything more of us than that we should repent and be converted?*

Yes: He desires that we should continually call upon Him; for He says, 'Call upon Me continually.'

298. *Do those despise the Word of God who rise in the morning, lie down at night, and begin their meals as the heathen do, neither calling upon God nor thinking of Him, like the animals?*

Yes: they sin exceedingly, and are just like beasts. God will be very angry with them, seeing that they are like the dumb, who have no tongues.

299. *Why must we call upon God?*

Because He has commanded us to do so in His Word. He says: 'Call earnestly upon Me every day.' Also, we are very poor and very hungry; and if we do not pray to Him, will He send anything down to us?

300. *What will God do unto us if we call upon Him?*

He will send down the Holy Spirit upon us, who will dwell in our hearts, and teach us to pray. If we call upon Him, He will be well pleased with us; for by calling upon Him we also praise Him.

301. *What must we bear in mind when we call upon God?*

We must order our thoughts in some such way as this: I am going to speak unto this great God, who is before me, and on my right hand. If perchance I behave improperly, if I do not approach Him with fear, will He hear me? I fear He would be very soon angry with me; that if I speak to Him without previous consideration and without due reverence, He would be displeased with me. Therefore, I will be very humble; for my body is of the earth: I will humble myself before Him; for there is none greater than this God.

302. *Will He be pleased if we serve Him with our mouths only? Must our hearts also speak when we call upon Him?*

Yes: as it is our hearts that He desires to have. Therefore, let us call upon Him from the heart; because, if we do not call upon God with all our heart, He will not hear us though we call upon Him all day long.

303. *Will God hearken unto those who do not cease from sinning?*

He will not hearken unto the calling of the ungodly.

304. *What must be the condition of the heart of those who wish to call upon God?*

God does not desire a crooked, but an upright heart: that our mouths should speak the language of our hearts. He will not listen to those whose hearts are crooked, and who are unstable.

305. *Can those who do not know God, call upon Him?*

No: if we do not know Him, we cannot call upon Him aright.

306. *Must those who call upon Him be sorrowful in heart?*

Certainly: for God will hearken only to those who call upon Him with diligence and in sincerity, whose hearts are filled with sorrow and humility, and who feel ashamed and afraid to appear before Him, because they have sinned and despised His Word. But God will renew the hearts of those who turn

in all sincerity from their wicked ways, and who desire to abandon their sins.

307. *Will God listen unto those who, though they call upon Him, do not believe in Him?*

On no account; if they do not believe in God, He certainly will not listen to them.

308. *Why do you humble yourself, bend your knee, fold your hands, and cast down your eyes, when you call upon God?*

By this attitude I give evidence of my shame and my fear before God; but should my heart be filled with pride, I cannot stand before Him, for I have caused Him to be angry with me. If we are humble and fear God, He will listen unto us.

309. *Will He listen to us if we pray unto Him in thought only?*

Yes: for He knows our thoughts, He sees through us, and hears the sighs we send up to Him.

310. *Upon whom must we call?*

We must call upon God only, and upon none else; for He is the only true God and His command is, 'Call upon Me only.'

311. *When we call upon God, through whom and in whose name must we call?*

In the name of Christ, and in that name alone; for God has said, 'I will listen to him only who comes unto Me in the name of my Son Jesus Christ.'

312. *When must we call upon Him?*

We must call upon Him without ceasing and with great diligence, every day, every night, in the morning when we rise, and at night when we lie down, and also when we eat and drink.

313. *What must you say when in the morning you call upon Him?*

O God, who dwellest in heaven, Thou art the only true God. Thou hast created heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is. I praise Thy name that Thou hast guarded and kept me during the night; that Thou hast kept far away from me all murderers, thieves, and incendiaries. Thou causest me to rise; for behold light cometh, and I will now go forth. I go unto my fields, or into the woods, I know not whither. Grant me Thy Holy Spirit, that He may go with me and lead me. Let Thy servants the angels attend me, that they may take the serpents out of my way, and the thorns out of my path. Suffer me not to become sick and feeble; but give me strength. O my heavenly Father, shall I not turn unto Thee, though thou knowest that I am full of sin; that my sins are innumerable, in number like unto the worms of the earth, like unto the sand on the sea-shore, like unto the number of stars in the firmament. I will repent, O my Father. Remember not my sins; hide them from Thy countenance; cast them behind Thy back. Remember not my sins for the sake of Thine only Son Jesus Christ, who redeemed me, and who died for me, giving His body as a ransom on the cross. Behold His blood, which He shed for us on the cross, and whereby we are redeemed. Count His wounds, so many in number. Behold those wounds in His head, in His back, in His hands, in His feet, in His side. Thou wilt surely no longer be angry

with us; for Thy Son has not died for us in vain. He has borne the punishment for our sins and the crookedness of our hearts; reconciled us unto Thee; placed us again in Thy presence; and opened heaven unto us, that heaven which would have remained closed against us on account of our sins. I will not cease from praising Thee and from glorifying Thy name as long as I live here upon earth; and when I die, I shall not forget to magnify Thy name unto all eternity, when I am dwelling with Thy servants, the angels, in heaven. These now are the words that I speak unto Thee; turn not a deaf ear unto me, turn not Thy back upon me; for I call unto Thee in the name of Jesus Christ. O God my Father, listen unto the words that Thy Son Jesus Christ taught us while He was here upon earth, saying, 'Our Father,' etc.

314. *What do you say in your evening prayer, when you lie down to rest?*

Thou God, who dwellest in heaven, our only true and eternal God, who hast made heaven and earth, the sea and all things living therein, we praise Thy holy name, and thank Thee that Thou hast driven away the serpents out of the way, and taken away the thorns that were in our path. I will now lie down and go to sleep. Night is come, and I am tired; for I have laboured in the fields, and visited the forest, without knowing sometimes whither I went. Give me sweet and refreshing sleep; and free me from all fears. Guard me from the devil. And if perchance there be any ungodly persons desirous of stealing, of murdering, or of committing incendiarism, prevent Thou them, and chase them away. When Thou rememberest my sins (etc., as in the morning prayer).

315. *What must you say when you eat at meals?*

My only and true God, I will now partake of this meat and drink which Thou hast given; for Thou hast sent them down unto me. I am hungry: satisfy Thou my hunger. Strengthen Thou my body and make it beautiful; as then I shall be strong, and able to labour diligently in the field. But do not feed my body only. Nourish my soul too with Thy heavenly Word, the food of our souls; then I shall not cease daily to praise Thee, here upon earth, and hereafter in heaven.

316. *When you have partaken of meat, what should you say?*

My God, my Father, I render praise unto Thee for giving me meat and drink, and that my body is now fed and refreshed. Forget not, we pray Thee, to feed us daily; for then we shall have strength of body to labour with diligence in our fields. But do not strengthen our bodies only with meat; quicken our hungry and weary souls with Thy divine Word, which is their true meat, enduring to all eternity. Then shall I not cease to praise Thee and Thy loving mercy. I will praise Thee, O God, here upon earth, and hereafter unto all eternity in Thy house, which is cool and beautiful. Amen.

317. *Who has taught us these words, 'Our Father which art in heaven'?*

The Son of God, Jesus Christ.

318. *When did He teach us these words?*

In times past, when He was yet upon earth.

319. *To whom did He first teach these words?*

He first taught them to His disciples, the twelve apostles. He then spoke thus, 'You, My disciples, when you speak to God, let Him hear these words, and He will be well inclined towards you.'

320. *Who is our Father in heaven?*

God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost.

321. *Why do we address Him as God the Father?*

He is our Father inasmuch as He created us: He gave us our bodies and our souls, therefore He is the Father of all mankind. He is the Father of Christians, whom He has adopted as His children, having delivered them from the bonds of Satan. I address Him as my Father, because He loves us as a father loves His child.

322. *Why do you say 'Our Father,' and not 'My Father'?*

Is He my Father only? He is the Father of all men who are His children and who serve Him. He is the Father of the rich and the poor: He is the Father of the great and the small.

323. *If we have one Father, have we then many brethren?*

Yes: we have; we are like the children of one father, of one family, if we love the Christians, who are our brothers and sisters.

324. *What do these words signify when you say, 'Our Father'?*

'O God, I am Thy child; I now appear before Thee; I call upon Thee and address Thee. Have compassion upon me and hear me as a father hearkens unto His child, and be thus minded towards me; for I love and fear Thee as a child.' This is the signification of these words.

325. *Does God dwell in heaven only?*

God is everywhere; here below, there above, in every place.

326. *Why then do you say, 'in heaven'?*

That signifies that although He is everywhere, yet His chief abode is in heaven; for heaven is His house, and the earth His footstool. Hence we must think of heaven; and in heaven we must seek God.

327. *Are there any other gods upon whom we may call?*

No: we may only call upon the Father, the one God; that is, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.

328. *What does this signify, 'hallowed be Thy name'?*

It amounts to saying, 'Teach us to know Thee, O God; let us praise Thee, let all men praise and magnify Thy name. Hast Thou created man in vain? Shall men grow up in vain? Therefore all men in all places must praise Thee; for Thou hast set them here upon earth, in order that they may praise and magnify Thee. It is therefore unseemly if men neglect to praise God.'

329. *Can we praise God here upon earth?*

Yes: we can; for we praise God in our words and in our deeds when we employ our mouths to glorify Him, when we sing to His honour, believe His Word, and endeavour to convert other men and to make them upright.

330. *What do you mean by saying, 'praise Him in our deeds'?*

We must teach the people that this God whom we serve is the Almighty God; that He is upright, and that He loves those who praise Him.

331. *Do Christians praise God when they are wicked and despise the Word of God?*

They dishonour the name of God.

332. *Do clergymen in their endeavours to teach the people from God's Word, and to convert them, also praise God?*

They praise and glorify God; for they teach the people to praise God. God will love them exceedingly; for hereafter, in heaven, their reward will be great.

333. *What does this mean, 'In Thy kingdom may Thy people be many in number'?*

Its meaning is expressed as follows: O God, enrich and enlarge Thy kingdom; take the people who live in darkness out of the kingdom of the devil, and place them in thy kingdom; for then there will be many who will praise Thee.

334. *How many great kingdoms are there; for you say, 'in Thy kingdom'?*

There are two great kingdoms.

335. *To whom do those kingdoms belong?*

One belongs to God; the other to the devil. The one is called the kingdom of light; the other the kingdom of darkness. God is chief and governor in His kingdom; the devil is captain in His kingdom.

336. *Which kingdom is most populous, God's kingdom or the devil's kingdom?*

In the kingdom of the devil are many ungodly and many wicked men; but few are the true Christians, and the children of God who really serve Him. Therefore we must understand those words in this way: 'If thou desirest that people should praise Thee, cause them to return to Thy kingdom; unloose the chains of those who are bound in the kingdom of the devil; let Thy light enlighten those that are living in darkness; adopt those who are the children of the devil as Thine own children; teach them to know Thee and to believe in Christ. Then many people will enter Thy kingdom; and when we all are in Thy kingdom we shall not be there in vain, we shall not be mute, but in Thy house and in our houses we shall praise Thee.'

337. *What do you mean when you say, 'Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven'?*

It is as much as to say: 'O God, I do not desire to follow my own will, but to submit to Thy will. Let me be like the angels dwelling in Thy house; for they are willing and diligent in praising Thy name. If now we are like unto Thy servants the angels, who do not cease from praising Thee and believing in Thee, then indeed Thy will will be done.'

338. *Is the will of God done also in heaven?*

Yes: it is; for none there despise the Word of God. All there are holy; for all are the servants of God. All the angels and the souls of departed Christians in heaven love and praise God.

339. *Is the will of God done also here upon earth?*

No: for we commit many sins. Though we are Christians, yet we often neglect His Word.

340. *What do you mean when you say, 'Give us this day our food'?*

It means this: 'O God, if Thou hast not pity on our bodies, will they then remain beautiful? How can we continue to live if Thou dost not give us meat and drink when we are hungry and thirsty? How shall we clothe ourselves if Thou dost not cover us? Though we be diligent, shall we have lands and fields if Thou dost not supply us with them? I am Thy child, give me what is necessary for the support of my body; for all that man possesses comes from Thy hand: Thou makest man rich; Thou makest him poor.'

341. *Why do you say, 'this day'?*

Shall I say to-morrow, or the day after to-morrow? If I say 'this day' then I remember also the day when I must die. Shall we live always here upon earth? Who is there that must not die? Our forefathers died first; we too must die. When the day comes which God has appointed, we shall not be able to go beyond it.

342. *'Cancel our debts, as we also do those of others.' What is the meaning of that?*

It is like saying: O God, do as we do. If any one transgresses against us, we forgive him his transgressions. Act like this toward us; for our sins are many, as many as the hairs upon our heads. Take our sins all away, as we do those of others. Remember them not, for we remember not the sins of those who have offended us.

343. *Will God thus take away our sins?*

Yes: He will forgive the sins of Christians, who believe in Christ and who praise Him; for Christ has suffered and become our ransom; He shed His blood for us. If we turn unto God in all sincerity and uprightness, if we believe in Jesus, then God will take away all our uncleanness, and cast it into the depths of the sea. It will not be in vain that the minister has baptized with water; for the blood of Christ cleanses the soul from sin. Still, if Christ does not baptize us, we shall remain defiled by sin. God will forgive us all our sins for Christ's sake.

344. *If any one has sinned against us, or if our brother has offended and despised us, and we always remember this, continue to be resentful, and do not forgive the sin, will God be angry with us?*

Yes: He will; for he who hateth his brother, who continues to be angry with him and will not be reconciled unto him, does not belong to the people of God. He is a child of the devil; God will not forgive his sins.

345. *What do you mean when you say, 'Lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from the devil'?*

'Thou, our only God, Thou knowest how weak and feeble we are; for we are all like children. What other place of refuge have we got? We have many enemies who seek after us, who desire to get possession of our souls. Among other enemies there is the devil and many ungodly men; even our

own hearts and our own flesh incite us to evil. If Thou dost not strengthen us, if Thou dost not guard us by the Holy Ghost, the devil will come again and take us from Thee; whereas we wish always to remain Thy children.

346. *Why is the devil always so cruel towards us who are Christians?*

Because we have forsaken and rejected him. He hates all those who praise and serve God.

347. *But though he seeks the Christians, can he cause them to return again unto him?*

No: he cannot; for God preserves them, and He is stronger than the devil.

348. *Are there many devils?*

Yes: there are many. Who can count them?

349. *Over whom has the devil dominion?*

He has dominion over those souls that are in his house, in hell fire. Here upon earth he has dominion over all those who are his children, over all the ungodly, those who reject the Word of God.

350. *What does this mean, 'Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen'?*

It is like saying: 'O God, though my enemies are many and bold, though they are powerful and war against me, yet Thou art more powerful than they; for unto Thee belongeth all things. Where can the devil hide from Thee? If Thou art our defence, what harm can he do unto us?'

351. *What must you render unto God, if He safely guards you from the devil?*

I will make known the name of God, and praise Him daily here upon earth, and hereafter to all eternity.

352. *What does 'Amen' signify?*

It is as much as to say: 'God hears my words. I am sure, O God, that Thou wilt listen unto me, although the nations praise Thee, and although the inhabitants of Thy kingdom be many.'

353. *Must the people also say aloud, 'Amen,' after the clergyman has called upon God?*

Yes: they ought; for it is seemly to do so, and God desires that all the people should say, 'Amen.' The other words which the minister addresses to Him they must silently repeat to themselves.



PART THIRD
CHINESE CONQUEST OF FORMOSA

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CHINESE CONQUEST OF FORMOSA

1. **Preliminary Events.**¹—Those who have heard anything of the recent great commotions in China must know how the invasion of a mere handful of Tartars among its teeming inhabitants has brought about the lasting disgraceful subjugation of that mighty Empire.

No doubt the local Chiefs did not all immediately submit to the New Authority; some having offered less, and others more, opposition to the Tartars. Among the latter there was a certain I-quan, or General and Admiral, a man of low birth, but of more force of character than to leave his name unknown to the world. He, with a few like-minded followers, went to sea in a small piratical craft, in which he was so successful that he soon became the owner of a larger ship, and the captain of a much larger crew. With these he successfully attacked other ships until, in a few years, he proved a source of danger to the Empire itself. The sea-expeditions ordered against him he also often repulsed and overpowered by his skill and bravery; so that the Chinese Emperor—whose hands were full of other matters at that time—thought it more advisable to pardon his piracy and to confer on him the title of Admiral. In this position, I-quan continued to be so successful that he was afterwards promoted to be General of the army which was sent to expel the Tartars. The war was carried on for many years, and even after the death of his Emperor, I-quan withstood those invaders, but finding his resources very much reduced at last, he made peace with them. However, the Tartars could not trust him, and about A.D. 1630 had him brought before the Court of the great Cham at Peking, where he was condemned to imprisonment for life.

I-quan left a son who followed in the footsteps of his father; for this Koxinga showed his undying hatred of the Tartars by placing himself at the head of the scattered Chinese, and by gathering together a great force, with which he inflicted serious injury upon the enemy at sea as well as on land. Here he would suddenly take action against a powerful force and inflict

¹ The narrative contained in this and the following Section is translated from the *Verwaarloosde Formosa*, which C. E. S. published in 1675, while the *Authentic Proofs* it refers to are the thirty-six documents which make up Section 3.

ignominious defeat upon it; and there, he would capture cities and villages; accomplishing everything with such splendid feats of arms, that the Tartars had more work in trying to exterminate this one man than they experienced in subduing millions of people. The opposition of Koxinga was the only obstacle in the way of preventing them from completing their subjugation of the whole of China. When, therefore, all joined together against him, success forsook him for a time, and he was compelled to seek his fortune at sea. Here his influence soon increased as much as his power on land decreased; especially because the Tartars had little experience of sea life, and now possessed a country which so abundantly provided for the wants of its inhabitants, that it was little dependent on trade with the outside world. This produced two remarkable results: one, that Koxinga with his extraordinary power at sea was able to resist the Tartars for many years; the other, that neighbouring countries began to be afraid lest the seat of war might be shifted to their own doors, according to the saying: *tunc tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet*. Their fear was that Koxinga, forced to leave the Empire, might seek to profit himself and his band by attacking them, and doing to others what the Tartars had done to himself; just as big fish swallow the small, and these in turn the smaller ones; or as mighty potentates claim the right to plunder those who are weaker than themselves.

The Netherlands East India Company guessed that this lot might befall them as regards Formosa, if Koxinga should be moved to such a step by the proximity of the island to the Chinese coast, and the fact of its being an extensive and very productive one.¹

Before the Company obtained possession of Formosa, they attempted to catch the Chinese trade by building a fort on Pekon, otherwise called the Pescadores, which is about twelve miles nearer China than Formosa; but on that account, the Chinese said this trading station lay too much in their way. Accordingly, the mandarins induced the Company to leave the Pescadores and transport themselves to Formosa, on condition that the Chinese would allow the Company to carry on unrestricted trade with China, and that the Chinese would take over to Formosa all kinds of Chinese goods and manufactures. Hence, being very desirous to share in the Chinese trade, the Company left Pekon and removed to Formosa; promising, in return, that Chinese immigrants there would be permitted to remain as they had been doing heretofore, and that others who might come from China would be allowed to settle down and enter into trade. The result of this was that many Chinese, driven out of China through wars, went over to Formosa and formed a colony which included about 25,000 armed men, besides women and children. The males occupied themselves for the most part with commerce and agriculture; and from this latter pursuit, a quantity of rice and sugar was produced which not only supplied the wants of the whole

¹ The description of Formosa and its inhabitants which begins at this point in the *Verwaarloosde Formosa* follows the *Account of Candidius* so closely that it has been omitted here. See page 9 *et seq.* of the present Work.

island, but made it possible to send shiploads every year to other Indian districts, our people benefiting by this trade in no small degree.

The Company chose as its seat on the west side of Formosa a little barren sandbank of about one square mile in extent. It had the name of Tayouan, and was surrounded by the sea, the strait which separated it from the mainland of Formosa being about two cannon-shots wide at its broadest part. Between Formosa and this sandbank, the Company built their stone fortress or castle called Zeelandia on a high sand dyke. It formed a square of baked stone, neatly constructed; the walls being at some parts six feet in thickness, and the wings four feet thick. There was also a surrounding barricade about three feet high, and eighteen inches thick. All corners were filled up with sand.

The cannon of this Castle were placed so high that, when turned a little downwards, they could shoot almost perpendicularly into the earth; while owing to its bad situation, and in the absence of dry or wet ditches, storm-piles, palisades, or other outside bulwarks, the place was as easy of access as any of our farm-houses in the country. Latterly, outworks were added which were surrounded by a wall and upper fence; but the position was not thereby made any stronger, as this addition could not be covered by the Castle's cannon, nor defend itself; besides, the Company was obliged to keep larger garrisons, owing to large increase in the number of inhabitants.

Inside the Castle one or two wells were dug, but the water turned out to be very brackish and unwholesome, so that usually drinking-water had to be shipped from the neighbouring mainland of Formosa.

As precaution in those early years had to be taken against only a few naked Formosans, including some unarmed Chinese farmers or peasants, it is evident that the builders of this Castle paid more attention to the convenience of loading and unloading vessels, than to the situation of the place; which, for reasons already given, was entirely unsuited for fortifications. They might therefore have done much better, seeing that Formosa was large enough and richly provided with other suitable places. It may be that those early workers had little knowledge of building fortifications, and this seems very likely, not only from the bad situation of Fort Zeelandia, but also the defective and defenceless way in which it was constructed. I cannot think of any reason why they chose such an unsuitable position, when so many vastly superior sites were available, or why the work was not made more effective for the purpose of defence; since all this could have been secured at no greater expense.

I suppose, however, one has to cut one's garment according to the cloth. In other words, there is often a want of good engineers, and of capacity on the part of local officials, who sometimes blindly set to work and cause irreparable loss by running their masters into large and quite unnecessary expense. The Directors in the Netherlands were not without blame in the present case, as their choice of servants had less regard to the qualifications of the person employed than to the influence he had with the officials of the Company. Abundant evidence of incapacity and blundering could be given, but let it suffice for the present to mention that the outwork before referred to had still

another defect, namely, that it could be threatened from a higher sand dyke only a pistol-shot distant. Hence to rectify this mistake, yet a third fort had to be built on the hill, an expensive stone building called the *Ronduit* Utrecht, which was provided with a cannon and many soldiers. Better never to have built this fort at all, or to have removed the sandhill altogether; for if this *Ronduit* should fall, of course the surrounding wall and the whole Castle would also be lost, as will be seen a little later on. Round about the *Ronduit* were situated several others of equal height, or on higher hills. I wonder they did not build a few more defences. Apparently it did not occur to them to do so, for they seemed to think that the Company was rich enough, and could easily have borne the expense.

Thus one blunder succeeded another, so that, in appointing the Company's servants, the Directors became more discriminating, and did not so readily refuse an honest capable man, when he came to offer his services, but rather took care to add to the number of such employees.

On the east side of the Castle square, a few Chinese gradually settled down and founded a place called the *Quartier*, or the City of Zeelandia, which had no walls round it. The other three sides were washed by the sea between Formosa and Tayouan, and were always very convenient for the approach of small craft.

On account, then, of the unsatisfactory state of his affairs, Koxinga had an eye on Formosa, but did not succeed in keeping his intention a secret, for this had become known for several years. It was in 1646 that the Company obtained the first intimation of such an attitude on his part from Japan, as may be gathered from a certain resolution in November of the same year drawn up in the factory at Nangasaky. (See *Authentic Proofs*, No. 1.)

The Directors in the Netherlands, becoming anxious lest the Chinese should attack Formosa, resolved in 1650, through their Committee of Seventeen, that Fort Zeelandia should not have fewer than 1200 men even in times of peace. Again, in the year 1652, a certain Jesuit father from China, arriving at Batavia on his way to Holland with our fleet, warned the Company privately that Koxinga, by reason of misfortune in connection with his affairs, had his eye fixed on Formosa, and for that reason had got up an agitation in his favour amongst the Chinese colonists there. (See *Authentic Proofs*, No. 2.)

And matters during 1652 fully justified this warning, as Chinese settlers in the island thought themselves too much oppressed by the Company; so that, longing for liberty, and having some prospect of assistance from the encouragement of Koxinga, they undertook a dangerous revolt; although the greater number were mere peasants, some of them armed, but the majority with only sticks and bamboos as their weapons. Therefore, with the faithful Formosan natives as allies, the Netherlands soon subdued them; shooting a few, and easily putting to flight those who were not trained in the art of war. Thus, by the slaughter of a few Chinese, this flame was speedily extinguished, and Koxinga had to regard his designs as untimely and not yet ready for execution. The truth is that the Chinese were insufficiently instructed as to his plans, and

made the mistake of discovering them too precipitately ; a result which led the Company further to warn their Governor that he should keep strict watch on Koxinga, who was suspected of urging on the Chinese in their rebellion that he might seize Formosa for himself. This seems manifest from No. 3 of the *Authentic Proofs*.

Governor Verburg counted this rebellion of such great importance that, in his manifesto to the Council of India on 10 March 1654, he says, 'his hairs stood on end and he was continually in fear about Koxinga's intentions on Formosa'—more fully stated in No. 4. In fact, fear took hold of this man's heart through the weak revolt of a party of unarmed peasants; his apprehension being far greater than the danger itself. This is certainly not in keeping with his conduct towards Governor Coyett, when the former obtained a seat in the Council of India at Batavia; for there, out of pure spite, Verburg threw discredit on Coyett's many faithful warnings about Koxinga and his intentions, and managed to give the Governor-general and Councillors of India a bad impression of his successor in the Governorship of Formosa. He tried to make them believe that fear of war had no other foundation than Coyett's own cowardice; while in a letter of 21 June 1661—which the Council sent to Coyett on Verburg's advice—he knew how to speak sarcastically of Coyett's courage in the following words: 'Your honourable predecessor never showed anxiety about this menacing distress, but kept bravely on his guard without showing such fear, which example Your Excellency should also have followed, without allowing yourself to be so greatly alarmed.' But, if the hairs of this man stood on end owing to the menace of a party of unarmed peasants in 1652, how would he have felt had he been Governor of Formosa in 1661, when Koxinga, assisted by many more such peasants, besides 25,000 well-armed, well-trained, and brave soldiers used to war, came to harass Formosa? It is clear that his fear would not only have affected his hirsute adornments, but made his heart sink in his shoes.

The whole incident shows how people look to their own interest, and in what light they observe that of their enemies. It also shows that the Directors were not sufficiently careful to guard the Company against this jealousy and envy among their servants in India. Were my own advice asked about a matter of this kind, I would say, that, so soon as any quarrel breaks out among the employees, especially those in high position, the Governor-general and Chief Councillors should immediately summon the interested parties before them, listen to their points of difference, and, if possible, bring about a reconciliation; or, order the parties themselves to come to an amicable arrangement within twenty-four hours. If both alternatives fail, all the disputants should at once be dismissed from the Company's service and sent back to Holland with the first returning ship, where they could quarrel as long as they pleased without causing any loss to the Company. If this method were adopted in a few cases, I can assure you that self-interest would soon banish all cause of dissension from India.

This, however, is an affair which does not concern me. I am not in the

Company's service, and do not draw any salary therefrom ; but merely give my advice for what it is worth, being satisfied to have lightened my mind from this burden, which might otherwise have crushed me.

Although the Chinese rebellion on Formosa had now been subdued and order was again restored as before, yet the Company feared lest the Chinese might again, and with greater success, break out into rebellion. Therefore, in order to keep the Chinese Colony and a few ill-disposed inhabitants under better control, they built a new fort in 1653 on the Formosa mainland, at a place called Sakam, which is just across the water from Tayouan or Castle Zeelandia. It, also, was of baked stone and was lightly built, with four corners. They called it Fort Provincia.

If well garrisoned, this fortress was doubtless secure enough to quell any sudden attack of the peasants and Formosans ; but to stand a siege, and hold out against cannon, it was much too weak and too lightly built ; for, on the first attack of the enemy, it immediately surrendered, as will be seen further on. To my mind, therefore, another most serious blunder was committed here ; because the fort should have been built in a much more massive way from the beginning, especially as this would not have greatly increased the expense.

During 1654 and 1655, very few trading junks came from China to Formosa, which fact, besides many rumours about Koxinga, caused no little suspicion of his bad intention, and warned Governor Caesar to be on his guard. He sent a little vessel to the Pescadores to find out particulars about Koxinga—see No. 5—but, rumours of his hostile intentions becoming continually more plentiful, the Governor feared a siege, provided Castle Zeelandia with firewood for ten months, and rebuilt the corners and bulwarks round about with storm-beams. Knowing also that the garrison at Tayouan was too small to prevent Koxinga from landing when he did arrive, he asked from Batavia more soldiers to increase the garrison. See No. 6.

It was after this, about 1654, that the pious, able, but unfortunate Mr. Frederic Coyett entered the service of the Company in India as Head-merchant ; became member of the Council of Justice in Batavia, and then acted for about three and a half years as Head-merchant at the Castle there. He subsequently officiated for about ten years as first Councillor in the Formosan Government, and during that time had twice charge of the trade with Japan ; this honourable responsibility being placed upon him by reason of his tried faithfulness and wonderful capacity, as testified to by the Directors in their letter of 13 October 1656, thus :—‘It is pleasant that Mr. Frederik Coyett has again renewed his contract for three years at a salary of 150 florins a month. A person of his fine qualities, and great experience, obtained through long residence in the East, would be very much missed.’

This gentleman, being appointed Governor of Formosa towards the close of 1656, worked from the outset of his administration with great zeal, trying to promote friendship between the Company and Koxinga by reopening the Chinese trade, which during the time of Governor Caesar had been closed by

Koxinga prohibiting junks or Chinese vessels from sailing between China and Formosa; an act which greatly inconvenienced the Company's trade in the north.

Therefore, in 1657, the Council unanimously decided—see No. 7—to send an envoy with some letters and presents to Mandarin Koxinga and his Grandees; and for this purpose they engaged the services of one of the ablest representatives of the Chinese, a gentleman named Pincqua. He was one of the Company's interpreters, who in August of the same year had returned from China to Formosa with authority to re-establish the trade, and carrying a polite written message from Koxinga to the Governor, in which the writer declared that he had no other intention than to maintain terms of sincere friendship and good-neighbourliness with the Company; that the forbidding of the trade from China to Formosa was only caused through his own rebellious crews; but that things having now changed, he had removed the former prohibition and allowed the trading from China to Formosa to go on as before.

By this fortunate reopening of the Chinese trade, matters in Formosa, which from 1652 until 1657 had been in a very pitiful condition, began again to bud forth with new promise, giving such large profits on Chinese articles of commerce, and gains on great quantities of skins, game, and sugar, as had never been obtained during the administration of any previous Governor. This is seen from the fact that the Accounts in Formosa closed at the end of 1658 with a larger balance than on any previous occasion. Agriculture, too, increased considerably; so much so that large quantities of grain were exported to China and elsewhere.

Another feature of this period of prosperity was that the Formosans and Chinese lived together in complete harmony and submissiveness to the laws. In short, everything began to look bright again, Governor Coyett became esteemed and respected by his inferiors, loved and admired by his equals, as well as favoured and appreciated by his superiors. This last-named appreciation of the Governor is proved in a letter from Governor-general Maatzuyker to Mr. Coyett of 20 June 1658, in which the following words occur:—'With this exception (referring to a certain sea-route), we declare that we have been very contented and satisfied with Your Honour's administration and government.' And in another dated 2 June 1659: 'We have this year again had nothing but the greatest pleasure in connection with Your Honour's governing and directing, although not everything has succeeded as wished for.' And again on 23 April 1660: 'The entire Committee of Seventeen record that they are so much pleased with your good services, that they have decided to confer on Your Honour the title of Councillor-Extraordinary of India, and we cannot ourselves refrain from wishing you much happiness and the blessing of the Almighty.'

Before going any further, a certain occurrence should be referred to here in connection with the interpreter Pincqua, and which afterwards caused much stir in Formosa. It was a matter which had serious consequences, and for these Mr. Coyett was much blamed in Batavia, although he had no part in it,

as can easily be judged by impartial persons, and may be seen from the following statement: As the Chinese nation are a people who seek their own advantage wherever there is hope of gain, it so happened that during Pincqua's visit to China, he met a certain mandarin called Sangae, who was held in great esteem by Koxinga. In keeping with the greedy character of his countrymen, this Sangae proposed to Koxinga that the excise duty on goods which were shipped at Formosa in Chinese vessels and taken to Koxinga's dominions, could be much more advantageously collected at the place of shipment than at Amoy, the place of arrival. And by way of testing the soundness of his opinions, Sangae asked—and obtained from Koxinga for some great amount of money—permission to collect the above-named tax. Moreover, seeing that Sangae regarded Pincqua as being a very suitable person to enforce the payment of this tax, he induced him to accept the lucrative post of acting as his Agent in Formosa.

In the hope, then, of appropriating as large a portion of the spoil as possible, Pincqua began to collect the tax immediately after his return to the Island. He explained that it must be paid here, and that it would not be demanded in Amoy. He also pressed all departing skippers to make payment, giving them quitance-receipts in return.

But all this work was carried on secretly amongst the Chinese, without the Governor, city Collector, chief Treasurer, or the Fiscal knowing anything about it for a long time, till the whole thing came to light in February 1659; whereupon the Governor ordered the Fiscal to investigate the matter, and to issue a warrant against Pincqua, whom the Council of Justice deprived of all the posts of honour and other advantages which he enjoyed from the Company; besides condemning him to pay a heavy penalty, as may be seen under Nos. 8 and 9.

Being thus suddenly deprived of his fortune, this man was soon so much harassed by his creditors that he became bankrupt, and fled to Sangae, who recommended him to the favour of Koxinga; so that this Pincqua—who afterwards accompanied Koxinga's expedition, and who stood in very high credit with him—was apparently able to disclose many secrets of the Company's position to his new master, and to give other valuable information. And yet, during the whole war, it was never seen that the Chinese undertook any remarkably successful movement against the besieged; although the common people persisted in saying that Koxinga came on the advice of Pincqua, that his escape rendered futile any precautions among the Chinese colonists in Formosa—many of whom were as conversant with the Company's position as Pincqua was—and that the main thing that should have been guarded against was this of Koxinga being supplied with a clever spy who could inform him of all that was happening in Formosa. And, certainly, if nothing more than the information given by Pincqua had been wanting, I am sure Koxinga would not have waited so long in attempting to seize the Island. It should also be remembered that, in matters of this kind, the crowd think no further than the length of their noses, and judge only as dictated to by the passions which control them.

To resume. Although the restoration of the Chinese trade brought matters in Formosa again into quietness, and appeared to avert a threatened invasion, the fear had not yet been removed that Koxinga, pressed by necessity, would some day make an unexpected attack upon the Company there.

Hence the Governor-general and Council of India warned Governor Coyett in 1657 to be on his guard, in the following terms: 'We wish to reiterate our instructions; recommending Your Honour to be continually on your guard, and so to watch Koxinga's plans, that they may not injure us, or lead us into any kind of difficulty. We shall rely on Your Honour's careful precautions.' The words no doubt show some concern, but they did not penetrate very deeply, or indicate any fear of losing Formosa; for though Governor Coyett remonstrated that, for the safety of Formosa, it was absolutely necessary to rebuild several dilapidated fortifications, and to add a few new ones, and although the need of some of these undertakings was admitted in Batavia, yet the officials there declined to take action, pretending that large expenditure could no longer be made on Formosa, as it had already become too great a drain upon the resources of the Company. And it was no doubt true that the Company had more responsibility in Formosa than the advantages drawn from it would justify. But why make such great preparations and large extensions, if they were not able, and did not wish to maintain them? *Non minor est virtus quam quaerere parte tueri.*

At the very beginning, the Company should either not have started this work on such a big scale, or afterwards have maintained it by contributing all that was needful for preservation and security, even although this entailed a little loss. The Company would then have preserved its reputation, and frightened all Indian nations from troubling them, specially if those nations saw such a redoubtable enemy as Koxinga repulsed. Now, however, it is to be feared that other tribes, not less warlike than those controlled by Koxinga, and encouraged by his fortunate success in arms, will cause the Company much trouble and expense for military operations; all of which could easily have been prevented by contributing a little more towards the necessary protection of Formosa.

In our country, however, things do not always run so smoothly as they should; for many are quite satisfied if the Conqueror can only play the grand lord and extend the Company's territory in every direction, without considering whether such conquests will be to the advantage of their masters or to their annoyance. It is not always advisable to annex territory when opportunity offers; and, in all such movements, self-interest should be counterbalanced by a thorough investigation as to whether one derives advantage or disadvantage therefrom.

During the years 1658 and 1659 a great number of Chinese took flight for Formosa, and news arrived to the effect that Koxinga had been greatly defeated by the Tartars at Nankin; that he retreated to the island of Amoy; and that he now intended to make an attack on Formosa. Of course this caused quite a sensation among the entire Chinese community. Many rumours filled the

air ; but, on a general view of the whole position, no one doubted now that Koxinga had really decided upon an invasion of the Island.

It was also observed at this time that Chinese merchants in Formosa exported far more goods than they imported, and that Chinese debtors in Tayouan became far slower in their payments than they formerly had been ; these facts naturally giving rise to much suspicion on the part of our officials, who inferred that the Chinese people had no good intentions towards the State. See No. 10.

Moreover, the principal Elders, besides a few of the distinguished and wealthy Chinese subjects, came on 6 March 1660 to warn the Governor and Council (apparently from fear that, if kept secret too long, matters might end to their disadvantage), that there existed amongst the Chinese very great anxiety, owing to the news that Koxinga was just about to cross over ; and that therefore a number had made preparations for flight, as they were sure that, on the day when the Formosans would be holding their Assembly (at full moon, which would take place about the coming March), Koxinga would arrive with his soldiers and a great number of warships, to attack Formosa.

As the likelihood of Koxinga's arrival had been strengthened by these warnings, the Governor and Council of Formosa were forced, more than ever before, to give full attention to the protection of the Company's dangerous position, and to take every precaution for resisting the enemy and preserving their property.

They judged that Koxinga would now certainly arrive, from the following considerations :—

1. From all the preceding warnings and rumours of Koxinga's desire to attack Formosa, up till the date just now referred to.
2. From the visit of the Chinese Elders (narrated above) and the universal commotion and dismay of the Chinese colony in Formosa.
3. From the defeat which Koxinga recently suffered in the Nankin territory, and through which he was forced by the victorious Tartars to escape, and to look out for a suitable place of retreat.
4. From the proximity and rich productiveness of Formosa, these having greater advantages for him than any other place.
5. Even supposing that Koxinga could see no chance to annex Formosa and keep it in possession ; yet, with his many vessels, it would be quite possible for him to land on the island for the purposes of brigandage, when he could steal away large quantities of provisions, grain, cattle, and other spoil for the sustenance of himself and his soldiers. As those followers were now put in a corner by the Tartars, they ran great risk in providing themselves with food and other necessities on the Chinese mainland ; while in Formosa they had nothing to fear, besides having any number of suitable places to land ; whereas the Company, owing to the smallness of its garrisons, would have enough to do in maintaining its fortresses, without trying to attack their enemy in the open field.
6. It was quite evident that Koxinga well knew the state of matters in

Formosa, as he now for a long time, and contrary to his promise, seriously interfered with the trade between China and Formosa, and had not permitted any merchant vessel to sail for Formosa for a considerable period, having undoubtedly seized them for the transport of his troops and war materials to Formosa.

7. Moved by fear of the approaching outburst, the Chinese exported considerably more than they imported; and they removed their goods and property from Formosa to China, openly as well as by secret means; hence the Governor and Council concluded that Formosa's doom and Koxinga's arrival were both of them very near at hand. See No. 11 A.

In consequence of all this, the forts were amply provided with men, ammunition, and other war materials. The people round about the Castle were warned of Koxinga's threatened arrival, and were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to resist. The Assembly was postponed till next year; and an order was issued prohibiting any of the Chinese from entering Fort Provintia. The Chinese Elders and some other distinguished men of that nation were kept prisoners in the Castle, so that they might not tempt the approaching enemy, or, through their numerous following of tradesmen, farmers, and others, cause any commotion and have themselves proclaimed as leaders. Also, the export trade with China was closed, so that the enemy could not be supplied with additional ships, nor have any opportunity of making inquiry as to the state of matters in Formosa.

Further, instructions were given that all grain from the country farthest away should be taken to the Castle; that all Chinese residents should keep themselves quiet, and remain employed at their usual occupations; and that the Chinese fishermen who unloaded at Wankan should take their departure. On 10th March the Governor and Council sent a fast-going Chinese junk with messages to the Governor-general and Council of India at Batavia, acquainting them with all the foregoing evil rumours of Koxinga's preparations, and what had been done for the defence.

On the following day, news was received that the Chinese were beginning to show their teeth; that they were discouraging those friendly to the Company in the Formosan villages by boasting loudly of Koxinga's war forces, stating that his soldiers were protected from head to foot with iron armour, which the Dutch muskets could not penetrate. See No. 11 B.

Thereupon the Council ordered the Chinese to remove from the woods at very short notice and settle themselves, with their entire bag and baggage, in the vicinity of the Castle: thus affording better power of control, and making it easier to inflict immediate punishment in the event of any outbreak taking place. News was also conveyed to Batavia by a Chinese vessel, but owing to monsoon winds, the voyage could not be undertaken.

Shortly after this, the skipper of a small Chinese sailing-ship, on arriving from Pekou to his native place in Tayouan, was interrogated by the Governor and Council respecting Koxinga's war preparations. This man must have told some abominable lies; for he absolutely denied having taken any Chinese

letters with him ; but when strict search was made, eighteen letters were found in his possession written by Chinese in China to their friends in Formosa. See No. 11 C. They nearly all referred to the great preparations made by Koxinga for invading the Island of Formosa, and advised friends to depart quickly with their families, even if they had to go empty-handed. Several of these letters are reproduced under Nos. 12 and 13.

The officials, being assured of Koxinga's determination to come, gave orders that all the remaining Chinese, who had not yet removed near the Castle, had to do so at once, with all their moveable goods. Some ten sacks of paddy, from a few distant fields (which ought to have been removed according to the proclaimed orders), were burned, as Koxinga's anticipated early arrival did not now permit of their removal, and they would have been a welcome prize to the approaching enemy.

In the country, the doors and windows were unfastened from the houses and taken to Provintia for preservation.

Many small Chinese vessels, in which Chinese had made their escape, were pursued ; and several others, which were sailing along the coast to receive the fugitives and their properties, were destroyed or captured. Also, the Chinese people who had gathered together on Tankoia and the island of Lamey, were scattered, though without loss of blood ; and, for the same reason, thirteen Chinese evicted farmers who had received permission to settle on Lamey, were recalled from there.

On the 3rd of April, three junks arrived from China. Two of the skippers feigned ignorance of Koxinga's preparations for war, but the third one said, that he had heard some rumours, but knew nothing except that Koxinga was hard pursued by the Tartars and in a very desperate condition. All three denied having taken letters with them, and as this aroused suspicion, they were kept in guard for about twenty days, but as nothing appeared against them, they were again released and set at liberty.

About this time, some of the Chinese Elders were also suspected of maintaining correspondence with the enemy, because a certain Chinese subject had informed the Governor that one of Koxinga's mandarins had written three letters to several of the hostage Elders ; but when the skipper who was thought to have delivered them was interrogated along with the Elder, their answers were contradictory. Notwithstanding the great amount of trouble taken to discover those documents, only a few old letters could be found. Besides this, one of the before-mentioned Elders, called Zako, flatly denied before the Governor certain matters in connection with Koxinga's preparations for war and intentions as to Formosa ; having acted thus entirely on his own account before the Governor, in presence of the official next in command, namely, Jan Aergens van Waveren. Thus after some additional inquiries, it was decided to interrogate more fully the aforesaid Zako, also the skipper of the *Koya*, or small sailing-ship of 19 March, and two or three others ; all of whom were found guilty of telling gross lies and of being suspicious Chinese. See No. 14.

These, then, were the only five persons among the Chinese who, in this matter of great importance, had been seized and interrogated under threats of severe punishment; this treatment being only what they deserved owing to their shameful untruthfulness. And yet, it was this affair which caused a great commotion in Batavia, as if some thousands of Chinese had been molested. In the above severe cross-examination, Zako stubbornly refused to withdraw anything he had said. The skipper of the *Koya* acknowledged that he had intentionally kept secret his knowledge of Koxinga's preparations for war and rumours of crossing over; and one of the other Chinese culprits confessed that he was aware of some danger, but had not dared to make it known. See No. 15.

From 19th till 25th April one *Koya* and seven junks from Amoy arrived at Tayouan, and after examination, those who came by them agreed in testifying that Koxinga had made extraordinary preparations to invade Formosa; but that, after getting his hands somewhat clear of the Tartars, and learning of the extensive plans which were being adopted to resist his advance, and of the assurance of help which the Formosans expected from Batavia through the warning of Governor Coyett, for these and other reasons, he had apparently changed his plan of surprising Formosa, and had postponed it to a more suitable occasion.

With the same vessels, a communication was received by the Governor concerning a certain mandarin under Koxinga's command, called Gampea. The letter stated that this official had heard with surprise of the great commotion in Formosa through false reports of his Lord Koxinga intending some hostile act towards the Company; and that, for the sake of his master's reputation, he thought it his duty to pacify the Governor with the solemn declaration that the said reports were simply a tissue of lies, as Koxinga had never any hostile thoughts concerning Tayouan, seeing he regarded it as being far too insignificant a place to call forth much trouble and expense. This mandarin thus tried to deceive the Governor as to Koxinga's plans, but the Governor was not so easily gulled, and was by no means satisfied as to the genuineness of such statements.

But, while the people of Tayouan were still on their guard and continuing their preparations for resistance, the time of Koxinga's arrival had long since passed, so that the alarm of the Chinese residents was somewhat allayed and they calmed down again. The Formosan natives also became more confident that they would be assisted by a strong contingent from Batavia.

Hence everything was restored to its former tranquil state. On 29 April the Chinese farmers were permitted to return to their villages, and the peasants to their farming across the furthestmost river; but under more strict conditions than before. The route to China was once more opened, and by this means, any loss sustained by the preparations for resistance was made good; other hopeful things being that farms throughout the country—excepting a few in the south, which had been rented at a higher price than the previous year—had never before been worked with so much profit; the first and second taxes had never been more readily paid, while the farmers performed their labour with

such zeal, that they worked in all but 768 *mergens* less than the previous year, the amount then being 12,252 *mergens* of sowed land. In October, it was also found that the sugar culture had increased to a greater extent than had ever been witnessed in Formosa.

Surely all this (which is verified by the Tayouan archives) disproves the unfair accusation which was brought against the Governor and Council that they had been the means of ruining Formosa and its inhabitants through needless precautions and preparations for resistance.

When the letter of 10 March (in which the Governor and Council of Formosa had written about the probable invasion of the enemy, and had asked for the speedy dispatch of a strong force for resistance) reached Java, the Governor-general and Council could easily perceive that, in the event of Koxinga intending to attack Formosa, the Company's Factory there was placed in the utmost danger, as being unable to withstand such a powerful enemy with the small force at command. Hence these higher officials were thoroughly satisfied with all the precautions which Coyett and his Council had taken for so cautiously and determinedly resisting the enemy and preserving the dignity of the Company; this being clearly shown in their answer of 22 April 1660 to that letter of 10 March of the same year. In it they use the following words: 'What makes the greatest impression upon us, is the menacing difficulty of Koxinga's strong forces. . . . We have to acknowledge that if the rumoured war expedition of 10 March 1660—which we hope God shall prevent—really has taken place at the specified time, it will undoubtedly have resulted in a decided loss to us, as our small force could not have resisted such a great invasion, far less could have protected the inhabited part of the flat country. If, by means of Fort Provintia, Your Honour can save the Sakam district, it would be in our eyes a great feat, seeing that the villages nearest to the Castle could be protected by their own inhabitants, and that this would tend also to guard the Castle and city of Zeelandia. Otherwise, it would be a miserable outlook for us, since the barren sand district there cannot produce the bare necessities of life, not even good drinking water, everything having to be brought from the mainland of Formosa. We have not the slightest doubt that Your Honour, with sufficient courage and manliness, and with the means at your hand, will arrange matters for the defence against this hostile enemy. . . . In our opinion, it is a great mistake that so many Chinese farmers have been allowed to settle on the opposite side of the channel, so far out of reach and beyond control, rendering it difficult to remove them, which will have to be done sooner or later, in order that the Sakam district may not be neglected, and those treacherous people prevented from having too much sway by extending themselves throughout the country. Their residence at an extreme distance causes too great trouble and anxiety; whereas, if kept within the Sakam territory, one does not need to fear their rebellious gatherings. The principal reason for building the splendid Fort Provintia at Sakam was to watch the action of those discontents, and, in case of revolt, to be able at once to carry out the necessary work of repression.'

Also, in their letter of 16 June 1660, the following words occur: 'And as so much fear exists lest Koxinga should make his threatened attack, we trust that Your Honour has taken the precautions to transfer most of the food-supplies which were in the houses of the Chinese peasants at Sakam and elsewhere, to Tayouan, so that our enemies may not feed themselves therewith. From your account of the Formosan Assemblies held on the 23rd and 26th of March, we see that the anxious tidings from China have stopped, and that Koxinga's invasion has been postponed to a future opportunity. One has to be very careful in such difficult times, and we cannot but approve of and praise the action which has been taken by Your Honour.'

It is true that the officials in Batavia approved of the precautions taken by the Governor and Council of Formosa to resist the enemy, but it was very difficult to get them to believe that Koxinga would have the courage to show fight against the Company. They had there such great confidence in it as to think that the very name of the Company was sufficient to keep every one in check, this being evident from the aforesaid letter of 22 April 1660, in which they say: 'We have had no reply from Koxinga to our letter, but now it seems there is little need for it, as the rumours about the coming of his war forces to Formosa have disappeared like smoke. On further reflection, he may wish instead to conclude a reasonable trading contract with us. We cannot yet fully believe that Koxinga (unless through extreme need) will undertake war against the Company, as he may well expect how we could trouble him in his negotiations with the Tartars, and it having been chiefly because of our power he has kept so long on his feet against them.'

And here, it is desirable to keep in view two things which the Governor and Council of Formosa complained of as being the chief causes of Formosa's neglect and loss. The first is that, although the officials in Formosa were fully aware of all the previously mentioned rumours of Koxinga's intentions—rumours coming intermittently from Tayouan as well as from other places, and therefore not to be regarded as idle guesses, but as undoubted indications of our enemy's design on Formosa—yet they still flattered themselves that this threatening thunder-cloud was not going to burst, and would likely blow away entirely; so that they would not believe unless driven to it by Koxinga's actual arrival in Formosa. This is proved beyond all doubt by their own previous letters.

The other reason for that loss of Formosa of which they complained, was the very great niggardliness in refusing funds for rebuilding the ruined fortifications, and erecting a few additional works; these having become necessary before Formosa could be brought under a fit state of defence. Indeed, the Batavians themselves acknowledged that the defensive position of Formosa was far from satisfactory, and should be considerably strengthened. To verify this, one need only quote the following words of the Governor-general and Council of India from their letter of 22 April 1660: 'About Your Honour's proposal to construct a stronghold at Tankoia, to renew the ruined *Rondeet* Victoria, and the *Ronduit* Wankan which was washed away, we have not yet

definitely decided, but will send our resolution shortly. We wish, however, to say in the meantime, that we do not approve of making new forts in Formosa, and would rather see the number decreased; because we find from experience how dangerous it is to possess many castles and fortresses, and therefore greater extent of territory, without having the means to provide them with the requisite garrison. Our purpose is, if it pleases God, to try and avert such dangers in future by contracting our possessions into smaller compass; otherwise the Company will soon be totally unable to administer Tayouan and Formosa; since a continuance of the present policy may give rise to serious trouble from all sides and leave the country in a defenceless state, it being very difficult to do great things with small resources.'

Similarly, the letter of 16 July 1660 says: 'Respecting Your Honour's proposal to form a stronghold at Tankoia—a place which affords shelter to Chinese junks, and gives easy access for an Armada to land—we cannot approve of it; for if we would fortify all places on Formosa where the enemy could land, our work would never be finished. Nor could a sufficient supply of soldiers for this be obtained; for Your Honour is quite aware that we find it anything but easy to keep the present garrison in Formosa always up to full strength. We therefore prefer to decrease, rather than increase, it.'

With regard to these objections, the officials in Batavia did not spare themselves in punishing the Governor and Council of Formosa for making some necessary alterations and additions. For instance, it had been noticed by Governor Coyett and his Council that the enclosure on the water side of Castle Zeelandia was very irregular, and had a projecting corner and a thin wall, which could not be protected from above or below; while this part of the Fort was of such importance that, when lost, everything else would be lost. Accordingly, the Governor and Council had a stone projection erected there, and properly mounted with cannon, which strengthened that side of the Castle, protected the outworks along the entire water side, and controlled the whole of the city. As was sufficiently shown during the siege, this projection proved of no little importance; so much so that the enemy received greater damage from it than from all the other works put together, it having also shielded the Castle on that side against invasion.

And yet, because of the construction of this piece of masonry, the officials in Batavia wrote as follows on 2 April 1660: 'It seems rather absurd that, on your own account, and without previously acquainting us—far less than asking our permission—Your Honour should have built such a strong fortification before the east gate of the lower Castle; and although in these troublous times we do not think the building of this to be altogether unnecessary, yet we wish reasonably to show our discontent herewith, so that Your Honour may be a little more careful in future, and avoid the carrying out of such important undertakings, without previously obtaining our approval and formal consent.'

This censure seemed to the Governor and Council of Formosa very strong and difficult to be borne, seeing that they had been expecting something very

different. Moreover, the enemy might arrive any moment; the lower Castle to the east side was found quite defenceless; and they had only remedied this defect by building there a strong and absolutely necessary stone projection. Even at Batavia, the work was admitted to be essential, and what they complained about was its expense, and that the Governor ought previously to have asked consent; for which, by the way, he would have to wait seven full months before any answer could have been received to his request. But, meanwhile, if the enemy had arrived and attacked the Castle there at this weakest point, then those in charge would have been censured for waiting to obtain the consent of the Authorities.

Surely by the putting up of this projection, and from all the previous petitions and warnings about defective places requiring to be brought into proper defensive order, the officials in Formosa had sufficiently shown themselves to be very active in everything that could advance the interests of the Company. Why, then, complain, and instead of animating them in these troubles and in their zeal to safeguard the affairs of the Company, why object, and reprove them with disheartening words, and by rejecting their useful proposals? Through this hampering, their hands were so much tied that they could not have resisted in that way which the laws of warfare and the great need really demanded; and many necessary undertakings by which they could have kept the enemy at bay had to be left undone.

If the responsible officers at Batavia had really been in earnest to protect Formosa against so strong an enemy, they should have acted in a less niggardly way with the Company's funds, and have supplied the necessary means for meeting this great emergency. They could not bear the thought of their representatives increasing responsibility to the extent of making the normal expenditure of the Island far exceed its revenue. But by simply threatening to land, by keeping the Company there continually in alarm and liable to extra expense, Koxinga might have been able to smother them altogether. The only other course open was to get assistance from the Tartar to render Koxinga so powerless that there would be no need to fear him, or to extort from him in some way a sufficient guarantee against his threatened formidable attack. But whether this course would have been advisable and more advantageous to the Company than the purely defensive attitude, must remain a matter of doubt.

From this time, the officials seemed to act in a very spiritless way, and to make no real progress. They counted Formosa as good as lost, if but attacked by Koxinga, the position being seen in a letter of 10 March 1660, referring to certain resolutions passed by the Council of Batavia which contain the following statement: 'Koxinga would not dare to attack us in Formosa for fear of encountering a formidable resistance on the part of the Company.'

In this statement, Koxinga's power and the Company's weakness are clearly enough expressed; and some people hold that it indicates one of the main reasons why the movement to assist Tayouan made so little progress at Batavia. It was also supposed that the rumours of war would vanish like smoke before the wind, that Koxinga would not dare to attack the Company, and that there-

fore all expenses incurred in preparing to meet him would be like money thrown away. Others, who profess to have good knowledge of the matter, argue that assistance would never have been sent, if it had not been for the proposal that the fleet intended for Formosa should seize the Portuguese fort at Macao when returning to Batavia, and when strengthened by the soldiers from Tayouan. It was thought that this would be a good way of meeting the expenses of the expedition, in the event of Koxinga declining to attack Formosa, which many regarded as being a very probable thing.

It may thus be taken for granted that, on this ground alone and for the prosecution of this project, the Batavians resolved to assist Formosa with a fleet. Hence on 16 July 1660 they placed twelve ships, carrying six hundred soldiers, under command of a certain Jan van der Laan, and afterwards sent orders about Macao to the Governor and Council of Formosa in these words: 'Owing to lack of men, we would have been quite justified in refusing to undertake this exploit during the present season, as we have not been compelled this year to send such a considerable expedition by land and sea to Tayouan; but, in the event of tranquillity and calmness reigning there, then it must be used to surprise Macao. Considering, however, that the uncertainty in connection with Koxinga's threatened invasion of Formosa appears to be so great, our own forces can scarcely be ordered away, so that our plans about Macao may require to be postponed. With the advice of the Council, Your Honour will doubtless consider the matter earnestly, remembering that the one is as important as the other, and that we do not wish the present opportunity of obtaining possession of Macao to escape us; although the most pressing case must, in the present state of matters, obtain the preference.'

The instructions given to van der Laan were almost identical, and included the following: 'For this reason, a notable force of ships and men is sent off to assist those in need at Formosa; but if—as has frequently occurred—the rumours about Koxinga have disappeared like smoke before the wind, then, to compensate for the loss in sending such a powerful fleet hither in vain, and according to the decision of the Council of India, the main part of the forces destined for Tayouan shall, on their return journey, be used against Macao: *i.e.* on the distinct understanding that no trouble ensues in Tayouan, and that all danger is over and peace is maintained. Therefore, Your Honour must stay in Tayouan or the Pescadores until further notice, and be obedient to the commands of His Honour Governor Coyett and the Council, as far as these are not contrary to our instructions. The length of your sojourn will entirely depend upon the conditions arranged with Koxinga and ultimately decided upon by Governor Coyett and his Council.

With this fleet—excepting one ship called *Worcum* which never appeared at Tayouan—van der Laan set out, and first called at Macao to obtain water, thereby awakening the suspicions of the Portuguese, and exposing himself to the reprimand he afterwards received in Tayouan. He then proclaimed in the Pescadores that he was going to do many wonderful things at Macao, and arrived in the haven of Tayouan very late in September 1660. But he was

powerless at that time by reason of the illness of his men, who were more like suitable subjects for an hospital than those about to enter upon any undertaking of importance. Still, in spite of all these drawbacks, the arrival of this fleet at Formosa was of great benefit to the Company, since Koxinga was thereby prevented from making an attack, and was compelled to again postpone active operations till a more suitable occasion. For although it had been much retarded in reaching its destination, yet already the Chinese people continued to believe, and Koxinga had a strong hope, that Formosa would not be aided by Batavia this year. It was therefore rumoured that he had reconsidered his oft-repeated intention and resolved to accomplish it on the 13th day of their eighth moon (which fell on one of the closing days of our September), seeing that several of his pioneer junks had already sailed from Amoy past the islands of Toota.

This report was confirmed by a Chinese leather-merchant of Formosa named Juko; who, proceeding homewards on 25 October 1660 in the Company's pilot-boat from Pekou, had called—for friendship's sake—in the fifth month upon the fugitive interpreter Pincqua at Amoy. In the course of a lengthened conversation, the interpreter said that there was not the slightest chance for Tayouan. He also produced a model in wood of Fort Provintia, and emphatically declared that Koxinga had intended to arrive in Formosa during the eighth moon, but that this did not meet the approval of Sangae; other officers also thinking the time to be inopportune, and saying that, because of insufficient ammunition and other drawbacks, the expedition should be postponed till one month before harvest. Pincqua regarded it as perfectly certain that they would go to war with Formosa, and he made the further statement that three hundred navigators well acquainted with the seaboard of Formosa had already been engaged by Koxinga.

As Juko remained afterwards for a week at Pekou, he heard from a few others of the Chinese, who had arrived from China, that Koxinga's forthcoming attack was very much doubted owing to reports in circulation as to the powerful assistance which had been obtained from Batavia.

All this was confirmed by two of Koxinga's soldiers, captured during the war. When questioned on 7 September and 20 October 1661, they freely admitted that Koxinga had really intended, and appeared ready, to surprise Formosa in March and September of the previous year.

Corroboration also came from the Dutch officials in Japan in their letter of 15 October 1660, stating that they understood from the Chinese and their interpreters, that Koxinga had really proposed to accomplish his intention at the time already referred to, but that he afterward resolved rather to fight and die in his own country like a soldier. See No. 16.

The same was further confirmed by our Agent at Siam in his letter of 30 June 1660, as may be seen in No. 17. But what need for so many proofs? Even shortly before the arrival of the fleet, Koxinga had again interfered with the sea-route from China to Formosa, from which action it might have been guessed that he had no good feeling towards the Company.

And yet, in spite of all this, Jan van der Laan acted very strangely. When

in Tayouan, they called him John *Against-all-reason*, as he was said to be a man as clever in State affairs and police matters as a pig in the fables of Æsop; a brusque and impudent man, given to boasting, careless, proud, senseless, stubborn, and having a very obstinate and uncivil demeanour; all these qualities in him having been noticed by every one who had spent an hour or two in his company. Van der Laan, then, after having been very fully informed of all the rumours and undoubted prognostications of Koxinga's coming to Formosa by the Governor and Council; and after he, according to his own methods, had examined everything and had given his judgment concerning it, yet *tanquam caecus de coloribus*, he flatly declared that every one of the rumours, warnings, presumptions, inquiries, intercepted letters, consternations, flights, and gatherings of the Chinese Colony in Formosa, with what had been said by the Governor and Council to prove Koxinga's certain arrival; that each one of these in particular and the whole put together, were unfounded, improbable, and not to be considered as of any more value than the tales of an old wife which have originated from spinning-wheel gossip; that they were simply the chatterings of a party of dirty Chinese folks meriting no belief; that there existed no real proof, likelihood, nor indication that Koxinga meant any harm or had any future evil designs concerning Formosa; and that, therefore, he judged the trouble and expense of preparation to be useless, and something that ought to be avoided in future, as Koxinga would never come over. He added that, even if matters came to the worst and Koxinga should muster courage to land, Formosa's resources would prove doubly ample for the purpose; even half of its works and defenders being sufficient to repulse those who were not soldiers, but Chinese dogs (as he called them), or little better than poor specimens of very effeminate men.

Many suchlike allegations he made in belittling the enemy. On his first arrival in Formosa he got the name of forming his opinion so quickly about everything connected with Koxinga's threatened coming, that he was supposed to be able, after only two or three weeks' residence in a strange country, so to grasp the situation of affairs, that if called upon, he could at once come to a decision as to the course which should be pursued. At any rate, he discovered in a very short time the secrets of the cunning Chinese, while it took the Governor, the Council, and their officials, who were all thoroughly acquainted with the nature and characteristics of the Chinese people, many long years to gain but a very imperfect acquaintance with their ongoings!

Nevertheless, John *Against-all-reason* held stubbornly to his opinion before the full Council of Formosa on 6 October 1660, affirming that all this talk about Mandarin Koxinga would end in wind and smoke, as had often been the case before; seeing that there was no appearance of his war-fleet, nor anything else to indicate hostility. He added that, as there was no danger in Formosa, everything being quiet and in order, the Council should, in order to meet expenses for the succour-fleet which had arrived there to no purpose, come to a decision as soon as possible about the expedition to Macao which had been ordered by the Governor-general and Council of India.

The Governor and Council of Formosa then showed Jan van der Laan the unreasonableness of his opinion, and that the rumours of Koxinga's threatened invasion had not ceased since the departure of the fleet from Batavia, but continued still. They likewise proved that Koxinga's incessant delays did not arise from his plans being changed in any way, but simply in order that he might successfully make his attack when the succour-fleet had departed, and when such an attack was least suspected. This was the sole reason why Koxinga had not made his attack in March or September of this year, but postponed it till a more suitable occasion.

Again, Koxinga having sustained great loss and a lamentable defeat in Nankin, and being so hard pursued by the Tartars—indicating that his chances of holding out much longer were somewhat doubtful—would be forced through sheer necessity to search for a safe retreat, while no more inviting course could be presented than this of making a raid upon Formosa.

Surely, therefore, the many oft-repeated proofs of his designs on the Island could not all amount to mere weak presumptions. In fact, his arrival was now near at hand, as he had again prevented the Chinese ships from proceeding to Tayouan, had collected them together, and kept them in his possession; from which action it may be undoubtedly concluded that he held himself ready to speedily overtake Formosa on the first convenient opportunity.

Further, in case the Macao expedition were proceeded with according to orders from Batavia, six hundred of the bravest soldiers would have to be embarked from Formosa, leaving in all the garrisons and stations there not more than about nine hundred men; of whom at least two hundred and fifty were sick in hospital, and only very slowly recovering owing to the trying nature of the climate. Thus, if nearly all the most able and practised men departed, there would remain in these dangerous times (besides the sick) only a number of young untrained soldiers, who would not be able to hold out against the most feeble hostile assault, surely one way of placing the Company's affairs in a position of the utmost danger.

Once more. In the year 1650, the Directors at Amsterdam had already ordered—when the Chinese Colony in Formosa was not nearly so large as at present; when Koxinga had not yet suffered his defeats and loss of power at the hands of the Tartars, and when there was less need to fear his approach—that the garrisons in Formosa should consist of not fewer than one thousand six hundred men; and yet they now wanted to decrease the garrison, although the number of forts had been augmented and the danger of invasion increased. This did not tally with the aforesaid reasons, the Company's interest, nor with the good sense of the Governor-general and Council of India, who had expressly disapproved of the Macao expedition unless the condition of Formosa was quite tranquil and no fear of any hostile intentions existed. But as Formosa was now in a perilous condition, and as Koxinga's arrival was certainly near at hand, the most urgent thing should have been attended to, and the expedition to Macao postponed for a time, according to the good intention of the Governor-general and Council of India, who looked more to the safety of Formosa than

to the doubtful capture of Macao. For further information on this subject, see No. 18.

Hence the Formosa Council, wishing to discuss this important matter more fully, postponed their decision about Macao till the 20th of the same month.

At the Council meeting then held, it was reported that, in addition to other difficulties, the soldiers in hospital were not making good recovery, that the news was confirmed of Koxinga having captured a number of Chinese vessels at Amoy, and that his warships had attacked and badly treated two of our vessels in the Pescadores.

With these facts before them, the members of Council proceeded to record their votes regarding this expedition. Van der Laan and the second commanding officer who had come with him, voted in favour of attacking Macao, but the Governor and the others were unanimously opposed to the expedition; advising that it should be postponed till the following February, and suggesting that, meanwhile, inquiry should be made as to whether some more favourable change in the Company's affairs might not be looked for. By a majority of votes this was agreed to. See No. 18.

Accordingly, Captain Pedel, one of the members of Council, moved that, before coming to a final decision on the continuation or abandonment of the Macao expedition, they ought to know if the disposition of Koxinga towards the Company could be more deeply investigated, and if they could obtain full reliable information as to the equipments and preparations for war which he was carrying out in Amoy. Captain Pedel added that, for this purpose, they ought to send a capable man to Amoy, under the pretext of having come for the reply to a certain letter which was sent from Batavia to Koxinga. This proposal was much favoured by van der Laan, and a messenger was sent to Koxinga on 31 October 1660, with a conciliatory letter, which asked for a reply to the still unanswered communication from the Governor-general and Council of India, and made several complaints about Koxinga's conduct towards the Company. For carrying out the remaining part of the resolution, confidence was placed in the dexterity and capability of the messenger.

On his arrival at Amoy, the messenger was politely received by Koxinga, who professed his utmost regard and friendship for the Company, and his willingness to enter into negotiations, but excused himself for prohibiting the trading vessels going to Formosa by saying that he required them for the transportation of his men. During the course of conversation, our trusty messenger tried to draw him out regarding his attitude towards the Tartars, and the extensive preparations for war which were then in progress at Amoy; whereupon Koxinga, not less a good politician than a brave soldier, cut him short with these words: that he was not in the habit of publishing his designs, but often circulated a rumour when he considered this to be for his advantage. He also supplied the messenger with an answer which we shall insert here in full, to show that these people are not so barbaric, savage, or wild as they are supposed to be. Translated from Chinese the letter reads as follows:—

'Koxin, General of the army on the coast of China, sends this letter to the Governor of Formosa.

'Being far away from Your Honour, we hereby express our particular goodwill and affection for the Dutch nation. Your letter was received in due course; but, after careful perusal, we see clearly that Your Honour has heard many false reports, and appears to have accepted them as truth.

'Many years ago, when the Hollanders came to settle in a certain place near Tayouan, the then ruling Prince, my father I-quan, opened, directed, and continued successfully that general mercantile trade between that place and China which I, during my reign, have not diminished, but have rather endeavoured to increase. This is proved by the constant passage of junks from both sides, a concession which Your Honour ought surely to have looked upon as a token of my goodwill.

'Nevertheless, Your Honour still remains in doubt regarding my good feeling towards the State of the Netherlands, by supposing that I have been preparing to head some hostile movement against Your Honour's country; this having clearly arisen from the mere gossip of evil-minded people.

'Certainly, I have now for many years waged war for the recovery of my own territories [from the Tartars], and have been so fully occupied in this way, that there was no opportunity for taking hostile action against such a small grass-producing country as Formosa. Moreover, when engaged in preparations for war, and arrangements have been quite concluded, my practice is to spread a report that I intend to make an exploit eastwards, while my own secret resolution will lead me towards the west. How, then, is it possible to know my thoughts, and to proclaim intentions which are never breathed to any one? But Your Honour lends an ear to, and believes everything; ay, even that I have had the route of traders closed. This is surely not very generous upon your part. The reason why there are so few junks sailing across arises from the heavy duties on import and export goods which merchants in Your Honour's country have to pay, and through which they are very much hampered, even to the extent of meeting with absolute loss instead of profit.

'This year the Tartars came down to these southern regions with a great army, to finish up the war in one battle; but as it happened, we on the tenth day of our fifth moon attacked them so furiously, that over a hundred of their officers, besides numerous soldiers, were killed, and many taken prisoners; while the remainder had to fly precipitately for safer quarters, without daring to show themselves again.

'Shortly after, I removed with all my forces and subjects from the island of Amoy to Quemoy, leaving the former deserted to the Tartars; thinking not only to decoy them in this way, but to catch them as if in a trap, and completely to destroy their power. It was at this time that the merchants made use of their junks for removing their wives, children, and goods. The junks had therefore to be detained here as a protection against all possible danger.

'What more can I add? The complaint is made that subjects of Your

Honour's territory, trading in the Pescadores, have been ruthlessly seized; but if this be so, it has been done without my knowledge or orders, and apparently by the Autingpoise pirates, or by vagabonds in the Pescadores using my name; this however one cannot know for certain.

'As to my not having, according to Your Honour's statement, replied to a certain letter from Batavia—it just strikes me that, four years ago, I did receive a letter and a present from the Governor-general, to which I not only forwarded an answer, but also sent a present in return; and that, about the same time, I wrote respecting the seizing of my junks, and the cargoes they had on board.

'After this the Governor-general wrote again, and his letter was handed to me at Nankin. In it, he stated that, in the matter of those two junks of mine which had been seized by the Dutch with all their money and cargo, the value of my friendship was indicated by the officials at Batavia regarding most of what I had written as being false. They thus tried to close my mouth, so that the only conclusion that I could come to was that they did not intend to pay me any damages. Still, having some experience of such things, I resolved to exercise a little patience about this trifling matter, so as not to create discord in our friendly relations.

'The copy of my letter sent to the General four years ago, I herewith enclose, so that Your Honour may see therefrom what I wrote. I rely on Your Honour's impartial judgment for the cessation of all discord and jealous feeling, and for renewing the friendship of olden times.

'So soon as the Tartars are again quiet, I shall give orders for the trading junks to resume sailing, trusting that, for the sake of the merchants, Your Honour will do everything possible to benefit them, to render them grateful, and to greatly increase their number.

'*Written in the 14th year, the 19th day, and 10th month of the reign of King Indick.*

Shortly after this, to take away all suspicion in Formosa and cradle the people there to sleep, Koxinga reopened the trade, as he had promised, and allowed the junks again to sail to Formosa. This move, however, was like playing at the game of using foxes to catch foxes; for the people all knew that *fistula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps*. The main reason which gave rise to their fear of Koxinga's plans, had been his much-weakened position brought about by the action of the Tartars. Nor had this position improved during the past few years, but rather become worse; in fact so desperate, that driven out from China, Koxinga and his followers now hid themselves in the neighbouring islands to escape the closely pursuing Tartars: a fact which was daily proved by rumours coming from China to Formosa, and which rumours Koxinga himself could not deny in his previous letter.

If, therefore, there was ever any reason to be afraid of Koxinga, now was the time for friends of Formosa to be on their guard. He stood every moment on the point of giving up his last breath, for nowhere was he any longer secure

against the Tartar. Formosa was the only place where there was the least hope of safety ; hence Koxinga's designs upon it. Everything one could see or hear afforded proof of this. Heaven and earth seemed to predict the ultimate downfall of Formosa ; and if it be the case that evil omens and predictions really do occur, several notable things took place about this time.

The extraordinary and terrible earthquakes of the previous year, lasting fourteen days at a stretch, seemed to portend Heaven's wrath and threatening punishment upon the people ; also, a story was circulated that a mermaid had shown itself in the Canal ; and the soldiers told each other that, on a certain night in the Company's Armoury, there was heard a tumult and sound of all kinds of weapons, as if some thousand of men had been engaged in battle.

True: one or two of those alleged occurrences may have arisen from common rumour, and may have had no sure foundation. But to what can we ascribe the statements that, on a certain night, one of the projections connected with the Castle was seen in a blaze ; that, on the Execution ground between the Castle and the City, a woeful groaning was heard, as of dying people—the voices of the Hollanders being distinguishable from those of the Chinese ; and that the water of the Canal was once seen changing into fire and flames. There were said to be many more such fearful premonitions, and each reader is free to believe whatever he thinks best.

That stories of this kind were spread before the war is a reality ; while during the progress of the war, many things occurred which might easily fit in to these predictions. *Sic ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.*

The bearer of Koxinga's letter having returned, and the time rapidly approaching when a final decision would have to come concerning the Macao expedition, the Governor and Council of Formosa, on the ground of Koxinga's certain arrival as before discussed, decided by a majority of votes that the exploit to Macao could not possibly be proceeded with, and that the militia should be retained and employed for the protection of Formosa. See No. 19.

Further, arrangements for the strengthening of the Castle were proceeded with. The soldiers, whose time had expired to return to Batavia, were deprived of their leave, and ordered still to serve another year ; the Assembly for 1661 was again postponed for a year ; the export of food materials was more strictly watched, the Chinese were ordered to depart from many exposed places, which, by orders from Batavia, were not allowed to be fortified ; and, generally, things were placed upon such a position of defence as to indicate that the enemy was daily expected.

But van der Laan strongly resisted this work of preparation, affirming that Koxinga's coming was nothing but an idle fear of the Governor and the Council. He also strongly insisted upon undertaking the Macao expedition ; but finding this of no avail, and that nearly the entire Council were against him, his anger knew no bounds. He showed disrespect to the Governor, quarrelling with him in many matters, and raising difficulties over trifles. He further complained that insufficient respect was paid to him or to his office, saying he was virtually ignored ; and that the Governor ought to

have paid his respects to him immediately on landing, and not waited until he reached the stairs of Government House. He also declared that they had affronted him by hoisting a flag from a small vessel, picked up in Tayouan, and taken from the ship in which His Honour had arrived. Another thing he felt was that, when he came ashore, the soldiers failed to present arms as they had done to the Governor.

These and many other trifling complaints were raised; and he even threatened the Governor, stating that he would yet be revenged for these affronts, which threat was carried into execution on his return to Batavia.

The Governor-general and Council of India in this matter made no little blunder, but whether or not van der Laan was rewarded by their Excellencies with a golden chain, we have never heard; although we learned that on his return from Holland to India he received their thanks, as if implying that some had been too rash in their rejection of van der Laan's report. Without much further digression, therefore, let us allow van der Laan to go to Batavia; for, since the abandonment of the expedition to Macao, everything in Tayouan went against him, even in the face of his opinion that the Governor and Councillors were but a party of poltroons, and not worthy to be compared with a courageous gentleman like himself.

But some may wish to ask if this van der Laan was so excessively stupid that he alone could not comprehend that which all others saw so clearly; or if he was so completely deceived in the matter of the Macao expedition, that he should appear before others in this invidious light.

Our answer must be the same which several persons received who had been at the siege of Tayouan, namely, 'It has never been manifest that van der Laan possessed much sense, but the expedition to Macao was a source of revenue to him.' On asking for proof of that, the reply came: *Auri sacra fames quid non mortalia pectora cogis*—i.e. What does a craving after money not cause in a man's heart. John van der Laan, they added, had already in other parts of India joyfully plundered the Portuguese, contrary to his given word and promise, having thereby greatly enriched himself, and the taste of this was, as it were, still in his mouth and the desire still in his soul. Moreover, the Portuguese in Macao were renowned for their great riches and possessed many treasures. Herewith my questioning stopped, as I could now fully understand why this Macao expedition had so much enchanted van der Laan's heart; and surely my informant was right, for the subject of our conversation was not the only one who in a few years had gained large treasures in India, without any one being a bit the wiser how they were obtained.

Therefore, being thwarted in this matter, van der Laan's hatred against the Governor had become uncontrollable. He tried in every possible way to do him harm, and to bring about his ruin. It is stated that, to accomplish his designs, he conspired with a number of discontented subjects—such as are to be found under all conditions of governments,—amongst them being some who had been promoted out of the lowest depths by the Governor, but not one of the higher officials.

These people, wishing a change in the governorship, declared with van der Laan that they did not believe Koxinga had ever intended to act in a hostile way towards Formosa, or had at present any such malignant feelings. And at a certain banquet given by a merchant named Thomas Baly, van der Laan—who had been purposely brought there—after partaking freely of wine, took advantage of the occasion to be spokesman of the dissentients who were railing against the Government. They then conspired together in framing a manifesto setting forth the condition of Formosa and containing severe accusations against the Governor; charging him with being incapable of holding such a position by reason of his groundless fears in the matter of a declaration of war on the part of Koxinga, which had never been made. Those fears, they alleged, constrained him to take unnecessarily severe measures against the Chinese, who had thereby been driven out of the Island. They declared that he had also neglected the inhabitants, ruined trade, and in other ways showed his incapacity for government; and they concluded by demanding from the Company his recall in the interest of the good administration of the Island. This manifesto was duly communicated to, and supported by, the guests at the banquet, but as they had imbibed somewhat too freely, no signatures were affixed.

The matter was brought up again the following day, after the promoters and abettors had recovered from their carousal of the preceding evening; but each began to make excuse, their courage seemingly having departed, and the document was left unsigned. Nevertheless, van der Laan was commissioned to report at Batavia the charges made against the Governor, and was intrusted with private letters to friends of the guests at Batavia on the same subject. These letters were strongly worded and calculated to incite very strong feeling.

With these letters van der Laan departed in February 1661 to Batavia with the *Dolphyn* and the *Vergoes*, accompanied by his military officers. A request was made that those officers should meanwhile remain in Formosa; but, for several reasons, this was not granted; so that the soldiers who were left behind were entirely without officers.

The remaining ships of the succour-fleet were gradually divided and sent away to different parts of India; with the exception of the *Hector*, the *'s Grave-lande*, and the little bark *Vink*, which were kept to protect the haven of Tayouan. The little yacht *Maria* was retained as a despatch-boat.

In the foregoing pages, we have dealt at too great length with the designs of the enemy upon Formosa, and the defensive preparations on the part of the Dutch; but this has been done chiefly for two reasons: first, because many of these facts and strange events were not sufficiently known; and, second, because the principal charges made against the Governor and Council of Formosa (instead of their servants) are those of groundless fear, the promotion of selfish ends, tyrannical government, obstinate petulance, carelessness, shameful neglect, ingratitude, and jealousy; thus causing the ruin of lands and cities, and being against the wishes of the High Officials.

But, wherein did those crimes consist? Let me briefly point them out, even at the risk of repetition. When Coyett assumed the reins of government,

the trade and sea-route were found closed by Koxinga; and thereupon, with the approval of the Council, he sent Pincqua, a Chinese interpreter, to Koxinga, to arrange for a reopening of trading facilities both by sea and land; which Mission was successfully carried through. This, then, was 'Crime' No. 1, through which the inhabitants were ruined; and by means of which the Company's beautiful and dearly bought dominions in Formosa were surrendered to their deadly enemy, the heathen Koxinga.

Again the Fiscal, by his iniquitous impositions on commerce, as detailed in No. 20, sought to effect the ruin of the people by depriving them of life and property.

Still more, the Governor and Council had on different occasions received from many sources warnings and convincing proofs of Koxinga's designs to take possession of Formosa. These matters they had not overlooked, nor neglected, but had carefully examined. This, however, was the chief 'crime' and was called by the Fiscal a trembling '*ad strepitum pulicis*,' a '*timor panicus*,' that is, a panic originating from an old wife's chatterings.

It was further argued that, from this foolish fear of Koxinga's designs, all the other 'crimes' proceeded, viz. the careful preparations of the Governor and Council to resist the enemy, and the audacity of retaining the soldiers after their natural term of service had expired.

An additional 'crime' was that of postponing the Formosan Assembly; which was done so that, in the event of a sudden attack, the inhabitants would not be deprived of their chiefs, and to avoid the possibility of the populace becoming disorganised.

Another serious 'crime' was the so-called tyrannic treatment of the Chinese people in Formosa arising from the threats of Koxinga's arrival on the Island, whereby their Elders and Chiefs were arrested and retained as hostages, and thus prevented from leading the rebellious Chinese in any assistance they might render to the enemy.

Further, the officials caught five Chinese who were convicted of telling gross falsehoods concerning the position of the enemy, and prohibited the meetings of the Chinese farmers so as to secure proper command of them, and gave orders for the removal of all their portable property to a certain place near the Castle.

They also caused all the doors and windows of the country houses to be removed, so that no shelter could be given to the enemy. Such Chinese farmers who had stirred up fear and bad feeling in the minds of the Formosans, had their houses confiscated, and were expelled from their villages; while some thousands of sacks of rice, which could not be removed, were burned, to prevent it from being used as food for the enemy.

Again, the Formosa Authorities had all the Chinese population expelled from Lamey island; which procedure, in the opinion of the Fiscal, was an unpardonable 'crime,' inasmuch as women and children were thereby exposed and cast out of their homes to die by the dyke-side.

The Fiscal goes on to call them to account for detaining Chinese vessels a

long time at Formosa, lest they should strengthen the enemy, and provide them with tidings of Formosa's condition; for preventing Koxinga's vessels—which, under pretence of being engaged in fishing expeditions, abounded in great numbers—from sailing near the coast of Formosa, because of the approaching war; and for intercepting several letters expressing Koxinga's designs, and cross-examining the Chinese very strictly concerning them—which proceedings the Fiscal condemned as amounting to a criminal violation of the liberty of traders; their frequent arrests and untimely inquisitions being, as he affirmed, fitted only to bring about an extinction of the import trade.

Again, the Formosa officials had acquainted the Governor-general of India of the approaching peril with which the State was threatened, and had dared to ask for ample and speedy assistance; this the Fiscal calls the 'crime' of writing threatening letters without any real cause for alarm.

Lastly, after the war-forces had been sent from Batavia to surprise Macao (notwithstanding the special orders, that if Formosa was seen to be in danger, because threatened by an attack from the enemy, the forces would remain for the protection of Formosa, without proceeding to Macao) the Formosa officials unanimously opposed the expedition to that port, and kept the men at Tayouan against the wishes of Jan van der Laan, simply because they considered Formosa to be in imminent danger of being invaded; and this action the Fiscal characterises as amounting to obstinacy, stubbornness, personal aggrandisement, and disobedience to the High Authorities.

In addition to all these, there were other 'crimes,' not worth mentioning, being of so insignificant a character. It is quite incomprehensible how the Fiscal dared to use this condemnatory language on 21 September 1662 (when his charges were publicly set forth) when all those acts, except postponement of the Macao expedition, had already been approved of by the High Authorities in their missives of 22 April and 16 July 1660, as may be seen from the preceding pages. Now, having once been approved of, how could they, *ex post facto*, again be changed into crimes? Very remarkable indeed; but this is just what happened, for the Governor-general and Council of India, who had in their letters of April 22 and 16 July 1660 already approved of all, proceeded to disapprove them on the 21 of June 1661; characterising them all as crimes, for which the Governor and Council of Formosa should be severely punished.

And this is what really took place; for, without any trial, those officers were dismissed from office and ordered to Batavia, there to receive their punishment. Perhaps it was with a view to this that the Fiscal branded all these acts as 'crimes.' But there is this fact, that eleven days after the aforesaid 21st of June, *i.e.* on 4 July 1661, the Governor-general and Council of India again changed the resolution of 21 June concerning the so-called crimes, and reapproved those actions which they had already declared right on 22nd April and the 16th of July! That is to say, they reinstated the Governor and Council of Formosa in all their offices and posts of honour, and once more confided to them the total administration of Formosa; and yet, the Fiscal remained to condemn that which the High Authorities had approved of! It

may thus be easily seen how unstable were any movements which had reference to matters in Formosa; that the Authorities were busily engaged the one day in censuring what they had approved the previous day, being quite uncertain what course to steer.

'Formosa is lost,' was the general cry amongst all Indian nations and the administrators in Holland. The Governor and Council of Formosa were regarded as first-class delinquents; but these, not wishing to lose their character and honour by admitting themselves to blame for the loss of Formosa, openly declared that they had been too much tied down; that the assistance sent to them was not sufficient; and, in short, that Formosa had been neglected by Batavia. But this defence was hushed up, for it might have led some to demand that the Higher Officials should give an account of themselves; whereupon a few would surely have been landed into that place of outer darkness, where there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth. But enough here-
ant: there now follows our account of the war.

2. Arrival and Victory of Koxinga.—When, in the previous century, our beloved Fatherland had fallen into such extremity that it seemed no longer possible to resist the power of the Spaniards, and when the Church had to all appearance become their slave, that highly celebrated Prince, the greatest politician of the time, whose memory is so dear to the Dutch nation, and on whose martyrdom the first foundations of our precious freedom were laid, forced the desperate Council to surrender their country to the mercy of the waters by breaking the dykes and dams; thus causing it to sink away as if in a precipice, and compelling the people, with their wives, children, and moveable property, to take refuge in their ships. They would then have to depend absolutely on God's mercy, and go to sea in search of other countries, where they could found a new republic: just like the Trojans who, after their city was burnt and their country destroyed, roamed for many years hither and thither on the sea with their wives and children, protected and guided by the pious Æneas; until at length they landed in fertile Italy to lay the foundations of that Republic which, up till the present time, has never seen its equal in power and glory, and which gave birth to the Fourth Monarchy.

In like manner Koxinga, after many long years of war with the Tartars, who pursued him very vigorously, was brought to a state of great extremity; so much so that he was forced to hide his wife and children and all their moveable goods in his junks, and to remove from one island to another.

Being sorely pressed by the Tartars, he was obliged to seek safety in some other country free from their power; for, through lack of vessels and ignorance of the laws of navigation, the Tartars were unable to cross the sea.

The island of Formosa appeared to suit him most, as he could there remain safe and free. Moreover, a splendid opportunity now offered itself, for van der Laan had gone back again to Batavia with his officers, and the ships of the succour-fleet had been separated and dispatched to different localities. Then, the force sent to render assistance consisted of not more than six hundred men;

but these, even including the resident garrison, could not afford protection for the vast possessions of Formosa. Another most important factor was that the north monsoon had almost closed, so that it would be next to impossible for any vessel to reach Batavia in quest of renewed help if Formosa were to be attacked. Koxinga was, therefore, sure that no danger could come from Batavia, so long as he could prevent tidings of his attack reaching it, a thing which seemed certain owing to the lapse of the north winds.¹

Further, the evil reports from van der Laan against the Formosa Council for their abandonment of the Macao expedition had become widely known to the Dutch and Chinese. Every one was speaking about it. Van der Laan, to corroborate his statements, had proclaimed far and wide that the Governor-general and Council of India had always been of the same opinion with him, namely, that these rumours of Koxinga's coming would all end in smoke, and that the Batavians were not concerned about them. He also said that this succour-fleet had not been sent for fear of Koxinga, but mainly to surprise Macao, after calling at Tayouan, so as to calm the fears of the Governor and Formosan Council. He added that he had made such a commotion in Batavia about the whole affair, that the Governor and Council would be sorry for the share they had in it.

From these and other such discourses—which were all reported to Koxinga by letters from the Chinese in Formosa—the enemy could easily take it for granted, that Formosa would be isolated from Batavia if he could prevent any news getting there about his arrival. This, therefore, had been the chief reason why he had postponed his long-considered project till the end of the north monsoon.

This monsoon having now lapsed, he risked the chance, and appeared with several hundreds of war-vessels on 31 April 1661 at daybreak, off the Formosan coast in sight of Castle Zeelandia. On board there were about twenty-five thousand soldiers, who had been all well trained in the Tartar wars.

His chief officer was Bepontok, a deserted Tartar, well acquainted with warfare. This officer headed the fleet with his Nankin junks, and suddenly sailed between the little North islands through the Lakjemuyse Canal, which is situated about one mile from Castle Zeelandia, and is so broad that some twenty could enter it abreast, if close to one another. Bepontok then scattered his vessels over the broad bay which separates Tayouan from Formosa, and landed his men. A few thousands of Chinese came to meet him, and assisted him with lorries and other appliances in landing. Thus, in less than two hours, a considerable part of the force had entered our bays, and a few thousand soldiers had landed on *terra firma*; while war-vessels were placed in position between our two forts, Castle Zeelandia and the little Fort of Provintia.

¹ It should be mentioned here that over Formosa and throughout its entire neighbourhood, the wind blows continually during one half of the year from the north, and the other half from the south; the former wind, commencing about the month of November, being called the north monsoon, and the latter the south monsoon, which begins about May.

The Governor and Council could only look on, without being able to prevent in the slightest this easy entrance and landing of the enemy. To devise means for this was extremely difficult, as they were completely non-plussed and unable to resist such a formidable enemy. They had been compelled by van der Laan and a few others to disperse the fleet, and send the ships to different places; keeping only two war-vessels, the *Hector* and the *'s Gravenlande*, the bark *Vink*, and the yacht *Maria*—small, flat-bottomed and shallow-draught vessels, which were suited only for inland navigation.

Although principally intended for protection of the bay and the channel between, the two Castles, Zeelandia and Provintia, were found to be useless, owing to that faulty construction which had repeatedly been brought under notice of the Government.

Near Castle Zeelandia, there was but one single pilot-boat, which was of too deep draught to be taken close inshore, besides a few Chinese vessels which were totally unfitted for warfare. The number of people in the Castle was about one thousand one hundred, and fully forty armed men. The quantity of powder in the country was about thirty thousand pounds, besides a little on the ships; but practised war-officers, able constables, grenadiers, and engineers, were few; while of all other kinds of ammunition and war material they had but a very limited supply. Still, although it was clear that they could not possibly prevent the hostile force from landing, owing to lack of men and ships, they courageously decided to make the best of it, and to retard and harm the enemy as much as possible.

They therefore ordered the two warships, with the *Vink* and the *Maria*, to advance and give battle to the Chinese junks. Captain Thomas Pedel offered and took upon himself to reconnoitre, skirmish, and, with two hundred and forty men, to dislodge the enemy, who had landed near the entrance of Lakjemuyse. Captain Aeldorp was ordered to cross over with the pilot-boat and two hundred men to Provintia, so as to prevent the enemy from landing there, and to keep open the route between the two fortresses. After the above ships sailed to the Lakjemuyse Canal, they were brought as near as possible to the shore. The men were in good spirits and anxious to attack the junks of the enemy, who also showed much activity.

About sixty of their largest junks, each provided with two guns, separated from the others to meet our men. And thus the naval battle was started by our ships under a terrible thunder of cannons. The *Hector*, being the largest and heaviest, took the lead, and gave promise of success; as on its first arrival with its large cannon, it bored so fortunately through many a junk which came too near, that very soon one or two could be seen sinking, while others kept at a respectable distance.

But the enemy, like brave soldiers, were not to be thus beaten back. Heated by the fight, five or six of the bravest junks attacked the *Hector* from all sides; whose warriors, in trying to save it, caused such a dense smoke by firing its cannon from below, above, front and behind, that neither the *Hector*

nor the junks could be observed from the Castle, from which this battle could otherwise have been easily watched.

During the smoke, such a terrible explosion was heard that it caused the windows of the Castle to shake; and when the smoke had cleared away, neither the *Hector* nor the junks which had been nearest to it could be seen. Unfortunately the *Hector* had been blown up, and cargo and men were lost through an explosion of the powder on board, as was related afterwards by a certain person, who was picked up at sea by the Chinese.

The enemy's courage was whetted through this calamity, and they surrounded our other three ships as closely as ants; but, through the unfortunate and untimely loss of their companion, the latter had become more cautious, and kept clear of the shore by going out to open sea, so as to run no risk of stranding in case of stress from wind or weather. By these tactics, it was hoped that their hands would be more free, and that they would not be so easily surrounded. Thinking they had fled, the enemy started in pursuit, the one side being now more anxious than the other; but, getting into deep water, ours passed two or three times through the enemy's fleet and kept continually firing. Favoured by splendid weather and a soft breeze, they caused considerable damage amongst the invaders' ships and men; who, becoming somewhat alarmed, did not dare to come to close quarters, although they were far from giving up. With two large junks they boarded the *'s Gravenlande* and the *Vink* in the rear. The *Maria* not being fit for warfare, but simply a despatch-boat, and not having accommodation for men, had gone further out to sea, to prevent being seized and overpowered.

Behind these two they attached two others, and so on yet two more, so that they got five or six couples behind one another. Then the Captains with swords in hand drove the soldiers from the hindmost junks to the front, to fill up the places of those who had been shot. By continually pressing forwards to overpower those within our ships, they at length managed to set foot on the *'s Gravenlande*, notwithstanding the determined resistance. Some had already started to cut through the rigging, but our men made a final courageous attack, drove them back again and got their ship clear. At the same time, they fired from their guns in the forecastle and from the cabin (in which guns were placed), and threw hand grenades. In fact, they caused so great a loss among the attacking Chinese that, according to their own confession, more than a thousand were killed that day, not counting the wounded. Three or four times they had been attacked by Chinese junks which served as fire-boats; but these were all beaten off except one, which managed to attach itself by means of an iron chain to the *'s Gravenlande's* bowsprit. Hereupon, she caught fire, but through the alacrity of our men this was soon extinguished, and the fire-boat became detached. At length the Chinese, who had spared no effort to conquer these two ships, departed and went with their junks close to the shore.

Meanwhile, if our men were busy at sea, those on land were not idle; but caused the Chinese as much trouble in all quarters as possible. Captain Pedel

accompanied two hundred and forty brave picked men, who were embarked on the pilot-boat and on some Chinese vessels which had been left near the Castle. He went to Baxemboy, a sand plain of about a square mile in area, and having one corner projecting right opposite Castle Zeelandia, and the other finishing up near the Lakjemuyse bay. It formed, in conjunction with another sand plain, the previously mentioned Canal. Having arrived there, Pedel divided his troops into two companies, arranged them in position, and called upon them to be brave and to fear not the Chinese enemy, for he would certainly lead them to victory. Captain Pedel had himself a fixed and undoubted assurance of success, and his bright, hopeful attitude inspired the men, who were satisfied that the Chinese had no liking for the smell of powder, or the noise of muskets; and that after the first charge, in which only a few of them might be shot, they would immediately take flight and become completely disorganised.

Such an event actually happened in the year 1652, when two or three hundred of our soldiers quite overwhelmed about seven or eight thousand armed Chinese, and put them to flight. Since that time, the Chinese in Formosa were regarded by the Hollanders as insignificant, and in warfare as cowardly and effeminate men. It was reckoned that twenty-five of them put together would barely equal one Dutch soldier, and the whole Chinese race was regarded in the same way, no distinction being made between Chinese peasants and soldiers; if he was but a native of China, then he was cowardly and had no stamina. This had come to be quite a fixed conclusion with our soldiers, and although they had often heard about Koxinga's brave exploits against the Tartars, proving his soldiers to be anything but cowardly, yet this did not seem to alter the general opinion. Their fighting had been against the poor, miserable Tartars, and no opportunity had yet been given them of showing their bravery against the Netherlands, who would soon settle them, and make them laugh on the wrong side of their faces.

Preoccupied with such thoughts, Captain Pedel, after a short prayer, marched with his men in good order straight towards the enemy. These had landed on the other side of Baxemboy, and mustering four thousand men in full fighting trim, they came to meet him. Noticing the small number of the Dutch troops, they detached from their main body seven or eight hundred soldiers, who marched round behind the hill to attack this little Dutch force in the rear.

The latter courageously marched in rows of twelve men towards the enemy, and when they came near enough, they charged by firing three volleys uniformly. The enemy, not less brave, discharged so great a storm of arrows that they seemed to darken the sky. From both sides some few fell *hors de combat*, but still the Chinese were not going to run away, as was imagined. The Dutch troops now noticed the separated Chinese squadron which came to surprise them from the rear; and seeing that those in front stubbornly held their ground, it now became a case of *sero sapiunt Phryges*. They now discovered that they had been too confident of the weakness of the enemy, and had not anticipated such resistance. If they were courageous before the battle (seeking to emulate the actions of Gideon), fear now took the place of their courage, and

many of them threw down their rifles without even discharging them at the enemy. Indeed, they took to their heels, with shameful haste, leaving their brave comrades and valiant Captain in the lurch. Pedel, judging that it would be the veriest folly to withstand such overwhelming numbers, wished to close together and retreat in good order, but his soldiers would not listen to him. Fear had the upper-hand, and life was dear to them; each therefore sought to save himself. The Chinese saw the disorder and attacked still more vigorously, cutting down all before them. They gave no quarter, but went on until the Captain with one hundred and eighteen of his army were slain on the field of battle, as a penalty for making light of the enemy. Other misfortunes befell this unhappy company. A large number of the rifles in possession of our troops were left behind. This battle was fought on a sandy plain, from which escape was impossible, and but for the proximity of the pilot-boat, which lay close to the shore, not one would have been left to tell the tale. The fugitives, who had to wade up to their throats in water, were conveyed to Tayouan.

The campaign of Captain Aeldorp also ended disastrously to the besieged. He, however, was more fortunate than Captain Pedel, in that he did not suffer loss. At one stage of the attack, he stopped; but later on, he started again, for reasons which are given in No. 21. When our men noticed that the enemy landed only a small force on the Sakam side, Aeldorp with two hundred men appeared to keep them in check; but shortly afterwards the enemy came in great numbers to this place, and it was found impossible to repulse them with so small a force. This campaign therefore was relinquished.

In the afternoon, a letter was received from the commandant of Fort Provintia, asking for a hundred men to check the career of the enemy. The Council having hurriedly met, it was decided that such assistance was entirely unnecessary. This conclusion was come to acting on the false assumption that the Chinese soldiers were weaker than the Dutch, and the demand was therefore rejected. There were other reasons which induced them to come to this decision, amongst them being the insufficient number of boats that were now available, and the fear that the Castle and Formosa itself would be seriously endangered were this asked-for contingent of men to meet with a repulse. Further, Captain Pedel had already departed with two hundred and forty men, none of whom had returned; while another force of four hundred men had already been sent to Provintia; so that if this additional company were despatched, the entire reserve force available for protection of the Castle and surrounding district would not amount to more than five hundred men. Such a force, representing the feeblest and least experienced warriors, was judged much too small to protect the lives and property of the subjects, hence the negative response to the commandant's appeal.

It was however decided, as an alternative scheme, that the two hundred men commanded by Aeldorp should be despatched as soon as they returned from Baxemboy. In accordance with this decision, the pilot-boat and a small Chinese craft were engaged to convey the two hundred to Provintia; but, as

the pilot-boat had a deep draught, and the shore at Provintia was exceeding shallow, it was found that only sixty men could be got ashore. Even these had to wade up to their chests in water, and were much upset by means of a shallow-draughted Chinese vessel, which cruised close at hand. It was after much difficulty and after assistance had been obtained from Fort Provintia that the sixty succeeded in landing. Aeldorp could not approach nearer this ship than the distance of a musket-shot, being compelled to protect his men who were wading in the water; and as he could not himself effect a landing and could render no further assistance, he returned with the remainder of his men to Tayouan, and reported the impossibility of landing, and other difficulties.

These three campaigns, one at sea and two on land, having thus terminated unsuccessfully, the Hollanders were now quite incapable of preventing the enemy from effecting an entrance, and from pouring in their troops. They could therefore only be melancholy spectators of the enemy taking full advantage of the opportunity, whose junks gained an easy passage through the Lakjemuyse bay.

Meeting with no resistance, those invaders could land everywhere at their leisure, and dominate to their heart's content. They cut off all power of communication on sea as well as land; and besieged Fort Provintia, thereby separating it from Castle Zeelandia, and isolating the one from the other. They were also complete masters in the country, and interdicted the Formosans from communicating with the besieged, thus preventing any assistance being rendered by the former to the attacked party. Receiving help from the twenty-five thousand armed men of the Chinese colony, all this was accomplished within the space of three or four hours. Even the astonished and desperate Formosans were forced to submit themselves to the enemy, and were, with all the Chinese residents, made use of to do us harm.

This wonderful progress was brought about more through the stupidity and mismanagement of the Batavian officials than by the enemy's audacity, of which they had previously received sufficient warning. Koxinga, thus far successful in everything, haughtily demanded the surrender of both castles; and threatened that, if met with a refusal, he would give orders to slay all within their walls.

The Council thereupon met, with the principal military and other officers, to take their bearings in the face of such a humiliating defeat. They saw that Fort Provintia was in imminent danger owing to its small garrison. They admitted too the Company's inability, through lack of men and vessels, to land there, or to stop the enemy's progress, and drive them back so as to save Provintia from their hands; further, that Castle Zeelandia was through its situation no longer defensible, the city Zeelandia being also totally at the mercy of the enemy, who were now surrounding it completely.

Having earnestly deliberated on these matters, and on how the Company's interests could best be secured, they at last decided to choose the least of two evils—*ex duobus malis minimum*: better lose one finger than the whole hand—by coming to some kind of terms with those formidable enemies, whom they

could not resist for any length of time, and who had already gained such a foothold on the island that they would insist on retaining the greater portion of it for themselves.

The Hollanders therefore agreed that they would be willing to pay an indemnity if Koxinga would leave Formosa alone, abandon his conquests, and permit an undisturbed navigation; but in the event of his refusing to consent to this proposal and insisting on his demands, then they would surrender that which was already lost—namely, the *terra firma* of Formosa, provided our people were granted liberty to come to Tayouan. All these questions were duly considered.

It was thought probable that Koxinga would accept one of the alternatives, and keep on a friendly footing with the Company, rather than make for himself an irreconcilable enemy who could cause him much trouble at sea. They further decided to defend the Castle to the last drop of their blood, no matter what would be the result of these proposals. See No. 23.

The messenger who demanded the Castle in the name of Koxinga returned that same evening with the reply that, next day, two members of Council would visit Koxinga to obtain from him an explanation of his letter, which the Dutch could not clearly understand, owing to a lack of able and confidential interpreters.

Next day, the 2nd of May, another messenger arrived from Koxinga with promises of safe-conduct for the members of Council they proposed to send; and the assurance that during these deliberations no fighting would take place on his part.

Our people then also received word from two assistants of the commandant of Provintia, Jan van Valcken and Adriaen Pieck, to the effect that the refugees there were in want of water, as the well of the Fort had either collapsed, or been closed up by the enemy. This difficulty was all the more serious seeing that the men, women, children, and slaves around Provintia had taken shelter within the walls on the approach of the enemy; who now surrounded them so closely that the garrison-soldiers were fatigued through continually watching, and unable to hold out much longer, or stand more than one attack, especially as no assistance seemed to be forthcoming. After receiving these two messages, the Council again met for consultation.

The members unanimously agreed that there was no possibility of saving Fort Provintia from the enemy's grasp. It was therefore thought advisable that they should try to save the people and thereby strengthen Zeelandia, by pressing for a settlement on the grounds already stated.

For this purpose, the merchant Thomas van Iperen and the fiscal Mr. Leonardus, two Councillors, were authorised verbally to inquire as to the purport of Koxinga's letter; to get at the object of his hostile attitude, and to make terms with him like those just mentioned, should the turn of affairs warrant this. They were also instructed to enter into these negotiations boldly, though civilly (see No. 24); and to conduct themselves under all circumstances in such a manner that, neither from words nor actions, could

any sign of fear be recognised. In the event of Koxinga refusing to relax any of his demands and insisting upon the full surrender of both Castles, then the two envoys were to return without making any further proposals. Before leaving, however, they were to confidently inform him that they were amply provided with men and resources for protection against the assailants; and that the Company would spare no effort to be revenged for this unprovoked invasion.

If convinced that the invaders intended definitely to storm Fort Provintia, the envoys were authorised to surrender the same and the surrounding country on fair conditions and in order that the garrison might be saved. Of course this surrender was not to be made until they were convinced that the commandant had risked the utmost, and that matters were as desperate as had been reported; in which case the commandant was to be allowed to make his capitulation. As regards other details, the envoys were to conduct themselves according to circumstances and their good judgment; but before they departed, they were compelled to take an oath that they would be faithful and obedient.

Having thus obtained their instructions, they set out with a train of attendants on the morning of 3rd of May to Sakam, where Koxinga with his whole army were encamped on the open field round about Fort Provintia.

He had constructed no trenches nor erected any batteries, although he was well acquainted with the modes of warfare, and amply provided with heavy guns, as was proved during a later stage of the war. He evidently thought the Fort could be captured without any such trouble.

The enemy's soldiers used various kinds of weapons. Some were armed with bows and arrows hanging down their backs; others had nothing save a shield on the left arm, and a good sword in the right hand; while many wielded with both hands a formidable battle-sword fixed to a stick half the length of a man. Every one was protected over the upper part of the body with a coat of iron scales, fitting below one another like the slates of a roof, the arms and legs being left bare. This afforded complete protection from rifle bullets and yet left ample freedom to move, as those coats only reached down to the knees, and were very flexible at all the joints.

The archers formed Koxinga's best troops, and much depended on them, for even at a distance they contrived to handle their weapons with so great skill, that they very nearly eclipsed the riflemen.

The shield-bearers were used instead of cavalry. Every tenth man of them is a leader, who takes charge of and presses his men on to force themselves into the ranks of the enemy. With bent heads and their bodies hidden behind the shields, they try to break through the opposing ranks with such fury and dauntless courage, as if each one had still a spare body left at home. They continually press onwards, notwithstanding many are shot down; not stopping to consider, but ever rushing forward like mad dogs, not even looking round to see whether they are followed by their comrades or not.

Those with the swordsticks—called *soap-knives* by the Hollanders—render

the same service as our lancers, in preventing all breaking through of the enemy, and in this way establishing perfect order in the ranks; but when the enemy has been thrown into disorder, the sword-bearers follow this up with fearful massacre amongst the fugitives.

Koxinga was abundantly provided with cannons and ammunition, which however were not so effective as those of the Dutch, notwithstanding that the manufacture of gunpowder and the moulding of cannons had been known quite a number of years earlier in China than in Europe. He had also two companies of 'Black-boys,' many of whom had been Dutch slaves, and had learned the use of the rifle and musket-arms. These caused much harm during the war in Formosa.

His army round Fort Provintia consisted of twelve thousand soldiers, the remainder having been sent to various other places throughout the island to subdue the natives; most of whom accepted the enemy's authority when they saw they were abandoned by the Company.

On their arrival at Koxinga's quarters, the envoys were admitted by an officer and taken into a large tent, where they had to remain until Koxinga would be pleased to give them an audience. While waiting there, different regiments of picked men, fully armed, marched past the tent, and the officer remarked that these were only a few men going to relieve the watch.

After waiting a little longer another officer came to present them to Koxinga, as soon as his hair-dressing preparations had been completed. Meanwhile, this officer conducted our representatives into his own tent, which was a little distance away from the first, there being a ridge of hills between, which somewhat obscured the view. Arriving there, another great body of armed men passed by, whereupon the officer said that these troops had been ordered to leave for the nearest villages. But it so happened that the envoys noticed amongst these men several who belonged to the previous lot who relieved the watch; hence they became suspicious that this marching of troops before their tents was a stratagem to make the army appear more powerful than it really was.

The envoys therefore gave a hint to their train of attendants, and ordered each one, if this passing of troops should again occur, to notice whether any of the soldiers had passed before. Shortly after, a third officer appeared with another company, and this time it was said that these men belonged to Koxinga's bodyguard; but amongst them several were recognised as having formed part of previous companies which had already passed.

After all this palaver, the envoys were at last granted an audience. Koxinga was sitting in an armchair at a square table, inside a blue tent, open from all sides. He was surrounded by the grandees of his people, who were dressed in long robes, like deacons. Neither they nor he himself carried rifles, and they stood there beside him like statues, very respectful and modest. Our councillors passed right through the midst of those attendants, and went up close to the table. Having gone through the usual salutations, they stood there with uncovered heads, and handed over their credentials. One of them then

made the following statement in the Dutch language, which was translated into Chinese by the son of Captain Pedel, who was well acquainted with the Chinese language.

'Serene and renowned Prince,—Frederick Coyett, appointed Governor of Formosa by the Lord-general and Council of India at Batavia, in name of the Directors of the Netherland East Indian Company, has ordered us to convey to Your Highness his friendly greetings, to inquire after your health and condition, and wish all prosperity to your intentions, so far as these do not tend to harm or damage the masters whom he is serving.

'The Lord-governor had heartily desired that he would have been able to greet Your Highness elsewhere, on another occasion, under different conditions, and from other motives; but since Your Highness has been pleased to appear on our shores so suddenly with all your forces, has landed your troops, has attacked the Company malignantly, commanding them to leave Formosa, and surrender the Castles to Your Highness; therefore, the Lord-governor and his Council have thought fit to depute we two members of Council to express great astonishment, that without any previous denunciation or declaration of war, and without any reasonable complaint—at least so far as the Governor and Council are aware—Your Highness has been pleased to attack the Company here, and to demand the Castles and the entire country.

'This action has been the more unexpected by the Governor, inasmuch as His Excellency looked for nothing save neighbourly friendship from Your Highness, out of respect to the memory of Your Highness's highly esteemed Father, who often showed his gratitude for the Honourable Company's numerous acts of kindness, for which he was much indebted to the Lord-governor personally, who always manifested good feeling and acted in a friendly way.

'His Excellency the Governor, counting on Your Highness's friendship with the Company—in which he had much confidence—has always been convinced that, in case of disagreement with the Company, Your Highness would not enter into hostilities until notice had been sent, giving the reasons of discontent, and stating what was demanded as satisfaction. In this case, however, Your Highness has not done so, but has suddenly taken up a hostile attitude towards the Honourable Company. Therefore our Lord-governor, after careful consideration, and being at a loss to discover any cause of displeasure incurred by him, has thought it his duty to ask Your Highness, through us, to kindly give a clear explanation of the letter which was sent to him yesterday; because through lack of able and confidential interpreters, the Lord-governor could not be certain of the proper sense of it, and has thought it necessary to despatch us, so as to ascertain from Your Highness personally what truly is meant.

'Further, we are to request that Your Highness will be good enough to make known the reasons and motives of your displeasure against the Company, and the satisfaction demanded; so that, after investigation, such terms may be arranged, that the old friendship between the Company and Your Highness may again be speedily restored.

'We therefore request a distinct answer so that we may report the same to the Lord-governor.'

To these requests Koxinga, without concerning himself much about the envoys' credentials, immediately replied that the friendship which the Company held towards him was of the same nature as that held towards other Indian Potentates and Princes: namely, that from their side, it lasted just so long as there was any advantage to be gained by it; for if they saw it to be to their advantage, no such friendship was observed, but they would not scruple in the least to throw a net over any one's head when it suited them to do so.

He added that he was not at all obliged to give an account of his actions, but saw no need for concealing from them the fact that, in order to a successful prosecution of his war with the Tartars, he had thought it advisable to take possession of Formosa.

Hitherto this island had always belonged to China, and the Dutch had doubtless been permitted to live there, seeing that the Chinese did not require it for themselves; but requiring it now, it was only fair that Dutch strangers, who came from far regions, should give way to the masters of the island.

He came not with a view to wage war against the Company (although his men had on several occasions been very unkindly treated by them), but only to take possession of his belongings; and, to prove that he had no intention to enrich himself with the Company's means, he would allow them to embark their goods and effects in his own junks, and to break down the Castles and remove the cannon with other materials to Batavia; provided all this were done immediately. In that case, the friendship between him and the Company would remain undisturbed, though they had already given great offence by attacking his junks and soldiers at sea and on land with their ships and men.

Surely he had been quite right in defending himself against them; but, inclined to be friendly with the Company, he would overlook these hostile actions if they would clear out from Formosa in the way indicated; which in reality belonged to him, and not to the Company. However, if they ignored his magnanimity, declined to restore to him his own property, and wished to keep that still longer from him, he would be compelled to urge his claims to the utmost with such resources as he possessed, and the Company would then have to defray the entire expense.

He added further:—'You Hollanders are conceited and senseless people; you will make yourselves unworthy of the mercy which I now offer; you will subject yourselves to the highest punishment by proudly opposing the great force I have brought with the mere handful of men which I am told you have in your Castle; you will obstinately persevere in this. Do you not wish to be wiser? Let your losses at least teach you, that your power here cannot be compared to a thousandth part of mine.'

'You have by this time surely seen with your own eyes what your iron ships, with which you think you can accomplish wonders and on which you boast so much, can do against my junks; how one of them has been burned by

one of my junks and has disappeared in smoke; how the others would have met with the same doom had they not taken to flight and gone out to sea.

‘On land you saw how the pride of Captain Pedel was so much humbled that he with his men, who are as foolish as himself, could not even bear the look of my men; and how, on the mere sight of my warriors, they threw down their arms and willingly awaited their well-deserved punishment with outstretched necks. Are these not sufficient proofs of your incompetency and inability to resist my forces?’

‘I will give you more and stronger ones. But if you still persist in refusing to listen to reason and decline to do my bidding, and if you wish deliberately to rush to your ruin, then I will shortly, in your presence, order your Castle to be stormed. (Here he pointed with one hand towards Fort Provintia.) My smart boys will attack it, conquer it, and demolish it in such a way, that not one stone will remain standing. If I wish to set my forces to work, then I am able to move Heaven and Earth; wherever I go, I am destined to win. Therefore take warning, and think the matter well over.’

The envoys then remonstrated that Formosa did not belong to China, but to the Company; for by a formal contract drawn up with the grandees of China, they had left the Pescadores and taken possession of Formosa; therefore Koxinga could have no right or pretence of claim to it. They further protested very strongly against the improper manner of his invasion; insisted that he should specify any grounds of complaint he had against the Company; and expressed the desire to come to a mutual arrangement that might prove satisfactory to both parties. But after much discussion, Koxinga pretended not to understand; and declared his fixed intention to be that we should abandon the whole island, thus rendering it quite needless to carry on further negotiations.

He gave them till eight o’clock next morning to consider whether they would promptly leave the entire island and gratefully accept this mercy, or prefer to go into war and resist him. If we decided to leave Formosa, the Prince’s flag should be hoisted; but, if the contrary, we had simply to unfurl the blood-flag, without troubling him with further deliberations, which he would refuse to enter upon.

Hereupon, the conference ended, and the envoys were permitted to leave; but, according to instructions, they strongly protested at this stage, and said that the Company would use every means to protect itself against so great an injustice. Because, seeing that Koxinga would be satisfied with nothing else than the whole island, the envoys were pretty sure that, on delivering such a message to-morrow, no Prince’s flag, but the blood-flag, would float from Castle Zeelandia. In fact, this prolonged discussion was quite unnecessary, for they were well aware that the Governor would await any attack like a soldier. There was no lack of men or other necessities, as would shortly be proved, if circumstances demanded that they should be brought forward.

The envoys then departed and were taken to a high hill, from which the whole army could be seen. However, before time was given to take careful

note, a cannon was fired, and they all dispersed far and wide. The soldiers concealed themselves behind little hills, so that it was impossible in the short time available to estimate their numbers. Yet these companies and their dispersing gave the appearance of a formidable army.

As on their arrival, so also on their departure, our envoys were accompanied by a Chinese general, who permitted them to visit the commandant of Fort Provintia before sailing across. Our stronghold there was found to be in a very feeble condition. There was not sufficient water to last for eight days. Provisions and food-supplies were scarce; while of gunpowder there was not more than would suffice for one assault. In short, they had found matters to be as they had been reported shortly before to the Council by Jan van Valckensteyn and Adriaen Pieck. This seemed very strange to the envoys, seeing that several months before the approach of the enemy, the Council of Formosa had decided that Fort Provintia should be continually provided with food-supplies and ammunition to last during a period of six months; all of which had been duly supplied by the commissariat-officer, Cornelis Rosewinckel; but where those supplies had gone to, no one knew except the commissariat-officer or the commandant of the fort himself. The former was shot during the siege, and the latter was still a prisoner in the hands of the Chinese. The common belief was that most of the gunpowder had been taken away and embarked into the vessel *Nien-Enchuysen*, which was ordered ten weeks before to take 8000 pounds of gunpowder to Siam. It has thus been surmised that the commandant, wishing to renew his powder, instructed the commissariat-officer to have it taken on board the said vessel, so as to get new powder in its place on the first possible opportunity. But this renewal of the supply seems to have been neglected by the commissariat-officer, and was later on prevented through the sudden arrival of the enemy. Moreover, the hunters kept by the commandant and principal officers of Provintia to keep up the supply of game, consumed no small amount of powder every month. As regards the food-supplies and provisions, it was an easy matter for them to enter into a private trading speculation with the Chinese people. However, we shall not make any further comment upon the subject, as it is not our intention to accuse a dead or imprisoned man. But even supposing that Fort Provintia had been amply supplied with gunpowder, water, provisions, and ammunition, this would have made but little difference; as it could have held out only a few days longer before falling into the hands of the enemy. Nevertheless those guilty of neglecting to make the necessary provision should not be free from punishment all the same.

Thus, all hope of assisting Provintia from Tayouan had to be given up, through lack of men, and small flat-bottomed ships suited for warfare and for the conveyance of troops. Again, through gross mismanagement, communication between the two fortresses had not been kept clear, so that Provintia was practically at the mercy of the enemy, being quite unfit to defend itself against them; another unfortunate thing being that this latter stronghold had been built for the purpose of defeating only a party of Formosan rebels and unarmed

Chinese farmers, and was never constructed to withstand the shock of cannon balls.

Therefore, after due consideration, and an assurance from the commandant that he could not defend it without assistance, the envoys allowed him to make his own bargain with the enemy, so that he might save himself, but only in a way that would not tarnish his honour or that of his masters. He was told specially to insist that the garrison would be saved and taken to Tayouan.

In the afternoon of that same day, the envoys arrived back again in Castle Zeelandia, and related their experiences to the full meeting of officials which had been summoned against their return. As was to be expected, those present were completely at a loss what course to adopt; more particularly those who, like van der Laan, had maintained that the enemy would never attack Formosa, that too many and useless fortifications had been made, and that it would be time enough to act on the defensive when the enemy had actually arrived. But now that the enemy had arrived, they were at their wits' end. What could they do? What means could they adopt to afford protection? There they sat, innocent, and with their hands through their hair. Communication between the two forts had stopped. *Provintia* was lost. Those shut up in it were cut off from the mainland, and could therefore expect neither food-supplies nor war-material.

Accordingly, our people at Tayouan could only look on and allow the enemy to take complete possession. The place itself was but a barren sand-plain, where no grass would grow; and, surrounded on all sides by the sea, it was impossible to get away from it. Nor had they sufficient men or means to injure the enemy; so their only hope was to defend Castle Zeelandia, until they might obtain powerful aid from Batavia, only on the understanding, however, that they could meanwhile resist the enemy, and arrest his advance with the help of the Formosan natives. This seemed the only way to save the Company.

What hope was there to hold the Castle for any length of time? The south monsoon had just started, so they would have to allow six months before they could send news to Batavia of their condition; and again another six months before the north monsoon ended, and enabled them to receive tidings from Batavia during the next south monsoon. Hence they would require to hold out at least twelve or thirteen months before they could possibly receive any assistance from that quarter.

This was rather a hard nut to crack. The enemy might any hour land on the Tayouan sand-plains; a contingency which would keep the men in constant alarm and fatigue. But even looking at it in its brightest aspect, and supposing that no attack were made on the Castle, still a simple blockade of several months would be sufficient to starve them. The men would necessarily die from hunger and thirst, or be rendered unfit through insufficient food. Then, the water—which was obtained from wells and was very brackish and unhealthy—would tend to make matters worse. All these points

were duly considered in Council, and it was clear to every one present that matters presented a bad look-out for the Company. However, they did not lose courage, but exhorted one another to steadfastness and valour, hoping that they would receive assistance in time from Batavia. Their previous resolution of defending Castle Zeelandia to the utmost, like honourable men, they renewed; and they also thought it advisable that the inhabitants of Zeelandia city should be taken into the Castle next day (see No. 5), as their quarters lay open on all sides, and were bounded on three sides by the sea.

This precaution was necessary owing to the exposed position of the city, the enemy's little ships being able to approach it at all times, especially during night. The defence of the city would have required as many men as the Castle needed, seeing that it had no walls, dykes, balustrades, or any other means of protection. Hence its safety could not be secured without endangering the Castle; a state of things which might have easily been prevented had the proposal from Batavia been carried out to build two or three little stone parapets at the outer corners of the city—which was not large but very small—and connect these together and to the Castle with light stone walls. The city would then have been guarded on all sides by the Castle's cannon, considerably strengthened in the rear, and capable of being held by a small force. But this proposal was afterwards opposed by the officials at Batavia, who shrank from the expense, and preferred to act on a 'penny wise and pound foolish' policy.

The following day, the 4th, our people unfurled the large blood-flag from Castle Zeelandia as a token to Koxinga that they had decided to await him manfully by defending themselves to the utmost. Nor was Koxinga himself idle, for he demanded the surrender of Fort Provintia on good conditions; adding that, if the commandant refused and forced him to place his cannons in front of it, he would give no quarter during that struggle in which no help could be looked for. After a little useless palaver, the commandant handed over Fort Provintia to the Chinese, with its warlike stores and everything it contained; the commandant with all his men being treated as prisoners of war.

Encouraged by this success, our victorious enemies crossed at night over to the Tayouan sand-plain, and landed near the south corner which was farthest away from the Castle. As a few thousands of their men, some of them mounted, came very close to reconnoitre, ten or twelve of our horsemen (this was all there was in Tayouan) strengthened by some footmen, were ordered out to skirmish, but they could not allure the foe into the ambushade which our footmen had formed behind certain sandhills.

On the east side, many Chinese vessels were anchored just beyond reach of the cannon. This caused so much consternation amongst the people of city Zeelandia that they would no longer stay there; saying that to stay one night in the city now, would just be like placing their heads on the block. They accordingly went to the Castle to enter it without orders.

Their captain, David Harthouwer—a member of the Formosan Council—

thereupon asked Governor Coyett what he intended to do with them. He also stated (without the knowledge of the citizens) that if they had to stay in the city any longer, two hundred more men would at once be required to defend the Castle; and from this remark, the officials at Batavia afterwards concluded that the citizens of Zeelandia had been offered two hundred men from the Castle to protect them, if they would but remain in the city.

When the Council met, it was unanimously resolved to abide by the former decision and protect the people. See No. 6. Thereupon the Governor instructed Harthouwer to admit them, as their wives and children had been the previous day.

It may be added that, five days before the enemy arrived, the furniture, moveable property, and everything of any value belonging to the citizens, had been taken into the Castle by soldiers, sailors, Chinese labourers, and by male and female slaves. With regard to this transport of goods, all were eager to see to their own property before that of others, and gave many of their belongings to those nondescript carriers, who did certainly stow the articles away, but so securely that they could never be found again by their owners. Sometimes the extinguishers and helpers at any great fire include notorious thieves, and if articles are lost, it is because they must have been burned! Similarly, much property being amissing here, they said that it must have been left in the city. As a matter of fact, however, nothing was left in the city except a quantity of rice, which could not be removed, and was therefore ordered to be burned; but through some interruption, this order was not carried into effect.

At the first arrival of our enemies on 30 April, when they were not yet quite sure where they were to land, it was found advisable to construct a small battery in the city for protecting the channel between the two forts; but when *Provincia* surrendered, this battery became useless and was taken into the Castle when the citizens entered. Everything else in the city would have also been brought inside had it not been for the threatening aspect of the enemy, who, on 5 May, came from all sides towards the city in a great number of small ships. We therefore began to thunder out vehemently, but with no effect, as our cannon could not be aimed low enough to do any damage to the quick-sailing and closely approaching vessels.

Some musketeers under command of Captain Aeldorp were then placed in the city to charge the enemy when landing; but as the latter approached in great numbers from all sides at the same moment, our men had to retire to the Castle. Before retiring, however, our men carried out their instructions by setting fire to the city at the four corners. This they did to at least the principal buildings, such as the sawmills, the Deli stores, and various other houses; expecting that when the fire extended, it would lay the entire place in ashes. But the enemy managed to extinguish the fire and save the city.

Between three and four thousand soldiers posted themselves in the streets beyond reach of the cannon; and meanwhile the road from the city to the Castle remained open, and was not protected by any ditches or parapets.

Thus, from 5th May when they entered the city till the 25th of the same month, these soldiers did not commit themselves either way, but remained quite inactive. Only at rare intervals during these twenty days did a few trifling skirmishes take place, and then the enemy was much inconvenienced by our soldiers throwing bombs and stones wherever they appeared. At such times, the enemy paid not the slightest attention, but made extensive preparations to effect their purpose of ending the war by one great battle. They imagined that, by firing say for half a day on our light walls, they could make such havoc that the walls would be driven inwards, and thus render the Castle defenceless. For this attack, arrangements were soon completed; twenty-eight cannons being brought into the city on 24th May, and placed after dusk on the flat plain, which was still free from barricades.

These operations—which necessarily caused much noise—were met from the Castle throughout the whole night by the firing of cannon and muskets. But owing to the thick darkness, our firing proved somewhat wide of the mark, and the enemy met with little hindrance in carrying out their designs. Day-break had hardly commenced on the 26th of May when, from the east, a perfect thunder and lightning storm, caused by the multitude of bullets from the enemy's guns, struck the walls of Castle Zeelandia; whereupon our soldiers ran to the bulwarks with the object of responding in true Dutch fashion to this Chinese morning salute.

The Governor, whose many duties occupied him throughout that night, had just laid himself down to rest when this terrific noise awoke him; and he too ran to the bulwarks to take a general survey. His practised eye at once observed the weak position of the enemy's cannon, which were entirely unprotected, and in great danger if attacked. The Governor could also see that the enemy—who appeared jubilant over the success of their firing, and very hopeful that a breach would be made in the walls—had wandered in great numbers outside of their barricades, and were thus recklessly exposing themselves. He therefore restrained the anxiety of our men, and commanded that not a single shot should be fired in the meantime. All the pieces were then arranged in such a position that their respective shots would cross one another, and were charged with powder, musket-bullets, and large iron nails. The musketeers took up their places along the outskirts of the balustrades; and when at length a suitable opportunity arose, the word of command was given to fire on the unprotected Chinese from above, below, and all sides, simultaneously. This order was so well executed that, with the first charge, nearly the whole field was strewn with dead and wounded; the enemy being thus taught the lesson not to expose themselves so readily.

In spite of this, however, their commander, who seemed very obstinate, was said to have promised Koxinga, on the forfeit of his head, that he would storm the Castle in this first attack. Whether the rumour was correct or not, I will not at present discuss; still on two occasions he did act in a very rash way by bringing forward relays of men to replace those who had been slain, and doing so under the most furious cannonading from the Castle. It was bad general-

ship, for the occupants of the Castle, seizing their opportunity, sent such a volley of musket and cannon balls amongst those senseless people, that, if the current reports of prisoners and deserters are to be accepted, fully a thousand were killed and a great number wounded. Our bold assaulters were thus obliged to retire in confusion to the streets and lanes of the city. There they were protected from the muskets and cannon balls of the Castle; but they retired in such disorder, that their own cannons were abandoned, with the charges left inside. A few of them had been rendered useless by the Castle's fire.

While this attack was being made from the city, another hostile party of about six or seven thousand strong approached the Castle from the south, *viâ Bockestai*, past the *Pyn-appels*, and along the sand-dykes. However, having come within reach of our cannon, those invaders were so heartily welcomed, that they were compelled to retire behind the sand-dykes for shelter against the Castle's cannon and muskets. There they remained, quietly waiting until those of the city had made a breach in the Castle, with the view of rushing in along with them. Meanwhile, the besieged took note that the enemy had sheltered themselves against our cannon and muskets on the south side, near the *Pyn-appels*, as well as on the east side within the city; and that, therefore, no advantage could be gained now by firing from the Castle.

Still, as the enemy had precipitately abandoned their own cannons, the besieged deemed it wise to take advantage of the opportunity by sending a few sailors and musketeers to spike them. This spiking party was instructed to make a rush for the city, and, after finishing their work, or when they got a sign from the bell, to return immediately to the Castle. For although the retreating enemy had no other motive than to conceal themselves from our guns behind the streets and sandhills, it was uncertain how they would behave on noticing this unexpected sally of our men. Because of their superior numbers, they might try to surround our soldiers; or those behind the sandhills might come to assist their comrades in the city—from which they were only half a musket-shot removed—and so cut off all chances of our men's return to the Castle. Nor were these the only possibilities connected with this dangerous undertaking—which could be observed far better from the top of the Castle (where the enemy's movements could be watched) than from the surrounding plain.

Therefore, by means of the Castle bell it was decided to warn our men in time to return. Their rush from the square of the Castle to the city was quickly and courageously executed, and almost no time elapsed before the sailors were sitting across the enemy's cannons and disabling them with their iron spikes. However, so soon as the enemy detected our men, a skirmish between their archers and our musketeers took place. They shot several arrows from the side streets and the roofs of the houses; but, when our sailors had finished their work, they were assisted by a few military comrades in tearing down the banners which had been planted by the enemy on the palisades. With these banners, they proudly marched in triumph over the Castle square,

but became somewhat disorganised while doing so. As this was observed from the Castle, and our sailors had really completed their work, they were summoned to return by sound of the bell. That whole encounter resulted in the loss of two or three men in addition to several who were wounded, spiking of the guns, and the capture of thirty-two banners which our enemy had hoisted over the palisades.

As regards this sortie, some afterwards expressed the opinion that the many corpses which covered the ground, the enemy's desertion of their war-material, and the absence of opposition when our men continued to spike their cannons, all gave an opportunity for making that quick general assault upon the Koxingians which would have dislodged them from the city and brought the struggle to a summary conclusion.

However, the Governor and the majority of his Councillors thought the carrying out of this proposal to be impossible; for although the enemy's attack had been unsuccessful, and had resulted in a heavy loss of killed and wounded, and although they had been compelled to desert their cannons and hide themselves in the streets of the city, yet their sudden retreat was not a panic, but had been effected in an orderly manner, and not through fear of our men. It was simply an orderly retreat to come under cover against the firing of our cannon; and now that our men had silenced the enemy's guns, those useless weapons could not be made available against the enemy.

Moreover, such a general sortie would involve the employment of as many soldiers as could be gathered together; but seeing that three or four hundred men would be needed for effectively working the guns on seven ramparts and three corners of the Castle, not a single man would be left to protect the flanks and other parts of our stronghold. If, therefore, the sortie had been proceeded with, only seven or eight hundred men could have been placed against a force of at least four thousand braves stationed in the streets of the city, besides a further company of not fewer than seven thousand well-equipped warriors behind the hills and sand-dykes not more than a musket-shot from the city.

Accordingly, the defenders of Castle Zeelandia would certainly have regarded an undertaking of this kind as *extrema dementia*, extremely desperate, and without the slightest hope of success. They could not but expect that the enemy, brave soldiers as they were, as soon as an attack was made by so insignificant an army, would immediately come to close quarters and surround their assailants in large numbers, seeing they would have no occasion to be afraid of our cannon. The Koxingians could also have readily obtained assistance from those behind the hills; or this latter party could, during our charge, have easily scaled the walls of the Castle on all sides and surprised it. There was, therefore, no hope of success in such a venture, but rather the greatest probability that all would be lost in one or two hours. Even supposing the city were conquered, and those behind the sand-dyke remained quiet, the loss of the enemy might have amounted to only a few men and guns. And to them this would have been a mere temporary drawback, as sufficient guns and men would still be left to continue a close blockade. Hence, no comparison could

be made between their loss and ours ; they losing only part, and we everything ; so that, in view of all these considerations, the Governor and Councillors decided against the undertaking.

As, however, the best navigators are sometimes found on land, so those in Batavia insisted, against all reason to the contrary, that this sortie should have been undertaken. Having no other cause of accusation against them, they accused the Governor and Council of allowing this favourable chance to pass, and declared them highly punishable. Strange to say, however, not one could be found to bring forth any charge against the high officials of the Formosan Government or the war-officers who had been present at the first-mentioned attack ; nor would any one sustain the necessity even of that attack. On these points, each and all remained silent ; but all who were summoned to give their opinion concerning the recall of those who formed the spiking party, unanimously declared that, after our men had then done their work and could gain no further advantage over the enemy, it was clearly their duty to return to the Castle ; as indeed they had done in obedience to the summons of the bell.

Hence this accusation of failing to make a general sortie was favoured only by a few outside the official circle who possessed no knowledge of either the enemy's strength or the weakness of the position inside the Castle. They did not appear anxious to get at the actual facts, but imagined all sorts of baseless charges, and with the one object of thereby meriting the approval of those in high position at Batavia. Their watchword came to be, 'Crucify them, crucify them,' and every one who could introduce anything in the nature of slander against the Governor and Councillors, however trivial, immediately obtained an audience, and was granted some kind of reward. A case in point is that of Paulus Davidszoon de Vick, who arrived from Tayouan without a friend in Batavia, and was immediately appointed Accountant in place of Mr. Speelman, thus preventing several old merchants, who had influential friends, from becoming candidates for the situation. Two years before, Mr. de Vick had been promoted by Governor Coyett to be Head-Merchant. This appointment, however, was cancelled in Batavia on two distinct occasions, but the Governor repeatedly petitioned the Governor-general and Council of India that de Vick should be allowed to retain his office, and this was ultimately granted in response to the persistent appeals of Mr. Coyett. And yet, during the siege, de Vick showed his gratitude by inditing a letter to Batavia containing shamefully untruthful accusations and false explanations, with the object of slandering his benefactors, the Governor and Council of Formosa. Further, on his return to Batavia, he attempted to corroborate his statements, and thereby gained so much popularity that, while previously he had not a single friend there, he now became every one's favourite ; and, as a recompense, attained to the distinguished position of Accountant-general.

Thus the anxiety to discover anything whereby to slander the Governor and Council was such that the ridiculous, unreasonable, and absurd charge just referred to was persisted in by people who had never been in Formosa, who were totally unacquainted with the place, the strength of the enemy as

compared with our own forces, or any other details connected therewith. In the name of all that is reasonable, what other course of action could Governor Coyett have taken? Besides the small number of soldiers at his disposal, and the feeble situation as related above, he had not even the assistance of able military chief-officers. The Staff consisted of Captain Aeldorp, who was a baker's assistant by trade, and one sick lieutenant who was quite unfit for service. These were the only chief-officers in the Castle; and yet such men were expected to lead battles, storm and conquer cities, and do other grand war-exploits, which they had never witnessed in their lives. They had been promoted from the ranks to higher distinction owing to expiration of their term of service, and because the officers who had knowledge and experience in military affairs had been taken away by van der Laan to Batavia.

As for the members of the Formosan Council themselves, with the merchants and under-merchants, they had never wielded any more powerful instrument than the pen; never witnessed a battle, and had not the slightest knowledge of war. If, then, these were the men who were called upon to assist the Governor in making a desperate charge, then it would undoubtedly have ended with even more disastrous results than the absurd attempt of Captain Pedel with an army of two hundred and forty against an enemy consisting of four thousand men at Baxemboy three weeks ago, where surely it was proved beyond doubt that the Chinese were no farmers, but trained soldiers. But even although this sortie seemed to be possible, yet the Governor had to withhold his consent, owing to a lack of qualified officers who could lead a forlorn hope. And it is admitted by all acquainted with matters of war, that exploits like this particular one depend entirely on the capacity, dexterity, and knowledge of the officers commanding the troops; so that with unsuitable officers it was quite inadvisable to undertake them.

In the afternoon two more charges on the city were made by the besieged, in which from both sides more furious fighting was done than in the forenoon; one six-pounder and three camp horses having been captured and taken inside the Castle. Next night, our assailants succeeded in removing several cannons which had been fastened down to a position behind the houses in the city, although we tried to prevent them.

But, scared by the failure of their former attack, the enemy seemed at this time to have abandoned all further thought of storming the Castle. They were assured that by mere blockade the besieged were bound to fall into their hands. Therefore on 1 June all the streets leading to the Castle were barricaded; and a fairly wide ditch was dug, into which was placed the storming apparatus with some light guns, the largest being a six-pounder. From that day till the succour-fleet arrived, nothing remarkable happened on either side, as the enemy was in no hurry, seeing that those inside were closely surrounded, so helpless that they could scarcely have broken a straw; whereas the enemy possessed beautiful and fertile grounds, in which the soldiers, who had roamed about the sea so long, might now rest in a leisurely manner; and, as a matter of fact, they took their full swing of comfort.

Seeing, however, that the lion's hide had not served the Koxingians, they next dressed themselves in foxes' skins, and with flattering words offered us an honest capitulation. For example, in their letters of 27, 28, and 30 June they remonstrated that: 'It was impossible we could hold out much longer, or wait till next year for assistance, seeing that the ships expected this year from Batavia were but trading vessels; and supposing that aid came from Batavia, yet this could not consist of more than ten ships with two thousand men, which force was greatly inferior to their own. But even if by repeated help of a limited character they managed to hold the Castle for say ten years, the Chinese would still have patience and wait at their ease.' It was by insults and stratagems such as these that Koxinga tried to get the Castle into his power and to possess Formosa. Meanwhile, the besieged anxiously looked for the end of the south monsoon, so as to be able during the north monsoon to send tidings concerning their condition to Batavia and demand assistance.

At this point, however, our narrative may turn briefly to Batavia, and come back to Formosa with the succour-fleet, so to speak. As was previously stated, Jan van der Laan departed from Tayouan in a very spiteful mood concerning the abandonment of the Macao expedition, and taking with him all the war-officers who had previously accompanied him.

He arrived safely at Batavia, and reported to the Governor-general and Council of India that Governor Coyett and his Council had based their fears of Koxinga's arrival on the mere hearsay of some untrustworthy Chinese; but, after making minute inquiry, there was not the slightest appearance of an approaching war or any possibility of such a thing taking place.

Therefore—according to van der Laan's report—Governor Coyett had quite unnecessarily placed the whole country into a state of panic by postponing the Assemblies, and by capturing, torturing, and threatening such of the poor innocent Chinese as he thought knew anything concerning the movements of Koxinga, but who knew nothing. He had also mercilessly, and on the pretext of this improbable war, rendered destitute thousands of Chinese farmers, with their wives and children. Those innocent sufferers had been driven at the peril of their lives from their farms, lands, and cattle, and left without the means of sustenance. Further, he had stopped the fishing at sea, and banned the import trade by heavy arrests, cruel inquisitions, and painful imprisonments, forcing the good people to confess more than they really knew of. And lastly, this Governor with his Council had intentionally disregarded the written orders of the Governor-general and Council of India, in thwarting their authority by refusing to annex Macao, thus causing great loss to the Company. To this report, van der Laan added the private letters he obtained possession of in the way already referred to.

The whole narration still more embittered the feelings of the Batavian officials against Coyett; feelings which had first been stirred up by Verburg, who, by reason of a long-continued hatred against Coyett, never ceased from making false representations about his official acts. Hence without further investigation, the Governor-general and Council of India became confirmed in

their opinion that Coyett's alarm was altogether groundless, and they instantly dismissed him, with the second and third officers in authority; depriving them of all their posts of honour and offices, and shamefully summoning them to Batavia, there to receive their punishment. They also appointed the Fiscal Hermanus Clenk as Governor of Formosa, sending him on 21 June 1661 with a letter which contained the following sentences:—

‘Your Honour will have noticed from last year’s letters our anxious desire to extort Macao from the hands of the Portuguese, and bring it under the domain of the Company by means of the ships and forces which were despatched for that purpose. We had thus expected a grand victory over that place; but to our great surprise and consternation, we have learnt that this well-meant undertaking, on which the Company had set their heart and soul, has been nipped in the bud, and entirely cancelled by Your Honour.

‘Under pretence that Koxinga’s threatened hostile arrival at Formosa stood in the way, the said exploit was abandoned, and the combined force of men and ships was considered necessary to resist the enemy and protect the country; notwithstanding the fact that these floating rumours had not once, but several times, simply ended in smoke. On this occasion, however, those rumours seem to have so alarmed Your Honour that the entire population became anxious, and was put into a restless condition. Yet, not a sign of any enemy has ever been seen in our territory. Therefore, we charge you with being weak-hearted, and lacking that spirit of bravery which should distinguish one occupying your position. Could we have foreseen that Your Honour would thus needlessly disobey our orders as regards Macao, we would have taken the very different course of placing this business where it could not be affected by any local decision; because we now find that we have been very much deceived in the confidence which we had in Your Honour. On a re-perusal of the resolutions and letters from Formosa, we see less ground to justify the fear awakened by the lies and rumours in connection with Koxinga’s intention to land in Formosa. Acting under the influence of this fear, and pretending to be concerned for the public safety, credence was given to the statements of a party of false Chinese, while the testimony of those was rejected who maintained and who could have proved the contrary.

‘It has greatly distressed us to read details of the torturing, flogging, banning, and imprisoning without trial, of so many distinguished, as well as common, Chinese; and this only under the presumption that these people knew something concerning Koxinga’s design, although they knew nothing of importance, and the torturing did not make them confess. We hold that those proceedings were more tyrannical than justifiable; but when we closely examine what happened in the country amongst the poor Chinese, how these innocent people were forcibly evicted without the least mercy and deprived of their cattle, farms, and fields; how the country houses were closed, many thousand sacks of rice burned, and all the Chinese farmers dislodged from Formosan villages; how the whole island of Lamey was cleared out of Chinese, the fishing at sea stopped, and other similar cruelties permitted; when we

consider all this, then we are bound to blame Your Honour and every member of the Formosan Council who gave consent thereto, of having brought about the pitiful and desolate state into which the Chinese Colony has fallen. For, on account of these island troubles, Your Honour has almost entirely suspended that trade for which merchants would feel disposed to come to Tayouan. How could they send their junks hither when they ran the risk of being seized, and when every letter sent to Formosa might be illegally taken possession of?

‘Most serious of all, Your Honour turned your back upon our commands respecting the Macao expedition, although our fleet did not arrive till seven months after the appointed day (27 March) on which Koxinga was to send his force to Formosa. Surely if Koxinga cherished any intention at all to come, he would have done so long ago. Therefore, Your Honour could easily have allowed this expedition to proceed to Macao without fear of being troubled by the enemy. The statement that Koxinga, hearing of Your Honour’s great preparations to resist him, had postponed his intended attack to a better opportunity, is entirely unacceptable, as was shown afterwards. He never appeared on our shores with evil intentions, although he had ample opportunity of so doing, and we should never be able to hold our possessions there in peace if we allowed ourselves to be kept in continual alarm by such idle threats. Your Honour’s predecessors never troubled themselves and others in this way, but always quietly kept on their guard as became faithful courageous men. This example Your Honour ought to have followed, without becoming so shamefully alarmed, or letting the very opportune chance of attacking Macao slip by. Probably, as has been distinctly pointed out before, Your Honour’s conduct in bringing about such a distressing condition of affairs may be the cause of Formosa’s ruin. May God prevent it! Is Your Honour not aware that the Chinese Colony which was established there with so much difficulty, is the chief cause which has brought that island into a state of prosperity; and that, consequently, the Honourable Company was able every year to draw from it an amount of revenue which enabled them to bear their other great burdens? Of course, we have hitherto always followed the proper course of nourishing the Chinese Colony there; but they have lately been so cruelly oppressed by Your Honour that they feel more inclined to leave Formosa than to stay under such a restless and strict Government. No wonder that so many have already commenced to leave for China; and from this it is apparent that the Honourable Company’s affairs must immediately be taken in hand if more disastrous consequences are to be averted.

‘Hence, we clearly see that Governor Frederick Coyett has taken up an attitude of defiance against our well-meant and carefully planned orders, thus placing our Government in a humiliated position; and that he has repeatedly opposed decisions which, after due consideration, had been approved and promulgated by us for the benefit of the whole community. Moreover, this has occurred so frequently that many disturbances have arisen, and the Government has been greatly inconvenienced. But an easy remedy is at hand.

'We state emphatically that we shall give the good management of the affairs of the Company our first consideration, having obtained its authority and approval in seeking to bring about redress; which, in the case before us, clearly means the removal of those who are responsible for the recent disastrous events at Tayouan and Formosa. Therefore, it should be understood that we herewith recall the Governor, as also his second and third assistants in the Council of Formosa; as we can no longer have confidence in them if they continue in office. Accordingly, Governor Frederick Coyett is instructed hereby to retire from the Government, and no longer to interfere in any way with the affairs of State.

'Further, we transfer this office, with all its responsibilities and emoluments, into the hands of His Excellency Hermanus Clenk van Odesse, late Advocate-Fiscal of India; who, for that purpose, leaves for Formosa with these vessels, in accordance with the appointment which we have conferred upon him. Mr. Coyett and the Councillors Jan Oetgens and Jacobus Valentyn are also hereby called upon to lay down their offices, and (with their families) to come here and give an account of their stewardship, proceeding by the first vessel.'

We have given the details of this letter very freely, so that all impartial judges may see that no attention was paid to the many warnings of the Governor and Council of Formosa concerning Koxinga's certain arrival; that the frequent demands for needed assistance, the absolutely necessary proposal to rebuild the dilapidated fortifications or to construct new ones where such were imperatively required, were totally unheeded at Batavia, and were even censured; that Formosa was entirely neglected by Batavia; and that every one may see upon whom rested the blame for all those subsequent calamities which overtook the Company at Formosa. But at present enough has been said upon this topic.

We note now that Governor Hermanus Clenk departed with the above-mentioned letter to take possession of his new office in Formosa. And, in passing, it may be observed that the new Governor was accompanied by a fleet of ships to bring sympathy and assistance to the besieged. What caused this sudden change at Batavia, where they had been so certain that the rumours of Koxinga's hostility were always vanishing like smoke in the air? And since the Batavians were so determined upon their Macao exploit, and had decided against incurring expense for the necessary preparations to resist Koxinga, what made them now resolve so suddenly on sending assistance to Formosa?

To explain this, it should be remembered that the skipper of the yacht *Maria* (which had so unfortunately engaged the enemy in Formosa Bay along with the *Hector*, the '*Gravenlande*', and the *Vink*), knowing that he was then detained by the Governor for conveying news to Batavia concerning the enemy's undertaking and Formosa's condition, and being well aware that after our defeat the Chinese would prevent him from receiving any letters or further instructions from the Governor, resolved himself to bring news of what had happened to Batavia, even although the winds were adverse at

the time. Accordingly, having accepted the risk, he sailed against the south monsoon round the Philippine Islands and arrived at the anchorage off Batavia, after many dangers, and spending fifty days on the journey from Tayouan.

Through him, therefore, tidings were furnished of the arrival in Formosa of the Chinese with a great force of vessels and soldiers. This news caused quite a commotion in Batavia, and was most unexpected, as van der Laan's report led every one to believe that there was no probability of a Chinese invasion of Formosa. Moreover, this report had been repeatedly confirmed by Claes Verburg, a man who in the Councils of India (under pretext of great knowledge of Chinese matters) had constantly denied that there was the least foundation for the rumours respecting Koxinga's hostile attitude; and who, to serve his purpose, indulged in all sorts of evil suppositions, and brought forward a silly witness whose words were of no value beside the opposing testimony of others.

But, as the truth of these rumours now became quite evident, and as the warnings repeatedly sent from Formosa were being justified, the Governor-general and Council of India began to see the mistake they had made in that letter which recalled Mr. Coyett. Hence, to conceal this mistake as much as possible by securing the written proof of it, they quickly despatched a yacht from Batavia under pretence of assisting the new Governor Clenk (who had departed two days previously), but in reality to get possession of the said letter and prevent its delivery. Thus, the document in question might never have been known to the world were it not that variable winds at the change of the monsoon prevented the yacht from overtaking Governor Clenk, and compelled its purposeless return to Batavia.

Meanwhile, the officials there collected into ten ships a force of seven hundred soldiers, besides some sailors and war materials, as an aid for Tayouan. But to find a commander or field-officer for this force, so quickly gathered together, was not an easy task. Although the maintenance of Formosa was of infinite importance to the Company, and a vigilant war-officer, a man of authority, was needed for this exploit, yet not one member of the Council of India then present at Batavia felt disposed to accept the post. Letters of the time referred to many of them as brave men, to whom cowardice was not known, who had never been afraid of risking their lives, or retired one step from the roar of cannons, but were at all times ready to work for the benefit of the Honourable Company; but now, when some one was required to render the Company this distinguished service, all began to make excuse. The General was too old, and could not leave Batavia in virtue of his office. The good Director Hartzingh was a respectable merchant, but not acquainted with warfare. That brave and never sufficiently praised hero Vlamingh had given ample proof of his courage in the Amboinese War, so that it was some one else's turn to bear the brunt now. As for Claes Verburg, he was fit for contradicting every reasonable proposal, but to exert himself for the deliverance of Formosa he could not see his way. And so on. Every one wished to

shirk duty, and to keep his egg-basket safe from places where battles would be fought. And this example was followed by those who were lower in rank. *Nam Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*; as the master, so the servant; there was not one inclined to earn this undying honour. Every one knew that affairs in Formosa had been neglected.

At last, after many inducements, with great promises of recompense and reward, they found an adventurer who dared to accept the commission, namely, Jacob Caeuw, Advocate and Councillor of Justice of Castle Batavia; a person so defective in the power of speech, that one almost required an interpreter to understand his words—which were all spoken through his nose. According to his own confession, he had no other experience in warfare than that of having, when in the Academy at Leyden, often run his sword through the stones in the streets or through the windows of decent people's houses. This, then, was the man our officials called in to 'bell the cat,' and, like another Gideon, to save Formosa from the unbelieving Chinese dogs. They did not consider the saying of a certain celebrated Field-marshal, viz. that a regiment of sheep commanded by one lion, would be more feared than a regiment of lions headed by one sheep. From this it is sufficiently clear how the rescue of Tayouan was taken to heart at Batavia. The responsible persons there certainly could not expect much, although they made it appear as if they could do wonders with this fleet; seeing they had often declared that nothing in the world would be more conscientiously attended to by them than the effective management of the Company's affairs which had been left in their hands.

It soon became evident, however, that matters turned out very differently. The human feelings of hatred, envy, and jealousy were placed above all other interests, and many measures relating to the government of Formosa were directly opposed to the welfare of the Company, if not even to the real inclination of those who originated them. And all so as not to call forth the deep-seated wickedness of Claes Verburg!

This may readily be proved from a certain letter still in the possession of Mr. Coyett, written by Governor-general Maatzuyker himself, wherein his Excellency says that, although Coyett had been rather severely punished in the letter from the Council of India, yet he should not pay much attention to it, as it was written more with the intention of pleasing Verburg, rather than to express their real thoughts about the matter, otherwise he (the Governor-general) had sincerely to declare that he was well pleased with his (Coyett's) management of affairs, and had to encourage him to continue his zeal in the Company's service. Surely from this it would appear that the Batavians either wished to deceive Coyett, or, for political reasons, intentionally to withhold the means for defending Tayouan.

It was very sad that, by reason of mutual disputes and disturbances among their servants, the Company lost such a precious treasure as Formosa, and after the great sacrifices which had been made in securing it. It was also very trying to self-denying faithful officers that the administrators in Holland

allowed themselves to be prejudiced by the adverse party, without listening to the other side. Those Directors vented all their anger for the loss of Formosa on the devoted head of Mr. Coyett, without even consulting or examining him, and without being properly instructed concerning the real state of matters. It is thus evident that some at Batavia deserved their indignation far more than Coyett, amongst these being the notoriously stubborn and capricious Claes Verburg, who, by opposing the timely preparation and despatch of reinforcements, assisted Koxinga very materially, and did more serious injury to his masters than the half of the enemy's army.

To return, however. The succour-fleet, having been hastily gathered together from all quarters, was sent off on 5 July 1661 under its Commander, the brave (*si Diis placet*) Field-marshal Jacob Caeuw. He carried a letter in which it was stated that the Governor-general and Council of India, owing to the many preparations and works for resisting Koxinga undertaken by Coyett and his Council in the preceding year, as also the abandonment of the Macao expedition and consequent retaining of the succour forces sent under van der Laan, much discontent had arisen, and all the more since neither Koxinga's threats nor Coyett's warnings had been realised; therefore, the Governor-general and Council had dismissed Coyett from office, together with his second and third assistants, and had appointed their successors. However, two days after this, the yacht *Maria* brought them unexpected tidings of Koxinga's hostile arrival at Tayouan, which event led them to reconsider and decide to make no alterations in the government of Formosa for the present. Thus, their previous resolutions were hereby cancelled as regards the dismissal of Governor Coyett and his Councillors, and they now acquainted Mr. Clenk of their change of purpose. For further details see No. 27.

With these instructions, therefore, Caeuw led his fleet from Batavia, but failed to overtake the new Governor, Hermanus Clenk, who had left Batavia about thirteen days before him.

The latter arrived on 30 July in the bay of Tayouan. He had expected to find a calm and tranquil government, and came as a new Governor, gaily sporting banners and flags. But shortly after anchoring in the southern part of the bay, he was much struck to see the northern part occupied by several hundreds of hostile warships and junks. He also observed the blood-flag floating from Castle Zeelandia, and regarded it as a sure sign that something was seriously wrong in Formosa. The sight greatly disconcerted him, and made it difficult to know what was the best course to take. Offered the Governorship of a quiet and peaceful country, he found that country to be in a state of panic, and perhaps in the utmost danger. He thought it best to postpone any decision about his line of action for a little.

Meanwhile, word was sent ashore that he had arrived, and in what capacity, but for special reasons he would not land, as yet. He also forwarded the letter of 21st of June, which caused great dissatisfaction to the officials, soldiers, and people. They were convinced that the explanations as to the course which

had been adopted to save Tayouan must have been misrepresented at Batavia. Of course a general gloom and feeble-heartedness fell upon every one, as all hope of speedy help from Batavia was now gone. Each person thought himself lost. The probabilities of holding out against the enemy for still ten or twelve months became more problematical, as through continual watching the men were thoroughly fatigued and their numbers much lessened; so much so that barely four hundred able men were left in the Castle, the others having died or been stricken down by various diseases. Thus matters appeared to have reached the point of desperation, and the unsatisfactory tidings of no possible help from Batavia did not tend to improve matters.

Governor Coyett asked his successor several times to come ashore, that they might mutually consider the state of matters, and that he might assume the responsibilities of his new office; but Mr. Clenk, completely nonplussed, repeatedly excused himself.

A few days later, owing to an approaching storm, he left the anchorage and went to sea; but as the storm continued, he decided to steer his course for Japan, pretending to be short of water and rice; and, since that time, no more was heard of him in Tayouan.

However, if this had been the only thing, namely, that he refused to accept the government of a disturbed country, then he might have found some lawful excuse; but unfortunately it happened that after leaving the bay of Tayouan, Clenk's fleet discovered a large Chinese vessel which had been sent out by some Chinese at Batavia with a free pass from the Governor-general. This vessel Mr. Clenk made no scruple in seizing as a splendid prize, under pretext that, at the time he issued the pass, the Governor-general was not aware that war was being waged with the Chinese in Formosa. Accordingly, it was looked upon as a hostile ship, being of the same Chinese nationality. They therefore attacked and plundered it, and divided the spoil amongst the officers.

But having done this, they found themselves in a dilemma, not knowing what to do, either with the vessel or its men. To bring them to Japan would cause some unpleasant remark among the people there; and to leave them at the mercy of the four winds of heaven would be out of the question, for they had a free pass; and in the event of the men landing somewhere, they of the Clenk fleet would have much to answer for.

After long hesitation it was decided to tear up the pass, to sink the vessel, and to land the men on the nearest island. And this was done. Those poor people, deprived of everything, were left on a barren island, without food or water or any means of sustaining life; and but for the providential passing of a Chinese ship, they would undoubtedly have perished from hunger. On stating their case, they were kindly taken to Batavia, where they acquainted the High Authorities with what had taken place, and preferred a heavy charge against the commander of the fleet; who, when he returned to Batavia, was taken to task about the matter, as also about his non-acceptance of the government of Tayouan. But there the matter ended, for Clenk soon after departed

as Admiral of the return-fleet to the Netherlands. Thus may a flagrant law-breaker who has influential friends yet be saved. Such a bird may freely dirty his nest. If a well-founded charge of this kind could have been brought against Mr. Coyett, most assuredly Claes Verburg would have so represented the matter that the unfortunate Governor could scarcely have escaped from the scaffold.

Clenk had just departed for the Fatherland when (on 12 August) the succour-fleet under command of Caeuw arrived in the bay of Tayouan. Great satisfaction and rejoicing were shown on the arrival of this fleet. The sick lying in their cribs, the men from behind the walls, and every one else, looked upon it as succour from heaven, far in excess of their expectations. They began already to think of unloading, and for that purpose at once despatched the pilot boat which lay close to the Castle; but although the wind had calmed a little, yet the Canal was still in too disturbed a condition to make a commencement.

Next day, the water in the channel was still very rough, but with great risk they managed to land two thousand two hundred pounds of gunpowder, and quantities of certain other much needed materials, also many soldiers; after which, the fleet was forced to move south and then put out to sea.

The weather proving still more stormy on the 14th and 15th following, the fleet stood farther out, as it was found impossible for any vessel to keep near the land.

On the 16th this storm was succeeded by a calm, but still the channel was in too disturbed a state to admit of discharging cargo from the ships.

On the 17th the weather changed and gradually increased to a gale, so that the ships were again forced to leave the coast altogether and go far out to sea.

These particulars about wind and weather were taken from the Formosan Day-register (see No. 28), and we have thought it necessary to enter into full details, hereby proving the falsehood of the Fiscal's story in his article (No. 20) in which he says: 'The Governor and Council, without due consideration of the dangerous bay of Formosa, compelled the whole succour-fleet to lie there for three days without attempting to unload, and so wasted their time, that God withheld His blessings from an ungrateful people, and sent such terrible storm-winds upon them that the whole fleet, laden as it was, had again to run off from its anchorage.' This disgraceful statement proves sufficiently that some were not ashamed to slander and insult the innocent. *Per fas et nefas.*

After this second attempt, the fleet remained away for twenty-eight days. It was a time of much anxiety to the besieged, during which they had much sinking of heart, and were made to feel that, after all, they had no great reason for rejoicing. They learned that this fleet brought reinforcements of seven hundred men, an addition which would have placed them in no better a position than they were at the beginning of the war. They would therefore have still to remain on the defensive, and be incapacitated from taking any forward movement against the enemy.

Meanwhile, the Koxingians made the best of their opportunity ; for, on the same evening that the fleet anchored, they despatched one hundred and fifty soldiers to city Zeelandia ; and on the following day they brought forty more vessels close inshore, all manned with armed soldiers. No doubt they were very much surprised (as was told us by the deserters and prisoners) that a succour-fleet had so soon and unexpectedly been sent to assist the besieged. They could not understand how the news of their hostile arrival had reached Batavia, as the north monsoon had then already come to an end, so that it was almost impossible to sail to Batavia. Naturally, too, they concluded that, although the fleet consisted of but ten ships, these would carry at least two thousand soldiers.

But they were soon undeceived ; for, on the same night that the fleet was driven back by the storm, the little craft *Urk* stranded on Formosa and was dashed to pieces. All her men fell into the hands of the enemy. Having been tortured and killed, after full information as to the strength of the fleet was extorted from them, Koxinga breathed again more freely. He reasoned somewhat in this way : last year, as the result of rumours only, the Company sent from Batavia twelve ships with six hundred soldiers, under the famous and redoubtable van der Laan ; but now, when the Batavians knew that he was really in possession, they had sent only ten ships with seven hundred soldiers under the command of an inexperienced officer ; hence it was concluded that the directors of the Company at Batavia were either in a very low condition, or that they cared but little for the safety of Formosa.

In any case, the besieged could not now expect more assistance during this year, while it was clearly Koxinga's policy to reduce Castle Zeelandia before further aid could arrive. After the storm abated, the ships of the succour-fleet returned again to Tayouan bay on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of September ; whereupon the remaining soldiers and materials were brought ashore, and five of the vessels entered the Canal and anchored before the Castle.

Soon after, the Council, together with all the captains, skippers, and lieutenants, were summoned together ; and, as the new arrivals were anxious to test the military qualities of the enemy, it was decided there and then that, with this fresh assistance of men and ships, they should try to drive the enemy from city Zeelandia, and to ruin the junks which lay in the Canal near Provintia. It was then also agreed to observe the following course of procedure (see No. 29). Two ships should go behind city Zeelandia, opposite the side streets, try with their guns to destroy the enemy's battery and thus keep him fully engaged on that side. Meanwhile, from the Castle on the other side, three or four hundred men should attack the city and attempt to make a breach. Then, to keep the enemy everywhere engaged, three other vessels, two galiots, and fifteen rowing-boats provided with sufficient soldiers, fire-arms, and other materials, should sail towards twelve or thirteen hostile junks lying close-to, and bravely attack them with their guns ; while the smaller boats could be used for making a bold effort to overpower and completely destroy them. If the assault succeeded, and other circumstances proved favourable, they should

proceed on the same lines with the other junks, which formed two squadrons, lying at some distance in shallow water.

These instructions, decided upon on 14 September, were executed on the 16th of the same month. The ships and boats, however, had hardly left the Castle jetty (wind and tide being favourable), when they were suddenly becalmed; but shortly after, the wind blew from an opposite direction and rendered it impossible for them to reach their various destinations, or to approach sufficiently near the junks to make use of their guns. Whether, therefore, the intended attack with the small boats should have been postponed, can scarcely now be decided. Suffice it to say that the leaders were so foolhardy as to row towards the enemy in all the available small boats manned with warriors, and engage in battle, rather unsuccessfully, for about an hour; the Chinese being well covered, while our own men were exposed on every side. At length, three of our boats were seized, and the remainder retreated in confusion to their ships. These, however, did not fare much better; for two of them were stranded by the tide which followed the great calm, one was blown to pieces by means of the enemy's heavy firing, and the other was set on fire by one of the Chinese fire-boats. In addition to the wounded, our losses amounted to one skipper, one lieutenant, one colour-sergeant, and a hundred and twenty-eight men; while on the enemy's side, about a hundred and fifty men were slain and a number wounded.

The assault on land was also unsuccessful owing to the failure of the ships, which failure led the Fiscal to order an investigation; but when, shortly after, the guilty skipper of the lost ship *Cortenhoeff* was drowned during another fight, this matter was not proceeded with, and each one attributed the blame to those who had perished.

On the day succeeding this unsuccessful attack at sea, our men resolved to try their luck on land once more. Their purpose was, with four hundred soldiers and fifty archers, to make an early morning attack on the Chinese camp at Bockenburgh. But the difficulty of having the necessary materials brought forward in time, with several other drawbacks, led to the abandonment of this attempt, or at least to its indefinite postponement.

As the garrison of the Castle was daily diminishing, a proposal was now made to strengthen the position by transferring to Tayouan the garrisons and goods of the forts at Tamsuy and Quelang, situated near the northern end of Formosa. They therefore sent three ships hither for that purpose.

On the 27th, two of the speediest sailing-vessels were ordered to cruise between Formosa and the Pescadores, and to seize any vessel coming from China with goods for the enemy.

On 3 October two ships were sent out in search of firewood and provisions for the garrison, as many of the besieged were laid up with dropsy and other diseases from the staleness of the food-supplies, and from the excessive fatigue of being so constantly on guard.

On the 17th a charge against the enemy's occupation at Bockenburgh was again proposed. To decoy them into an ambuscade of our riflemen, a small

company of cavalry approached their quarters and tried to tempt them. However, suspicion was awakened, and no one ventured outside, so that only a Chinese sentinel was entrapped and brought to the Castle.

During the night of the 19th and 20th, the Chinese came in large and small vessels near the sand-plain of Baxemboy, right against the north side of the Castle, and constructed many outworks, on which they placed a powerful cannon, with the view of firing on the Castle from that particular side. The next day a few lieutenants went to the Governor of their own accord and asked permission to disturb the enemy in this attempt at Baxemboy. Being the second and last occasion on which the officers themselves proposed to undertake any hostile movement against the enemy, the Governor granted their request. They therefore sailed with two hundred men in various crafts across to Baxemboy; but the enemy had established themselves so strongly, and welcomed them with their cannon and other artillery so heartily, that they had to beat a retreat without accomplishing anything, or even without attempting to land.

In the beginning of November, a wooden structure was erected near the Canal, by which our incoming and outgoing ships' boats and sloops were protected against any annoyance on the part of the enemy's small vessels.

Just about this time, our people were informed by several deserters from the enemy that Koxinga's affairs in Formosa were faring as badly as they had done in China; that during this siege he had lost more than eight thousand of his ablest soldiers; that his junks and vessels cleared away whenever a suitable opportunity offered; that the loyalty of his soldiers and other Chinese in Formosa had somewhat diminished through this long continuing siege; and that food-supplies were no longer imported in such abundance as formerly.

Again, on the 6th of November, the Governor received a letter from Simtangong, the Tartar Stadtholder of the Fokien province, in which he said he was informed that his and our enemy Koxinga had attacked us in Formosa, and that he therefore offered what assistance he could command to destroy this pirate once and for all with their combined forces. He very kindly proposed to render all possible help, and asked permission to send over two ships, so as to annihilate Koxinga's power, which was still felt in China.

Through this good tidings, the besieged regained hope and strongly encouraged one another to hold out till next year, as they confidently expected that they would then receive ample assistance from Batavia. Although their numbers were sadly decreased through disease, and although the healthy felt their strength considerably diminished, still they hoped and believed that they might be able to hold out till that time. They therefore took stock of their provisions, ammunition, and such other necessities required for carrying on the war, taking every precaution to note how much they could economise.

One result of the overhaul now made was a resolution to send their women and children to Batavia so that they would not prove a drain upon their resources; and for the sustenance of those helpless ones, they issued cheques in name of the Company, in the hope that they would be duly honoured by the officials in Batavia. But when it was seen that matters had turned out so

unsatisfactorily, this liberal distribution of cheques was regarded as a crime committed by the Council of Formosa.

The next thing discussed was the question as to whether the Company's merchandise and effects now in the Castle should be transferred to the ships then available, in the event of an adverse ending to the war. After prolonged discussion, it was decided that it would not be safe to transfer the said goods to the ships (see No. 30). This conclusion was arrived at chiefly by reason of the confident assurance that they would succeed in maintaining their position of defence.

Such a decision was absolutely necessary in the interests of the soldiers and guardians of the Castle, whose bravery would rapidly decline if there was nothing left to defend but the bare walls of the Castle. They might again resume that distrustful attitude which characterised them at the time when the letter of 21 June was received, from which it was clearly seen that they in Batavia did not greatly care for the safety of Tayouan.

Had these goods been removed and safely disposed of in Batavia, little more assistance could have been expected from that quarter; for quite possibly the Company would then have abandoned them completely, and left them to the mercy of the bloodthirsty Chinese.

Again, assuming that, after they had done everything in their power to defend the Castle, had risked their lives to the utmost, had nothing more to hope for, and had ultimately to yield, then those goods would be their last resource to save themselves, for they could offer them to the enemy, subject to the condition that their lives would be spared; whereas were this chance taken from them, they would become desperate, and many evils might ensue. History provides many examples of besieged people opposing their rulers, and preventing the removal of goods and valuables from the beleaguered town or city. Not to look very far, we find a striking case in India from which a lesson might be taken. In 1618 the Javanese placed us in an almost identical predicament with that brought about by the Chinese siege of Castle Zeelandia.

Another question carefully considered, was whether it would not be wise to anticipate an unsuccessful result and transfer the goods and valuables to our ships lying in the bay; but as this would almost certainly have given rise to serious disturbance amongst the people, it was unanimously decided that all public and private possessions should continue to lie stored up in the Castle. See No. 31.

With regard to this matter, it should be noted that, if the Governor-general and Council of India in Batavia considered it advisable that the Company's goods should have been removed to the vessels, then they ought to have advised the Governor and Council of Formosa thereanent. They could no longer plead ignorance of the enemy's hostile arrival, and were perfectly aware that the goods would be in imminent danger; but seeing that no notice was taken of this in their correspondence—notwithstanding the full instructions given about minor matters in Formosa—it was quite evident that they purposely remained silent as to the safety of the Company's property. Doubtless they

thought the question a dangerous one, and likely to have an uncertain issue. They therefore preferred to transfer the responsibility upon the shoulders of the members of the Formosan Council, rather than have to give an account themselves to the Directors at Amsterdam.

Having, then, received no instructions about the matter, the Council of Formosa were not warranted in taking any action that would lead to the removal of these goods. Moreover, they were unanimously of opinion that such a removal involved the risk of losing all; while, otherwise, they would still have the hope of saving the greater portion, and of holding out against the enemy.

But, although the besieged thus looked forward to keeping the enemy at bay, and made up their minds for courageously fighting to the last, 'brave' General Jacob Caeuw surprised every one at the assembled Council of Formosa, held on the 8th of November, by asking permission to return to Batavia with the first ship, on the plea that he could be of much more use there in obtaining necessary assistance, seeing that a full verbal statement to the Governor-general and the Council of India would be far more satisfactory than any amount of mere epistolary correspondence. Every member of Council was much surprised at this, and they pointed out to Caeuw how little such a request would accord with his mission, his own honour, and his reputation. He had been sent as a General to save Formosa from Koxinga's grip; and yet, he now wished to return simply as a letter-bearer, leaving behind the troops under his command, without either having drawn his sword against the enemy, or performing any act of importance in vindication of the trust imposed upon him.

Caeuw replied rather brusquely that, notwithstanding all such gossip, he would personally depart before the end of the north monsoon on his own responsibility; that he had received secret instructions, and was not obliged to obey whatever the Formosan Council were pleased to decide. When they asked him to show these instructions, he said that he knew what to do, or not to do, and was neither obliged nor inclined to make public his orders, or make them known to the Council.

After this unworthy conduct, Caeuw was expelled from the Council. He was well aware that, without its consent, he could not with credit to himself take his departure; yet his mind was fully made up so to act, and to escape from this awkward siege. He therefore adopted a different course of action, postponing his proposed voyage to Batavia till a more suitable opportunity presented itself; and, in this, Fortune favoured him.

It so happened that, on the following 26th of November, the Council resolved to accept the offer of the Tartar Governor received on the 6th of the same month, and urge him to have ready three of the most powerful and speediest sailing-ships; besides two crafts amply provided with provender, ammunition, and other necessary war materials, and manned with their ablest men. With the force thus brought together, they intended to attack Koxinga's remaining force in China and destroy it in conjunction with the Tartars. Their hope was that this would cause a diversion in the siege on Formosa; and

that the ships could take back with them necessary supplies for the garrison at Tayouan.

This campaign having been determined upon, Caeuw offered his services to carry it out, claiming that he deserved the position, as he had not yet had any opportunity for manifesting his anxiety and zeal for the interests of the Company. Having no suspicion of the cruel villainy contemplated by Caeuw, the Council readily consented to this proposal. Accordingly, it was arranged that Caeuw should depart on the 3rd of December from Tayouan, accompanied by the secretary Constantijn Nobel as second in command, and carrying with him letters and presents on behalf of the Company to the Tartar Stadtholder.

He also obtained special instructions that, in the event of bad weather or a storm coming on, he must cross to the Pescadores, where his ships would find a safe harbour. But, instead of obeying his orders, Caeuw sailed directly to the Pescadores, as soon as he could obtain enough sea-room and a fair wind. On arriving, contrary to all wise seamanship, and the advice of his captains, who maintained that they could easily proceed at sea, he commanded them to cast anchor in thirty-five fathoms of water. He remained there till three of the five ships began to drift before the strong wind, till they lost all their anchors but one, and were forced to return to Tayouan, where those on board reported Caeuw's plans as to sailing to the Pescadores, and their further adventures. The ships were immediately again made seaworthy and sent back to Caeuw with orders to him, that his voyage should, in the interest of the besieged, be arranged with all possible haste.

But while these ships were away, and the wind had calmed somewhat, the officers in one of the other boats requested Caeuw to proceed on their voyage, which, they said, could easily be overtaken. Instead of this, however, he ordered the anchors to be weighed, the lights lit, and that they should steer for Batavia. In vain his officers protested, insisting that it was quite easy to reach Tayouan bay. He commanded them to mind their own affairs; he knew what he was doing, and the Mission he had to accomplish. He was not bound to communicate this to them, so they had better follow him. This at length they did; while the skipper of the *Nobel*, seeing his admiral lighting up and setting sail, also weighed anchor and followed him slowly.

They steered for Siam, and on reaching the anchorage there, Caeuw ordered streamers and flags to be displayed in front, behind, and on all sides of his ship. The cannon was fired over a hundred times, as if he came in triumph. The Dutch chief Admiral Jan van Ryck being present at the time, was at once advised of Caeuw's arrival in the Siamese bay. He immediately went on board to give him welcome, and congratulate him on the relief of Tayouan—for van Ryck, owing to Caeuw's triumphant arrival, knew no better but that Tayouan had been relieved by him. But when Caeuw told him that he had been driven away from Tayouan through stress of weather, and was making course for Batavia, he at once became suspicious, and told Caeuw that, under present circumstances, such excuses would damage the reputation of the Company, and would be considered ridiculous by the Siamese. However, it was of no use.

Furde narratur fabula. Caeuw remained unconvinced; and when he came on shore, five or six men in full armour had continually to follow him, as a guard of honour.

This annoyed the Siamese very much, for they had allowed us to keep there only a small detachment of attendants, and hence could not understand why so many armed men were walking about. It was with difficulty van Ryck arranged to keep the Siamese quiet, and prevent them from causing the Company much injury. As soon, therefore, as Caeuw had been provisioned with such supplies as were necessary, van Ryck told him to depart, as he was not in his proper place; and that, on refusal, a complaint would be lodged against him at Batavia respecting the injury done to the Company by his staying so long at Siam.

Caeuw therefore left and arrived safely at Batavia. He gave an untruthful and fanciful account of the condition of Formosa, and of his drifting away while at sea; but, on his statements being disproved, and serious complaints raised against him by the besieged, the Fiscal was ordered to take proceedings against him for his crimes. However, the business was so managed in the Law Courts that the culprit got off with a small fine, and suspension from the service for six months; at the termination of which, the Governor-general and Council of India reinstated him in all his former positions of honour, and added thereto other favours and dignities.

This is but an example of the justice which is frequently administered at Batavia. The methods pursued leave much room for improvement, and the judges have often proved totally unworthy of the high and honourable position which they hold. This is largely due to the manner of their appointment, which is by no means creditable to the authorities. The Council of Justice has all along been dependent upon the Governor-general and Council of India, and the judges have received their appointments, not so much by virtue of their fitness for such offices, but rather on account of friendship or partisanship. Accordingly, many of those so-called lawyers, having obtained their positions through the favour of one or other of the Directorate, have assumed a spirit of arrogance and interference with every branch of the Company's interests, and have often even defied their veritable employers, the Governor-general and Council of India. They have thus played a very high game, assuming that all should bow to their admirable good judgment and superior sense, and that they alone are the true pillars of the State. As an instance of their haughtiness, unwisdom, and defiance of their paymasters, although bound by oath to guard the Company's interests in all their actions and judgments, they lately caused the Council of Batavia and the Directors in Holland much annoyance by insisting that their College and the members of the Council of Justice ought to be independent of all Councils in India; which demand, if the Directors had been foolish enough to grant, they would very probably have brought down the whip first upon their own backs. One might as well say *eodem jure*, that this College ought not to be dependent upon the Directors, but receive its charter directly from the *Staten-General*, or House of Lords. No one who has the

slightest knowledge of the Company's interests can ignore the evil consequences that would result from such a principle—but that is *extra propositum*.

The three ships which were sent back to the Pescadores, when they did not find Caeuw there, returned again to Tayouan with the tidings that he was nowhere to be found, and must have gone to Batavia. This news caused great consternation and dismay amongst the besieged. Not only because they were thereby deprived of various food-supplies, war-materials, and their best soldiers; but principally because, through this villainous flight of Caeuw, the expectation of causing such a reverse to Koxinga in China as might release themselves, thus disappeared in smoke. They were now altogether abandoned to their heathen enemies.

This produced so much fear that they would all soon be murdered by their strong merciless assailants, that some soldiers tried to save their lives by walking over to the enemy. Amongst these, on the 16th of December, was a certain sergeant called Hans Jurgen Radis of Stockaert, who had been in various European wars, and was thus a man of fairly good experience. This wily observant traitor furnished Koxinga with full details regarding the condition of the besieged: how that, through the flight of Field-marshal Caeuw, they had lost heart in holding out; that they had lost some of their ablest soldiers and many stores; and that, through the strain of this long-continued siege, there remained not more than four hundred able men in the Castle. He added that even this number would be daily considerably reduced through illness, and that the healthy were so fatigued that they too could not hold out much longer. He therefore advised Koxinga to make use of the general consternation and weakness of the besieged; there being now a splendid opportunity, not only to imprison them by a blockade, but to completely exhaust them and render their case desperate through constant alarms. This, he said, would neither cause him much trouble nor require much time, as the Castle was so unsatisfactorily built that it could not possibly withstand the force of his cannon longer than two full days.

He afterwards directed Koxinga's attention to the Network and the Ronduyt Uytrecht. The former stood so low that, from the Ronduyt Uytrecht, one could watch the soldiers inside. Hence, if the Chinese captured Ronduyt Uytrecht and took possession of the hill, not a single soul in the Network could protect himself, or even remain in it. In this way the Network would surely fall, as the defence was deplorably weak, and assistance could not be obtained from the Castle. It might therefore be captured by a small force and at little cost of men; and having once gained possession, the Chinese could certainly fortify and conceal themselves therein, and get close to the walls of the upper Castle; in which case they would be safe from the firing of both cannons and muskets. These and many other suggestions were given to heathen Koxinga by this God-dishonouring and traitorous man; suggestions which brought death to so many Christians, and ruin to the territory of his Masters.

Through the assistance thus obtained, Koxinga found himself relieved of the

anxieties caused by Caeuw's campaign to China, which had been made known to him by deserters. He felt that his hands were again free, and that his thoughts could be directed to other quarters. Therefore, the resolution was made to act according to the sergeant's advice; to change his blockade to offensive tactics, and to vigorously attack those within the Castle walls before they could obtain help from Batavia or China.

With this object in view, he gathered all his forces in Formosa on the sandplain of Tayouan during the January of 1662. There being an abundant supply of war-material and artillery, he further followed the advice of his new instructor by erecting three batteries, one at the south side and the other two at the east side of Ronduyt Uytrecht; providing them with twenty-eight cannons and strengthening them with numerous trenches, behind which many thousands of armed soldiers could conceal and protect themselves. He also took many precautions so as to be well guarded against the guns of the Castle, and any possible charge by the besieged.

While these batteries and barricades were being erected before their very eyes, the besieged, knowing too well where and how this would end, and that the enemy at last meant business, bravely started to work their cannons and muskets. They discharged and reloaded them as often as possible, causing many deaths, and destroying several newly erected trenches. But, as the enemy saved neither labour nor men in this work, the besieged could not prevent the work from gradually advancing, and seeing it finished in spite of them. Therefore a full meeting of Council was summoned, and this important business was seriously considered. They knew that, if those batteries were once completed, the Ronduyt Uytrecht would be in immediate danger of being captured; and that, if the enemy once became masters of the hill, the Castle itself would undoubtedly be lost.

Seeing, then, that they could suggest no way of preventing this work with their cannon and firearms, the Governor hinted to the Council whether it would not be possible and necessary to ruin these erections by making a general assault, and dislodging the enemy from their position.

Practice, however, is always better than precept. Every one was quite alive to the danger that would arise if the enemy continued their operations, but none knew how to prevent them. True: this general assault was considered really necessary, but the enemy had so carefully fortified themselves, and consisted of so many thousands of armed men, that it became almost impossible to attack them in their advantageous position, unless with ample artillery and a large force. Such they could not command. Barely six hundred men could be reckoned upon for the undertaking, and if these were all gathered together, then the Castle, the Ronduyt, and the wooden Wambais would be left completely defenceless, and would become an easy prey to the enemy; whereas, if a sufficient number of men were taken to guard the Castle, Ronduyt, and Wambais, the few left over could make no effective charge, but rather go forth to certain death, and thus be the means of hindering instead of prospering their cause. It was therefore unanimously decided not to proceed

with this assault (see No. 32), but rather use their powers of strategy, and exert themselves in seeking to hinder the enemy by means of their armaments.

While the enemy were slowly making progress in their batteries, trenches, and barricades, and while an open waterway still existed between the Castle and the ships in the bay—which would undoubtedly be cut off whenever the Ronduyt fell—our officials considered in Council whether, fearing an unsatisfactory issue, they should not take the precaution of having the Company's ready cash and other more valuable possessions placed on board ship; but it was unanimously agreed that it would be unwise to do so (see No. 33), lest discontent amongst the people should follow.

The enemy accomplished their task in the face of every difficulty, and in spite of the besieged; for, early in the morning of 25 January, they commenced to bombard the Ronduyt Uytrecht with their guns from the east and south sides; and after a couple of hours' firing, attempted twice in succession to storm the breach which was made at the south side. But again and again our brave defenders compelled a retreat with much loss in killed and wounded; so that, not wishing to sacrifice more men, the enemy resumed their bombardment, causing such havoc of the whole Ronduyt that, at night, scarcely one stone remained on another, and it was left a total ruin.

Hence, as their lives were in imminent danger, our people had no other resource than to seek shelter in the Castle; but before doing so, they first silenced all the guns which remained without damage. They also set fuses to four barrels of gunpowder left in the cellar; and soon after, the Ronduyt was blown up with several of the enemy, who had already posted themselves on the hill for the purpose of strengthening their position.

Later on it came to our knowledge that, shortly before the Ronduyt was blown up, Koxinga would have visited the place in order to make personal investigation, had he not been warned by the above-named sergeant as to the danger of visiting places recently occupied by the enemy, such being usually undermined—which had now proved to be the case.

Of course, by reason of their success in the capture of Ronduyt Uytrecht, the Koxingians were roused to greater activity, and made hopeful in a continuance of their good luck; because that very night they entrenched themselves on the hill, and proceeded to construct a large battery. They also formed various trenches with their numerous gabions pointing from the hill downwards, towards the point called Gelderlandt, and the Network of the Castle.

The besieged attempted to stop proceedings by firing their cannon, mortars, muskets, and hand-grenades throughout the night, causing so much smoke and flames that it seemed as if the Castle had been set on fire. Moreover, as the thin parapets of the Gelderlandt projection were not higher than half the stature of an ordinary man, they were strengthened by the slaves and soldiers who could be spared for this work. And because the wings which connected this projection with the upper Castle were not more than three and a half bricks in thickness, instructions were given that the roofs of the houses

standing alongside of these wings should be taken off, for the purpose of filling the houses with sand and thereby strengthening the wings. Many other schemes were set on foot in order to set up greater resistance against the enemy, who were expected to renew their attack at any moment. Indeed, so much progress had been made during the night with these operations of defence that, at daybreak, it was thought the position was sufficiently strong to warrant them in acting on the offensive.

Meanwhile, the Council once more met in solemn conclave and were assisted by all the merchants and colour-sergeants. After consulting on the strong position of the enemy and their own extreme danger, it was clearly seen that they must either make a courageous united charge, await the coming storm, or surrender the Castle on as advantageous conditions as possible. These three points were then carefully examined, each person being urged to express his opinions with perfect frankness, as this was a matter on which their honour, their lives, and the very existence of the Company in Formosa, depended.

They decided against making a general sortie, as there appeared no prospect of advantage to be gained by such a course, especially because of their recent losses, and the strong position in which the enemy was now entrenched.

In favour of such a sortie, only four of the twenty-nine who were present voted: namely, Lieutenant Gerrit Gerritszoon, and the three merchants, Thomas van Iperen, Daniel Sicx, and Paulus Davidszoon de Vick. When they were asked their reasons for voting in this way, Paulus Davidszoon de Vick replied that he came to India in his boyhood and had never seen a war; but that he now depended more on God's omnipotence than on the small army of the besieged, well knowing that, as in the case of Gideon, the Lord could work deliverance by a few people just as well as by a large number. The other merchant, Daniel Sicx, said he voted from sheer desperation, so that they might all be killed together, and thus have nothing to answer for. The other two could give no satisfactory reasons.

Governor Coyett favoured delay for the approach of one or more assaults, and offered himself to catch the cow by the horns by encouraging the soldiers and men. To win the Council over to his opinion, and bravely face the storm, he reminded them that, during this siege and the capturing of the *Ronduyt*—into which about 2500 shots had been fired—the enemy consumed so much powder that it was a matter of doubt whether their supply could last out much longer. Necessarily, they would have to submit this supposition to proof. But even supposing that the enemy had no lack of supply and managed to make a breach, the Castle would not be lost, and there would still be sufficient men to maintain the position and keep the Chinese at bay. Mr. Coyett also reasoned thus: that Koxinga would not be likely to undertake a general attack, considering the losses he had already sustained, and the hope of capturing the Castle by cutting off all reinforcements and supplies. It was urged further that assistance from Batavia might be expected at any moment, as the north monsoon had almost expired. Again, the besieged had

still ample provisions in store to last them for four or five months, and were fairly provided with war-materials to justify them in resistance to the utmost.

The Council submitted the following considerations in answer to the argument of Governor Coyett:—

1. That it would be quite unsafe to act on the assumption that the enemy's stores were becoming exhausted.

2. That through long-continued watching (during the past three or four days without cessation), the men had become completely exhausted and were incapacitated from continuing such a fatiguing course. In fact, the soldiers were becoming demoralised, and were indisposed to await that attack from the enemy which they feared. Besides, it might be fairly anticipated that such a storming of the Castle would be sure to cause much loss of life and result in many being wounded through falling stones and splinters, thus filling the hospitals, and still more disheartening those who survived.

3. The enemy would probably undertake an attack on the Network from the advantageous position they occupied on the hill; an attack which could be done with little danger on their own side, as that Network afforded no shelter for us. Again, the wing between Gelderlandt and the Castle could easily be captured, as it was impossible either to reach or defend it by the high-placed cannon of the Castle. Clearly could it be seen that the enemy had been well advised by that sergeant who taught them the advantages of the hill in question; whereas, if our own men had captured it at the very first, the siege might have been ended long ago.

4. Granted that they could hold out till the expiration of the north monsoon and the arrival of help from Batavia, it would still be very doubtful if the expected assistance from Batavia would be of much avail, inasmuch as the enemy had already such control of the channel that no passage could be effected without their permission. The besieged were therefore completely at their mercy; seeing, especially, that any expected reinforcements would prove quite insufficient for conducting successful operations on land.

5. Their provisions, although plentiful, had been so greatly damaged that large quantities could no longer be retained in an edible condition, and would be exhausted much sooner than they expected.

Lastly, even assuming that the enemy would not attack, or if so, that they would be repulsed, yet our forces would be much weakened through many that would be slain and many others wounded; while sickness, caused by exhaustion and want of provision, would abound, rendering our men completely incapable of offering anything like a spirited resistance.

By these and similar arguments the Council tried to show Governor Coyett the awful fate in store for every one should this struggle be persisted in, and that such a consummation would be of no advantage to the Company.

The Governor indicated his acceptance of the conclusions at which they had arrived, and even seemed pleased that they had deliberately resolved to save the men and soldiers; it being evident that the position was a desperate one, and that theirs was a lost cause.

Thus, through the remonstrances and earnest pleadings of the Council, the Governor yielded, not wishing to appear the only wise one among so many councillors, and at a time when delay might have been followed by very serious consequences.

He therefore consented to the all but unanimous opinion which had been come to, and it was decided that they should forthwith enter into negotiations with Koxinga regarding the capitulation of the Castle under fair conditions. See Nos. 34 and 35. Hence a message was sent immediately, a mutual truce was entered upon, and, after five or six days of deliberation, the following agreement with Koxinga was drawn up.

TREATY made and agreed upon ; from the one side, by His Highness the Lord Teibingh Tsiante Teysoniancon KOXIN, who has besieged Castle Zeelandia on Formosa since 1st May 1661 up till this first day of February 1662 ; and from the other side, as representing the Dutch Government, by the Governor of the said Castle, Frederick Coyett and his Council, consisting of the undernoted eighteen Articles :—

I. All hostilities committed on either side to be forgotten.

II. Castle Zeelandia, with its outworks, artillery, remaining war-materials, merchandise, money, and other properties belonging to the Honourable Company, to be surrendered to Lord Koxinga.

III. Rice, bread, wine, arack, meat, pork, oil, vinegar, ropes, canvas, pitch, tar, anchors, gunpowder, bullets, and linen, with such other articles as may be required by the besieged during their voyage to Batavia, to be taken on board the Company's ships in keeping with instructions from the before-mentioned Governor and Council.

IV. All private movable property inside the Castle or elsewhere belonging to officers of the Dutch Government, shall first be inspected by Koxinga's delegates, and then placed on board the said ships.

V. In addition to these goods, each of the twenty-eight Councillors shall be permitted to take with him two hundred *rijksdaalders*, and twenty chosen civilians an aggregate sum of one thousand *rijksdaalders*.

VI. After inspection, the Dutch soldiers may come forth with flying banners, burning fusees, loaded rifles, and beating drums, marching thus for embarkation under command of the Governor.

VII. The names of all Chinese debtors or lease-holders in Formosa, with particulars of claims against them, shall be copied out from the Company's books, and handed to Lord Koxinga.

VIII. All the Government archives may be taken to Batavia.

IX. Every servant of the Company, now imprisoned by the Chinese in Formosa, shall be liberated within eight or ten days, and those who are in China, as soon as possible. Servants of the Company who are not imprisoned in Formosa shall be granted a free pass to reach the Company's ships in safety.

X. The said Lord Koxinga shall now return to the Company the four captured boats, with all their accessories.

XI. He shall also provide a sufficient number of vessels to take the Honourable Company's people and goods to their ships.

XII. Vegetables, flesh-meat, and whatever else may be necessary to sustain the Company's people during their stay, shall daily be provided by his Highness's subjects at a reasonable price.

XIII. So long as the Honourable Company's people remain on land before embarkation, no soldier or other subject of Lord Koxinga shall be permitted to enter the Castle (unless when on service for the Company), to approach the outworks nearer than the gabions, or to proceed further than the palisades erected by order of His Highness.

XIV. No other than a white flag shall float from the Castle until the Honourable Company's people have marched out.

XV. Those who guard the stores shall remain in the Castle two or three days after the other people and goods have been taken on board, and thereafter they shall proceed themselves to the vessels.

XVI. As soon as this Agreement is signed, sealed, and sworn to on both sides, each according to his own country's customs, Lord Koxinga shall deliver to one of the Dutch ships two hostages, viz. the Mandarin or Captain Moor Ongkun and Pimpan Jamoosje of the political Council. On the other side, and as representing the Company, Lord Koxinga shall receive custody of Mr. Jan Oetgens van Waveren, an official second in rank to the Governor, and Mr. David Harthouwer, also a member of the Formosa Council. Each of these hostages shall remain in a previously fixed place until everything has been carried out in accordance with the terms of this contract.

XVII. Chinese prisoners at present in the Castle or on the Company's ships shall be released in exchange for any of our people who have been seized by the subjects of Lord Koxinga.

XVIII. All misunderstandings, and every important matter overlooked in this Agreement, shall immediately be dealt with to the satisfaction of both parties, upon notice having been given from either side.

After this capitulation had been mutually signed in the proper way, its conditions carried out, and all ammunition and stores had been taken on board ship, our people marched out armed to the teeth and with flying banners, surrendering Zeelandia to Koxinga's forces, who then entered and took full possession.

The Company's goods and possessions which were left behind had the following approximate value :—

Value of the gold in <i>guilder</i> or florins,	.	.	600
Small blood-corals on hand, .	.	.	900
Several packages of amber, .	.	.	50,000
Ready cash in <i>rijksdaalders</i> , .	.	.	120,000
Other unclassified materials,	.	.	300,000
Total, .	.	.	<u>f. 471,000</u>

A great hue and cry was raised in the Netherlands and at Batavia over the losses here mentioned. People spoke as if the Company had become poorer by a few millions. But all this was simply meant to stir up bad feeling against the members of the Formosan Council. In his formal charge (see *Authentic Proofs*, No. 20), the Fiscal calls special attention to the gold and blood-corals which were thus 'abandoned to the enemy,' implying that they were of great value; although, taken together, they could have been purchased for little more than 1500 *guilder*. On the other hand, any concealment of those articles might have led to much trouble, and even to bloodshed.

Thus, through neglect of all warnings from various sources regarding Koxinga's intention to surprise Formosa, through failure of the Batavia Council to make preparation for the enemy's attack, through refusal to sanction the construction of a few fortifications, by means of which the whole island might have been saved, through many disheartening words, causing the Formosan Council to lose courage or make any important suggestion, through the despatch from Batavia of insufficient help, notwithstanding the courageous resolution of the Formosan Council to resist Koxinga to the last, through the villainous flight of Commander Caeuw, causing the besieged to become utterly desperate after a siege of nine full months, and through other experiences already referred to, the important Castle of Zeelandia, yea, the whole island of Formosa, fell a prey to that heathen idolater and devil-worshipper, Koxinga.

One result was that the East India Company were thereby prevented from accomplishing their chief purpose, namely, that of linking together the Chinese and Japanese trades by forming a basis in Formosa.

But a more serious loss has also to be considered; for, as the swine wrought havoc by getting into the vineyard and harvest of the Lord (according to the prophet), in like manner, that Christianity which had been established, nursed, and extended with so much pain and bloodshed by the clergy and schoolmasters, was at one fell swoop destroyed through the loss of Formosa, whose inhabitants were compelled to return again to their primitive idolatry.

Assuredly, the guilty ones who were the cause of all these calamities will have to render an account in due time. Amongst them are principally Claes Verburg, Jan van der Laan, and Jacob Caeuw. Upon these three must rest the chief responsibility of being the cause of Formosa's neglect and overthrow. Claes Verburg was guilty of incontrollable passion and deep hatred against Governor Coyett, resulting in the many faithful warnings from the latter to Batavia being disregarded, and much that was essential to the salvation of Formosa being withheld. Van der Laan showed insatiable avarice, by means of which he ignored the Company's interest, in the hope of acquiring spoil for himself. He persisted strongly in the Macao campaign, and accused the Formosa Council at Batavia of having purposely allowed such a splendid chance to slip past. He also made it appear as if there were no enemies to be expected in Formosa, and in this he was backed up by Claes Verburg. Finally, Caeuw acted the part of a faithless coward in fleeing from the siege with ships and the best men, thereby abandoning the besieged to their fate.

Hence the desperate condition of the besieged, and the precipitate surrender of the Castle ; an inglorious ending which might never have occurred at all, if Caeuw had successfully carried out his commission, or if he had brought to Tayouan the proffered assistance from the Tartars ; for the besieged could then have waited for further instructions, and have kept the enemy at bay until Caeuw's return. Supposing, too, that help reached them from that quarter, our people could at least have held out other nine months longer, and have made the siege famous throughout all time.

But although Governor Coyett and his Council, both before and during Koxinga's siege, conducted themselves in everything like honourable men, it was all in vain, nor did it save them from being challenged in Batavia and imprisoned. As regards the Governor himself, after being deprived of all possessions, honour, and reputation, he spent two years in prison, and was then condemned to life-long banishment on the island of Ay, near Banda.

He would probably never have been released but for the intercession of his children and friends, who, on the fortunate establishment of our Republic under the Prince of Orange, invoked the aid of His Highness by giving him a brief review of all that had transpired in connection with this matter.

Their prayer was graciously listened to, and they were gratified by obtaining a true friend in His Highness, who requested the Court of Seventeen to issue an order for Mr. Coyett's release. Nor could the Directors refuse such an august demand—although the children and friends had repeatedly petitioned to the same effect. Coyett was therefore permitted to return to this country. As, however, he was an exceedingly able man, and thoroughly acquainted with the Company's financial position, it was thought that he might be able to injure the Company by offering his services to some other Potentate in India ; and to prevent this some precautions were taken, as may be seen from the following letter :—

Extract from the Directors' letter of 12 May 1674 to the Governor-general and Councils of India.

'The children and friends of Frederick Coyett have called on us several times, in order that we may release their father and cousin from the imprisonment to which he was condemned by the Council of Justice in Batavia. With the view of obtaining an order for release, they have often addressed themselves to the High Authorities, but were repeatedly refused. However, as many petitions have since been sent to us by several distinguished members of the Government, including His Highness the Prince of Orange, and as the before-mentioned friends have now given suitable guarantees, we can now no longer refuse their petition. We therefore herewith instruct Your Excellencies to liberate Mr. Coyett at present confined on the island of Ay, near Banda, and allow him to come hither ; on condition, however, that he shall first bind himself by oath under a properly signed deed to settle in one of the United Provinces ; to stay there during the remainder of his life ; to refuse all offers of employment in India ; and to abstain from taking any part in Eastern affairs,

whether on his own account or by request. In view of his compliance with these conditions, we have received here as surety-money the sum of twenty-five thousand guilders, regarding which Your Excellencies will obtain further details in the accompanying Deed of Attorney.' See *Authentic Proofs*, No. 36.

3. Authentic Proofs.—*No. 1. Extract from Minute-book of the Factory at Nangasaki, 11 November 1646.*—Yesterday a junk arrived here from Hokchiu with a few slaves and a cargo of sugar, half of which had been rendered useless. It became known through the interpreter that the Tartars had been very fortunate in their war in the Empire of China. They continued their victories with so great success that the king had been driven out of Hokchiu by I-quan. The former had fled to Chinchew, but both cities had been demolished by fire, causing much terror and lamentation in the remaining districts. It also became known that the escaping Chinese, who would not surrender, had been warned to have regard to the Fort of Tayouan, as it was possible they might succeed in strongly entrenching themselves there. We hope and trust that the good God will never permit this to happen, although the island of Formosa would afford a splendid retreat and home for the Chinese fugitives. In that case, Tayouan would be exposed to the risk of being deprived not only of its food-supplies, but even of its cattle and agricultural produce. Therefore, it may be as well to consider whether it would be advisable to open some new market for Tayouan, or just allow matters to take their own course.

No. 2. From the Batavia Council to Governor Nicolaes Verburg in Tayouan, 25 July 1652.—Pater Jesuyt—already referred to—has informed us that numerous rumours are now current in China concerning the son of I-quan called Koxin, who, pressed hard by the Tartars, can no longer hold out in China, nor find himself safe there. He has therefore gone to sea with a great force, and adopted a course of piracy, intending to keep an eye on Formosa, with the view of ultimately settling down in that territory. God may prevent it, and we trust it may be so. However, we think it best to acquaint Your Honour with these reports, so that you may continue your preparations for defence and be constantly on your guard.

No. 3. From the Batavia Council to Governor Verburg, 26 May 1653.—With great surprise, and not without some anxiety, we have been made aware from Your Honour's first letter of the treacherous attempt (*i.e.* the Chinese revolt of 1652) to upset the Company's authority in Formosa. However, it has fortunately been discovered, quelled, and suppressed—for which may the name of the Lord be blessed to all time!

At the same time, we are somewhat suspicious that those wicked people have not undertaken this rebellion without support or instigation from more distinguished quarters (perhaps from the Mandarin Koxinga), although there is not yet any clear proof of this having been the case. It is very fortunate for the Company that the Chinese headmen in Formosa had no hand therein, but rather exposed the plot against their own countrymen; as also, that the Formosans remained faithful to us, and acted manfully in exterminating the rebels.

Your Honour has therefore done well by rewarding each Chinese headman with a *cangan* or *nietquaina*. Still, we must not confide too much either in the Chinese or the Formosans. The latter cannot be relied on, seeing that the Chinese have more intercourse with them than we have, and usually try to blackmail our Government. Hence those natives may be easily tempted to rise up against us. If that had happened in the present case, and if the Chinese had been provided with sufficient firearms, we should very likely have been driven from the mainland of Formosa and kept locked up in Tayouan, and this would have caused unutterable damage to the Company, whose territory could not have been recovered without much trouble and expense. In any case, it is apparent that the Chinese must be prevented from attaining firearms or any other materials for war, and that the import of all such articles should be strictly guarded, lest on another occasion some trick may be played upon us.

We cannot yet free ourselves from great anxiety concerning this Mandarin Koxinga, who, according to intelligence from our countrymen saved from the barque *de Koe* and from the Chinese, has been several times defeated by the Tartars. No doubt he will ultimately be forced to leave Aymuy, and remove with his followers to safer quarters, probably to the island of Formosa, as its fertility and other good properties are as well known to him as to us.

But it may turn out otherwise, as the crew of the said *de Koe* informed us that Koxinga is not much liked by his own men, who continually desert him owing to his strict ruling and lack of the necessary means for supporting them. Hence, we hope that, when compelled to flee the country, he will have only a few followers. We hear that many have deserted to the Tartars, because all who submit are freely pardoned, are granted full possession of their properties, and meet with much better treatment than they received from their own Chief. However, we have sufficient reason to be more than ever on our guard, and to view all occurrences with suspicion, seeing that it needs more than ordinary wisdom and bravery to protect a large country with a small force against outside enemies.

No. 4. *From Governor Verburg to the Batavia Council, 10 March 1654.*—It is a fixed rule that more knowledge and wisdom are required in governing a country well, and protecting it against all calamities, than in conquering it, and keeping it under despotic subjection. Therefore, the person to whom this duty has been entrusted must ever be on his guard against all internal or external hostile intrigues, so as to prevent such sudden attacks as may lead to confusion and helplessness. This precaution ought always to be taken by the Governor of Formosa, who should never retire to rest without such thoughts occupying his attention.

I have, myself, had ample experience of these difficulties, and my thoughts respecting them have often been such as almost caused my hair to stand on end through agitation. How can it be otherwise so long as Formosa is exposed to so many calamities and dangers? If we look into the interior of the country, we find there many semi-savage natives who, through sheer ignorance, have become our subjects, but who, were they to acquire more knowledge, might

not behave so quietly as they have done hitherto. What is our power compared with their numbers? They must be able to turn out one hundred thousand fighting men. Moreover, the island is simply swarming with all kinds of Chinese, who are constantly spying out the country in every direction, and who could easily get up a conspiracy, this having been proved to us by the very sudden and dangerous rebellion of that people on 10 September 1652.

Similarly, the dangers from outside should also be taken into account, because Formosa is situated between the powerful nations of China and Japan, whose kings may become jealous regarding our mastery of Formosa. Nor is there anything to prevent those nations from producing some other great personage from rebelling against his lawful king, and then being compelled to take flight in Formosa. Indeed, some time ago it was rumoured that the Chinese Mandarin Koxinga, son of I-quan—who has been for a long time in war with the Tartars—intended, if driven from his country, to transfer himself with his followers to Formosa, and there to establish a kingdom of his own.

No. 5. From Governor Cæsar of Tayouan, 6 March 1655.—A long time has elapsed—much to our astonishment—since any junks arrived here from the Coast of China. We have made strict inquiries by the Chinese Cabessas and the merchants residing here, as to the cause of this unusual state of things. According to their statements, the only reason is the renewed outbreak of war between the great Chinese Mandarin Koxinga and the Tartars, all vessels in China being seized and prevented from trading for the purpose of him. This reason seems to have some appearance of truth, and it should not make us forget the rumours which have often been circulated before, that this very Mandarin intends some day or other to attack our beautiful island. Those rumours ought certainly to be noted, for they have been heard not only in Tayouan, but also in Japan, and even in Batavia through means of the Chinese Cuftaff. They should keep us here ever wakeful and on our guard, so that we may not be unexpectedly surprised by our enemies.

N.B.—Owing to this representation of the case by Governor Cæsar, the Council unanimously agreed to have a well-appointed junk, and despatch her to Pehoe, under the command of the equipage-master Aucke Pieters, and sergeant Pieter Jansz (because well acquainted with the Chinese language) to make investigation and inquiry.

No. 6. From Governor Cæsar to the Batavia Council, 14 November 1655.—It is almost certain that Koxinga is afraid of being at some time or other attacked by the Tartars. This is quite evident, for, a little time ago, rumours were current that the Tartars were approaching Hokchiu from Pekin with a large army; and that Koxinga, very much astonished, then caused several strongholds and Castles which he thought not secure enough, to be destroyed. Amongst these were the two renowned trading cities of Anhay and Sansieuw. The latter is the more famous of the two, for the entire Province, and the river on which Aymuy is situated, are both named after it. In this city not one stone has been left upon another. Your Excellencies can imagine how many thriving

merchants and well-to-do citizens have been impoverished thereby, how they are now scattered like exiles, the one here and the other there.

When Koxinga gets to know of any persons, outside the number of his own followers, who possess a penny more than they need, he makes them deliver up to him, under the pretext that he must have means for fighting against the Tartars. If they refuse, he orders them to be immediately slain. Verily this is too cruel, and the people say that conduct like this will be the very thing that will hurry on himself to an awful doom.

We have to-day despatched the equipage-master Aucke Pieters with a small junk to the Pehoe islands, to see whether any of Koxinga's junks were cruising about, and to inquire if this was the reason why, for so long a time, no junks from China had been harbouring there. We were very suspicious indeed—and more so because the Chinese residing here had the same feelings concerning the matter—that Koxinga had some intention in view towards Tayouan to the disadvantage of the Company; and we suspected this to be the reason why Koxinga had captured all these junks for his fleet. But every preparation has been made for resisting him. We have collected a quantity of firewood in the Castle which will serve us for eight or ten months, etc.

That Koxinga had something strange in his mind during these days was considered certain from the fact that he had ordered a great number of storm-ladders to be made. We, too, then laid a supply of beams and stones on the wings of the Castle, to be used in the event of an attack, although nothing happened. It can however do no harm to be on one's guard. Who knows but that this has taken place to make us carry out Your Excellencies' recommendation that we should always keep our eyes open and not be taken at unawares? In the event of Koxinga attacking Formosa, the worst to be feared is that we cannot possibly prevent his landing; for it is very likely that he would attempt this at several points, and thereby completely cut off our food-supplies. Now, our own hands are fully occupied in holding the Forts, while our forces could not meet an emergency of this kind; for, even although we recalled all outside watches, our soldiers would still be insufficient in number to carry on operations on an extensive scale. We beg to draw Your Excellencies' attention to this matter. It would be a great advantage were Tankoia put into a position of defence. We deem this to be an urgent necessity.

No. 7. From the Resolution-book of Castle Zeelandia, 5 March 1657.—Shortly after the latest despatches for Batavia had left, it was unanimously agreed to send a letter to the great Mandarin Koxinga in which we gave His Excellency our best advice. We also wrote to Messrs. Sikokon and Sanja. To ensure safe delivery of the letters, we called in the services of the interpreter Pincqua, he being one of the most distinguished of our old Chinese friends. Because of his abilities, and because he had secured the friendship of Koxinga himself, we entrusted to him the most influential of the letters, with an accompanying small present to His Excellency.

No. 8. From the Resolution-book of Tayouan, 1 March 1659.—Owing to

rumours that the Chinese interpreter Pincqua—recently returned to Tayouan—had been empowered by Koxinga to receive the duty from all junks crossing to China, we yesterday issued instructions that investigation should be carefully made and a report sent to us.

We also succeeded in summoning a few Chinese headmen who have been behaving suspiciously, and giving us reason to believe that they are acquainted with Koxinga's plans. When they appeared and were severely questioned, they declared at last that Pincqua, now residing here, has been collecting export duties from all junks going to China, and has been doing so in name of the great Mandarin Koxinga. They also heard that he had leased the power to collect those duties, the Mandarin Sanja in Aymuy becoming surety for him to the extent of 18,000 *taels* of fine silver *per annum*; and that, since the time he acted as our letter-bearer to China—*i.e.* from August 1657 up till now—he had received duty on all the exported game, fish, shrimps, sugar, and other commodities. Any person not able to pay was furnished with money on loan, after handing over a written promise to refund some future day. Several of his acquaintances were allowed to depart without payment, and as proof hereof, two of their junks brought back two peculiarly printed letters in Koxinga's name demanding the said export duties; and on payment of these, they received from the skippers a receipt in Pincqua's own sealed handwriting which had been made out nearly thirteen months before.

After having heard all these accusations against Pincqua, and receiving his own partial confession and excuse, it is quite evident (although this matter is not yet entirely cleared up) that he is greatly to blame; especially so, if Samsiack's charge against him be true, namely, that he has been the cause of the increased duties and the disappearance of the trading junks, thereby causing great loss not only to the Honourable Company, but to the citizens residing here.

It has therefore been decided that everything should be again thoroughly investigated, and that measures be taken accordingly. The said accusations against Pincqua, as also his own confessions so far as they have been received, will be handed over to the Fiscal of this city, in order to assist him making inquiries and taking other necessary proceedings.

No. 9. *From the Minute-book of Castle Zeelandia, 21 April 1659.*—The Council of Justice already referred to has given judgment and deposed the accused interpreter Pincqua from his offices and honours; from being a Cabessa or Chinese Elder and citizen here, as also from being an interpreter in the service of the Honourable Company; the proved charge against him being that, for some years, he levied dues from sampans frequenting the coast near Sakam, and from the cutting and selling of firewood. His salary as interpreter due from the time of his detention in the Castle—*i.e.* from the last of February—shall therefore cease, and he shall also pay a fine of 300 *realen* of eighths; one-third for the use of the Company, and the remaining two-thirds for Mr. Eysscher and for the costs of these proceedings.

No. 10. *From the Resolution-book of Tayouan, 9 February 1660.*—We notice

that, for some time past, very few goods have been imported by the junks arriving from China; while a large quantity of inland goods have been exported by them, chiefly during the preceding month of January. Hence, we are not without uneasiness that the Chinese are sending home their possessions beforehand, so as to depart themselves before long, and thus leave us sitting with a bare skeleton, as it were.

No. 11A. *From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 6 March 1660.*—The Lord-governor summoned this meeting for the purpose of communicating some matters of importance which may have very serious consequences, if God did not mercifully interfere to deliver us. To begin with: this afternoon at 4 o'clock Sacko came and stated that last night while returning from his country-house near Tavokan, he heard a rumour which he wished to make known to the Governor, namely, that war would shortly be declared against us by Koxinga. He knew no further particulars, and was unable to say who had started those rumours. His mother, wife, and brother's wife had cried the whole of last night very sorely about the matter; therefore he besought us to provide a safe place of shelter for them in the hour of danger.

A little later on, Lacco and Tonhip also called upon his Honour. The former came to obtain a receipt for gold which had been delivered, but when the two met Sacko and understood what his reasons for calling were, they too acknowledged having heard such rumours, and said that Pincqua was at the bottom of all the mischief.

About an hour after those friends went out, the Chinese Zekoy appeared before the Governor with an earnest request that his Honour would believe him, and reckon him amongst those who brought the news. He said that he had heard from several persons whose names he could not give that, during this full moon, Koxinga would come over to fight us with 25,000 men under the command of five distinguished war-chiefs. One half would try to land in the north, and the other half in the south, and each half would have two thousand harnessed soldiers. Forty fishermen had been engaged from Pehoe to serve on some junks as navigators or pilots; and orders had already been given that, on the 14th day of this moon, all Koxinga's warriors who were to take part in this expedition were to keep themselves in readiness; also, that sacrificial feasts should be held for the good success of the great enterprise.

Zekoy judged that these things were now beyond doubt, and he therefore advised his Honour that the Company ought to make ample provision of materials, food-supplies, firewood and such like.

All this being related to us by his Honour, every member of Council expressed an earnest desire to faithfully guard this rich and dearly won island entrusted to them. For this rumour (which has already been circulating for several years, though never so plainly) is certainly of no slight importance, and should be reckoned as being trustworthy, not only because it agrees with many well-known facts, but for reasons which now flash upon our remembrance, namely:

1. That, some time ago, Koxinga was surrounded and surprised by the

Tartars in the Nankin territory, thereby losing most of his soldiers and seven or eight of his principal heroes. After an absence of four years, he recently returned to Aymuy, and was probably so weakened in men and junks as to feel that he must face this undertaking. He may also have been moved thereto by the threatenings and arrival of the Tartars in the lower countries; for, not long ago, rumours were in circulation that they intended to pursue Koxinga more persistently than formerly; yea, even come to harass him in Aymuy.

2. That, from a desire for spoil, he intended to carry off from Formosa a great quantity of corn, thereby ruining part of the population, and preparing the way for making himself master of the fine territory and wealth of this island.

3. That the advantages of this enterprise were no doubt fully explained to him.

4. That, after the very first rumour of Koxinga's uncertain movements—*i.e.* during last November—large quantities of goods were exported to China by our own citizens; a preparatory arrangement which would enable the Chinese to leave the country at once in the event of war breaking out.

5. That, after selling their properties, some of the Chinese citizens had already departed, and others were on the point of leaving through fear of the enemy's arrival.

6. That, notwithstanding the splendid weather, unusually fine for sailing, not a single junk has arrived here from China.

All these facts, as well as the stories related by the Chinese, make it extremely necessary that we should immediately prepare means to strengthen our position; so that, with God's mercy, we may be able to resist the hostile intentions of Koxinga. And although we find ourselves destitute of many war-materials, and especially of soldiers for the necessary equipment of these outposts where the enemy could effect an easy landing, still we will try to help ourselves as best we can; at least till we obtain assistance from Batavia, or be provided in some way with such things as are so much needed.

We have, therefore, taken the precaution to warn all our people far and wide, in villages and in distant outskirts along the sea-shore and elsewhere; doing so for their security as well as for our own safety. We have also unanimously agreed to send instructions to our officials throughout Formosa (with orders that they shall acquaint their inferiors) that all Dutchmen, schoolmasters as well as soldiers, shall immediately provide themselves with a suitable rifle from Holland, and the natives with their own kind of arms.

All must keep themselves in readiness so as to answer the first call whenever any danger from the sea be discovered. Those between the Zant river and the Patientia river, from the most northern village, will have to appear fully armed in Favorlang, so as to prevent the enemy from landing on those shores. Those on this side of the Zant river should assemble in Soulang, so as to march to Wankan on the first alarm being raised, in order to guard the coast there.

But as most of the natives in the south are not to be trusted—particularly

were an enemy to land at such a suitable place as Tankoia—we have thought it best to instruct the officer at Tankoia, Mr. Hendrick Poorden, to summon all Dutchmen from the surrounding villages, to keep them there until further notice, and to provide them suitably with arms, so that they may be ready to meet the enemy with the best men among his most trusted volunteers. Also, that the Chinese farmers must come hither with their cattle, as we cannot trust them at a distance for the reasons already stated.

If, in the northern villages, our people find that the natives refuse to arm themselves, they must be sent along with the Chinese farmers to Favorlang. On the earliest opportunity, the leaders should apply to us for rifles to be used by the schoolmasters. It will be better to bring all forces nearer together by summoning our men from the watch-station at Tockodocot to repair to Favorlang. In order to deal at once with any possible treachery, we have also enjoined all outposts to keep a sharp watch towards the sea, and raise an alarm at the first sign of danger.

Although we had already fixed the general Formosan Landtdagen or Diets to be held at the usual time of full moon, yet we find several serious difficulties which hinder the carrying out of this during these troublous times, especially the aforesaid rumours respecting Koxinga. And it is easy to see that the absence of so many officials from their posts amongst a people who are all exceedingly liable to break out into open revolt, might afford a splendid opportunity to rise up in open rebellion against the State. We have therefore abandoned these Landtdagen this year, and have informed our officers there-
anent, so that intimation may be sent in time to all the village elders.

No. 11B. *From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 12 March 1660.*—The Chinese in and around Wankan, after having been repeatedly warned by us to leave that district and to come hither, do not seem to pay the slightest attention to our orders, and, in fact, obstinately oppose us. They have removed to a place beyond the site of the old redoubt, and—according to the statement of our representative there—they absolutely refuse to leave it. Therefore, in order to dislodge them, we have unanimously agreed to send now a troop of fifty musketeers in six sampans under the command of the Standard-bearer, Harmen Nuyts, and provided with game and bread from this garrison.

No. 11C. *From the Tayouan Day-register, 16 March 1660.*—There arrived here to-day a *koya* loaded with rice from Pehoe, manned by eight sailors, and having two women and four children on board. As the *taykon* or skipper told a number of falsehoods in his declaration, he was detained in prison, and all his letters—eighteen in number—were seized. Most of these letters were addressed to unimportant people here, and nearly all contained rumours that Koxinga would shortly land with his war forces. Some of the writers advised their friends to leave Formosa with all their property, or even with empty hands.

No. 12. *Letter from two Tayouan Chinese to their brothers in Batavia, 20.1.1660.*—As you were young when departing from us for Batavia, we anticipate that you have much altered and become somewhat aged. You are

ever in our thoughts, ay even in our sleep, and we have been daily expecting you. We are very anxious to know of your condition whether well or ill, and should be delighted if you could join us. Respecting ourselves, we live and board here with other people in Tayouan, and, owing to the troublous times, we are not making profits. We pray God, however, that He may enable you to make sufficient money to permit of your early arrival here, as you are very dear to us. Although matters may be satisfactory, and although you have many friends there, still it is better on the coast of China, and we are even dearer friends, yea very much attached to each other. We quite anticipate that you will arrive here next May by some Dutch vessel, and will at once proceed to the coast of China, as rumours are current that Koxinga with his army will certainly cross to Formosa before long. If you do not come, but remain there, we will regard you as dishonest men, who care not for wives, children, or friends. Now we have written enough, and you may think the foregoing over, whether it be well or badly advised.

No. 13. *Letter from a Chinese in the Pescadores to his elder brother.*—I have now been long separated from you, not knowing how you are, whether you are doing any trade, and making or losing money. If you have earned a little, stay where you are, but if you have lost, then come at once to the Pescadores. We may then live and trade together. It is not so profitable in Tayouan as formerly, as Koxinga intends to attack it. Not a single junk has arrived here from China since the New Year. The people are afraid, and do not know what to expect. Fresh rumours are circulated every day, one of them being that the Tartars with a few junks are going to surprise the enemy. You should not stay so long in Tayouan.

(1) *Translation of another Chinese letter.*—Recently your cousin Zoko expressed his earnest desire that you, with your wife and children, would come hither, bringing all your property. I also think this the best and most advisable course, for though Tayouan is a fairly good place, still I would not advise you to continue staying there too long. I am much afraid and concerned about you, not knowing how you could make your escape in the event of any disturbances arising from war, or other difficulties taking place.

(2) *Translation of a second Chinese enclosure.*—I herewith wish to let you know that I have again arrived in the Pescadores, and have commenced to farm my lands as heretofore. I think that my wife and children residing at Tayouan are not very safe there, and in the event of their having any corn, whether much or little, they should take it with them when coming here. My brother Haine does as much for me as he can, and is sending my wife and children without delay. Do believe me, and do not regard this letter as of little account, for when the evenings approach, I am always filled with terror, dreading that some tumult may take place there. I therefore again request that you will guard my wife and children. You may easily imagine how I feel. Please look upon this letter as though you had seen me personally.

Note.—Although the remaining intercepted Chinese letters also contain news of Koxinga's great preparations to surprise Formosa with his forces,

we have thought it unnecessary to quote them all, satisfying ourselves with these two or three, from which the others may be judged.

No. 14. From the Tayouan Day-register, 14 June 1660.—After carefully considering all the previously mentioned treacherous, villainous, and totally improbable lies and contradictory reasonings of some Chinese who were examined with regard to Koxinga's plans, the Council has decided to keep in the Castle the before-mentioned skipper and Samfiacx—these two being considered the most guilty—and to punish them daily, or at least every second day, until they confess to us what we wish to know. Also, that the writer Jucko, son of Samfiacx, in whom less guilt has been found, shall be kept in the Castle as a hostage.

No. 15. From the Tayouan Day-register, Thursday, 13 April 1660.—In the afternoon the Chinese who had been kept as hostages earnestly besought an audience with the Governor. This was permitted, and Mr. van Waveren was summoned to be present at the interview. When several Chinese were admitted, the Governor questioned Sacko whether, during his call last Saturday with the news regarding Koxinga's great preparations for war, he had not then stated that, on reaching home, he found his wife and the wife of his brother Dirck Janssens, bitterly crying, and inconsolable during the whole of that Friday night; and whether he had asked us for a shelter for them in the event of troubles arising. Sacko flatly denied, and tried to explain his statement in a very doubtful way.

No. 16. Extract from the letter of Mr. J. Boucheljon and the Council of Nangasaki to the Governor and Council of Formosa, 15 October 1660.—The barque *Spreeuw* arrived here safely on the 11th of last month. We received its cargo of 64,890 skins, dry and in good condition; also Your Honour's pleasing letters of 12 and 16 August. We learn with great pleasure that Koxinga's anticipated invasion of your island has, through the wonderful guidance of God, come to nought. According to reports brought by some recently arrived Chinese, Koxinga seems really to have intended this invasion; but later on he appears to have changed his mind, stating that he preferred to die like a soldier in his own country than in a strange country, which he would first of all have to conquer, and which in all probability would cause him a lot of trouble in order to keep it securely in his possession.

No. 17. Extract from the letter of Mr. J. van Ryck and the Council of Siam to the Governor and Council of Formosa, June 1661.—Last season, not more than five Chinese junks arrived here from the coasts of China and Japan, which had all to return under express orders from Koxinga. Also, two large junks which had been newly built here by Chinese, and loaded principally with rice and dried eatables, saltpetre, sulphur, lead, and tin, departed together for the coast of China.

The Chinese here have openly declared, and various Chinese merchants trading with the Company have secretly told us, that Koxinga, who is now so hard pressed by the Tartars, and is no longer able to hold Aymuy, has recalled all his junks to serve him in some exploit which he means to undertake this

season. It is intended to be directed against one of the nearest islands; the most likely being either Luzon or Formosa.

When necessity forces him to leave Aymuy, he intends to settle down on one of these; and, for this purpose, he has already a fleet of two hundred junks assembled near Aymuy, the whole of them being well supplied with stores, and amply provided with men. Whatever the result of this may be, time and the Almighty will show.

However, as these rumours are very grave, we deemed it right to forewarn Your Honours by sending this news with the ship which lately sailed from Batavia, in the hope that you may make such arrangements as your Council may think proper.

In my judgment Your Honour has acted very judiciously in retaining Costy and some of the ships of van der Laan, with the view of using them in the event of any disaster (which God may prevent). This will likely cause some disturbance amongst the Chinese, if evil was really intended against Formosa.

No. 18. *From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 6 October 1660.*—The noble gentlemen of the Council of Ind'a have, in their communication of 16 July, made known the advantages which the Company would derive were our Portuguese enemies driven from Macao, and that city annexed to the State of the Netherlands; also, that a better opportunity had never offered itself for making this conquest, now that such a considerable fleet was going hither.

The Governor submitted these proposals to the members of Council. He also called their attention to the present condition of matters with respect to Koxinga, and asked them whether such a large force could be spared for an expedition to Macao, if going forward with this expedition would leave a sufficient number of men for the protection of the colony, and if the latter part of this month would be a suitable time for the expedition, seeing that our Hospital had now two hundred and fifty new patients, whose recovery (owing to the cold weather) must necessarily be slow. Indeed, several had already died, and thirty more had arrived from the vessel *Workum*, so that of the six hundred men sent from Holland, not one-half came here in a healthy condition.

In order that each member of the Council should be well acquainted with the various difficulties which beset us, the Governor proposed to draw their attention to a few of these, namely:—

1. That Koxinga, after his defeat in Nankin during the previous year, is afraid of being pursued by the Tartars, and considers his position so weakened that he cannot resist them effectively.

2. He has therefore decided to seize this island from us, in order to serve him as a safe shelter in time of need, he being well aware of its extent and fertility.

3. From several letters which have reached us, it is apparent that he has again been threatened and even attacked by a strong Tartar force, thereby further depleting his powers.

In short, Koxinga has been compelled to leave his chief stronghold on the

island of Aymuy and proceed with all his forces to the more isolated island of Quemoy, to find refuge from the powerful war-forces of the Tartars; and if pressure be brought to bear upon him there, necessity would force him to come to Formosa, especially as he is known to have a preference for it as a haven of rest, and is now only waiting his opportunity. Probably the approaching north monsoon—which is considered by our enemies to be the best time for landing—will afford him such an opportunity; while the matter might be looked upon as settled should he hear that the projected campaign to Macao is to take place; because he would then know well that our bravest and most experienced warriors would be absent, and that the remaining garrison would consist of barely nine hundred men, many of whom are sick, and the great majority young and inexperienced.

As regards this latter point, it should be noted that, so early as 1650, the Directors fixed our Formosa garrison at not fewer than 1200 men owing to the large increase of Chinese immigrants. And everything was at that time much quieter. The State was not menaced by any hostile invasion, and Koxinga gave no cause of anxiety. But the position soon changed. Koxinga began to keep the island in a state of constant alarm; while several more thousands of Chinese immigrants were added to the population in Tayouan and throughout the Sakam district; people who, if they lost confidence in our power to protect them, and whose faithfulness could never be fully relied upon, would at once transfer their allegiance to any stronger power. Proof of this came to light during the recent rebellion, for those two letters from China to the Chinese elders confined here as hostages clearly indicated an unfavourable bias against our authority.

After a careful review of the whole position, the Council judged it best to postpone decision till the 20th of this month, intending still to give the matter our earnest attention before committing ourselves to what we thought might be the best course to pursue for the Company's interest. The interval will also give time to consider the relationship between us and Koxinga, as to his intentions, and how far he may be trusted. We think, too, that this brief postponement is in accordance with the orders from Batavia, and justifiable because of the need for ample thought and consideration.

No. 19. *From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 20 October 1660.*—This is the day we fixed for deciding the question recommended to us by our masters in Batavia in their despatch of 16 July last, as to sending an expedition to Macao (assuming Formosa to be in a tranquil and undisturbed condition) with the object of conquering that Portuguese city and the neighbouring fort. Our postponement was made in order that each member of Council might have an opportunity of giving his earnest consideration to the points at issue, as these were detailed by His Honour the Governor, and previously noted at great length, of trying to find out how best to maintain the prosperity of this beautiful island, and of appreciating the splendid opportunity we had of capturing Macao—because now that our land and naval reinforcements had arrived, it was affirmed that this seizure could be more economically undertaken now

than at any future time. We were thus to balance one scheme against the other, and while admitting both to be of great importance, yet to place that which seemed less urgent in a subordinate place after our careful choice had been made.

Before proceeding to a final decision, and to make matters still clearer, Governor Coyett invited our attention to the following additional considerations :—

1. Since the arrival of the fleet, only fifty sick have been partially cured and dismissed from the Company's Hospital.

2. Koxinga has recently quite prohibited all junks to sail hither from China ; so that, since August last, not a single vessel has arrived here from China or the Pescadores.

3. The route to Pehoe also appears to be closed against our citizens, for two of our vessels which arrived there lately for trading purposes, were seized by Koxinga's men.

Such occurrences do not tend to improve the position, and interfere to a considerable extent with the tranquillity and safety of the colony. They also indicate that Koxinga purposes to resume the campaign, which had been simply postponed till a better opportunity presented itself, and that he means to carry out the full programme which was stated at our meeting of the 6th instant. His Honour then continued by reading various relevant letters to and from Batavia, so that those now associated with the Council, as well as the ordinary members, might obtain a thorough insight into the state of affairs.

After this process was gone through, and the Governor had freely expressed his opinions with the view of affording guidance to the Council, it was agreed that the statements of each individual then present should be inserted in the Minute-book, and that a majority of votes should decide the question.

In accordance herewith, Mr. van der Laan began by stating that, from all the statements just made, he had not been able to discover any evidence of danger or cause for anxiety, either within or without the colony. He therefore urged that the proposed campaign to Macao should be proceeded with at once, in accordance with the express orders and strong recommendations, not only of their Noble Masters in the Netherlands, but of those at Batavia ; this being a matter of the utmost importance, and one which would prove of great advantage to the Honourable Company.

Mr. Oetgens van Waveren stated that the proposal of their Excellencies in Batavia respecting the expedition to Macao was one worthy of consideration and likely to be very profitable ; but, since the recent rebellion, matters had not yet sufficiently calmed down to guarantee entire quiescence on the part of the obstinate Koxinga. It was very suspicious that no vessel had lately arrived here from his dominions ; and as he is still being sorely harassed by the Tartars, many troubles might arise from that source alone. Therefore, Mr. van Waveren thought that the State could not afford to undertake the proposed campaign at present, and that it should be postponed till next March ; on the

plea that the greater portion of their difficulties would then have ended, and that they would still have ample time to accomplish this undertaking. He also thought it should be made a condition that vessels engaged in the transport of sugar to the Netherlands *viâ* Macao should be kept here for the purpose of joining the expedition, as also one of the three vessels bound for Siam.

Mr. Keyser said that, as the expedition to Macao had been so strongly recommended by the Directors, as this was the best time to undertake the same, and as he could not perceive any danger threatening us here in the meantime, it should be proceeded with immediately, and arrangements now made for the fleet to sail thence next month.

Mr. Drost Valentijn also thought the order of the Noble Gentlemen in Batavia regarding this exploit to Macao of very great importance, and absolutely binding upon us, but subject to the condition that perfect tranquillity reigned in Formosa. That latter point was the *crux* of the question. Did they really enjoy the tranquillity now referred to? First of all, from the persistent rumours of war, from various letters received, and from other unmistakable signs, it was clearly evident that Koxinga still intended to pursue a hostile attitude towards the Company here. Secondly, for some time back, all friendly feelings between them had been vitiated by his closing of the sea-route. Thirdly, two of our trading vessels bound for the Pescadores had been seized by his orders. Fourthly, we had to consider Koxinga's own perilous position in China, where he is being strongly pursued by the Tartars. Seeing, then, that matters were not so tranquil as they seemed, Mr. Valentijn thought that, instead of attempting to increase their territory by means of an uncertain campaign, it would be far wiser to protect their present possessions. He therefore proposed that this campaign should be postponed till the middle of next February, and under the same conditions as those stated by Mr. van Waveren, with whose recommendations he entirely agreed.

Captain Pedel advised that this expedition should certainly be carried out, seeing it was so strongly insisted upon from Batavia. But, as they were by no means certain regarding the attitude of Koxinga towards us, whether friendly or hostile, they would be kept in a constant state of anxiety unless fuller information could be obtained. He therefore thought they should ask from Koxinga himself a declaration as to his future attitude towards the Company; and for this purpose, they ought immediately to send an ambassador to him. Captain Pedel added that, until a decided answer was obtained in this way, he would refrain from giving his decision regarding the expedition.

Mr. van Yperen said that, while written statements from Batavia were important enough, it was not exactly necessary that the proposed expedition should set out at present. In trying to undertake such a doubtful object, which would inevitably be surrounded by many dangers, they should not at the same time endanger that which they already possessed. In view of all the facts already dilated upon, this island could not be said to rejoice in tranquillity, but was still overburdened by many difficulties. Another has recently come to light, namely, that Koxinga, who appears to have been pressed very hard by the

Tartars, is driven into a corner ; so that necessity may compel him to renew his first intention in spite of any friendly feeling he might otherwise cherish. Mr. van Yperen therefore thought that the campaign against Macao should be postponed until next March, on the same conditions as suggested by Mr. van Waveren.

Mr. Harthouwer remarked that, according to his own observation and our Council Minutes, the condition of things in South Formosa, which, before his departure to Kelang in July last, were of a troublesome nature, had by no means improved since his return. Not only were our vessels trading to Pehoe seized by Koxinga's men, but he was told in the city to-day that the sea-route to China had been closed. We had also to take into account the desperate condition of Koxinga from the pursuit of the Tartars. For these reasons, he thought it would be unwise to allow any diminution of the garrison here, a result which would certainly follow by undertaking this expedition. Mr. Harthouwer therefore proposed that the campaign in question should not be proceeded with during the present year, but be delayed until all difficulties had passed away.

Lastly, the Governor summed up by saying that, as the Governor-general and Council of India had been pleased to send such valuable help in response to our first letters about Koxinga's intentions, and as we have obtained more damning proofs of evil designs against us, he thought it amply proven that serious troubles were still threatening Formosa. Should this expedition be proceeded with, these would probably be increased, while the garrison would then be even smaller than it was in peaceful times. Again, there were formerly various outposts stationed here and there to guard the country, but we had been obliged to summon them all back to the city ; so that the inhabitants of those outlying regions, Chinese and Formosans alike, seeing themselves deprived of our protection, would probably fall into a disorderly condition, and assume an obstinate disloyalty towards us. Hence, for the sake of the Company, and for the maintenance of this rich and fertile island, the Governor thought it better to postpone indefinitely this proposed expedition to Macao, or at least for such a period as the prosperity of the State demanded. He also advised the detention of all vessels meanwhile, except two bound for Persia, two for Siam, and one to take despatches to Batavia.

This statement having been added to the previous ones, it was decided by a majority of votes to postpone the proposed expedition to Macao till the following February, and then to arrange matters in the interests of the Company as circumstances and the condition of the island demanded. Further, it was decided to deal with the various vessels as had been proposed.

As the first rumour of the intended attack on Macao would likely be carried even to Siam, and as our many ships which called at the Macao islands for drinking-water may have raised suspicion amongst the Portuguese and caused them to fortify themselves against us, it was agreed to try and counteract this rumour and delude the Portuguese and Chinese, by allowing it to go forth as the finding of this meeting, that the Council disapproved of the expedition to

Macao as proposed from Batavia, and detained the forces here which had been sent for that purpose.

And to prevent any one outside of the Council from knowing what actually transpired, every member was compelled to promise on oath that he would keep it secret. It was also specially arranged that this particular resolution should be placed in the keeping of Governor Coyett himself.

And now that it was settled to detain this considerable force, the Governor proceeded to address the Council on the urgent necessity there was for taking immediate action of some kind against Koxinga, whose unfriendly attitude towards the Company caused such disturbance, not only to the social condition of the people, but to the development of commerce; the whole injury being probably greater than if they were engaged in open war with their enemy. At least, they could demand a distinct declaration as to what attitude Koxinga intended hereafter to take up as regards the Company. The decision on this question was postponed till a later occasion, so that each one might have an opportunity for full inquiry and consideration.

We unanimously selected the yacht *Maria* for conveying our advices and resolutions to Batavia in the coming month of November. Done at Castle Zeelandia in Tayouan.

No. 20. *INDICTMENT and suggested Sentence drawn up by Mr. Louis Philibert Vernatti, Advocate-fiscal of India, and handed to the Noble and Esteemed Council of Justice at Castle Batavia, for taking action against FREDERICK COYETT, Councillor-extraordinary of India, and late Governor of Tayouan and Formosa; with Messrs. Joan Oetgens, Thomas van Yperen, and David Harthouwer, Merchants and late Councillors of Formosa.*

For the purposes of this charge, and in order to arrive at a definite conclusion, the Pursuer submits the following affirmations:—

The leading Plaintiff, Governor Coyett, has served in high office throughout the whole Dutch East Indies for nearly twenty years with much honour and advantage to himself.

So much has this been the case that, in addition to appointing him Governor and Director of the States of Tayouan and Formosa, the Authorities also made him a Councillor-extraordinary of India.

In view of so great consideration, the Plaintiff should have manifested a feeling of gratitude and loyalty in furthering the interests of those by whom he was treated, not as a servant, but with the affection of a father for his child; and this altogether apart from the terms of his oath.

This sense of honour and duty should have impelled him thereto. But as the best-loved children frequently cause their parents the greatest sorrow—*et arietibus, bene pastis, cornua proximis*, as the little lambs fed under their master's table will attack first of all the children of him who supplies their wants—in like manner, the Plaintiff and his Councillors have so retaliated upon their kind and forbearing rulers, that the entire building is shaken to its foundation.

The attitude of the Plaintiff and his Councillors clearly indicates that true feelings of patriotism and desire for the Company's prosperity have never entered deeply into their hearts.

How otherwise could the accused have calmly surveyed the complete ruin which threatened the Company, and permitted the foundations of the State to be thus undermined?

Pincqua, a crafty native of China, and a particular favourite of the Plaintiff, made a journey to China with His Honour's consent, and there managed matters in such a way that, on returning to Tayouan, he used Koxinga's name in levying taxes from the inhabitants and merchants.

This iniquitous imposition was continued so long that the Chinese said it could not have been carried on without the knowledge of the Governor; who, to prevent a repetition of such damning evidence of his complicity or incapacity and to maintain his honour, subjected those outspoken heathens to the severest imprisonment and tortures.

They were punished by order of the Governor in this way simply because his weakness had been exposed and censured.

By such flagrant acts, the Plaintiff brought the good name of his superiors into disrepute.

The Plaintiff was also seriously at fault when he permitted a treacherous native of China to escape punishment in spite of the testimony of that person's countrymen, and of the confession of guilt which was signed by his own hand.

In this case, punishment would have had a highly deterrent effect, and would have commanded the approval of all nations and peoples.

However, Pincqua, the collector of unjust taxes, was let off with a paltry fine of three hundred *reals*, although he may have pocketed a hundred times that amount of the proceeds of his vile calling.

The said traitor ultimately effected a shameful flight, causing much dissatisfaction amongst the inhabitants.

During the term of his interpretership, Pincqua brought about much misery by reason of his exactions; and the knowledge that so great a troubler of their peace and destroyer of their happiness had got clear away owing to the cowardice and trifling of the Plaintiff was regarded by the populace as an unforgivable offence.

Pincqua was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Company in Tayouan, and he lost no opportunity of doing all the injury he could by his malicious and thievish methods of work.

And yet, this foreign traitor was permitted to escape.

In matters of less importance the Plaintiff knew how to act: *e.g.* by annulling the sentence of a Colleague in office *ex autoritate*, and by renewing proceedings against a pardoned Chinese—who had been dismissed by Pincqua for stealing three *reals*—and causing him to suffer death by strangulation.

Pincqua's escape had barely been announced when the Plaintiffs began to tremble and make ill-advised efforts to retrieve themselves. *Ad strepitum culicis motaque ad arundinis umbram.* The *Timor Panicus* so possessed them that

innocent fishers were accused of cruising with evil intent near Formosa ; the slightest rumour or old wives' clatter was sufficient to produce such consternation that time-expired soldiers were detained against their will ; the Landtdag was suspended ; and poor innocent Chinese were imprisoned, tortured, and banned without a fair trial, but merely on the accusation of a few favoured fellow-countrymen who made it their business to bring ever-welcome gossip in order to curry favour with the Governor and his Councillors.

Those tyrannical proceedings were not confined to isolated cases, but gradually took a larger scope, until the whole island of Formosa was embraced ; thousands of people, including simple-minded farmers, being forcibly evicted from their farms at the peril of their lives.

The cattle, dwellings, grain, and tools of the sufferers referred to were confiscated, and they themselves, with their wives and children, were driven forth without mercy or means of support to die by the roadside.

Country homes were ransacked, and huge quantities of paddy burned ; the Chinese farmers being expelled from their villages and from Lamey island.

Fishers were prohibited from following their calling, and foreign trade was banned by cruel arrests and painful imprisonment.

The people had to make confessions beyond their knowledge.

Prosperous men of business were compelled to confine their exports to the amount of their imports, in distinct violation of the true principles of commerce and free trade.

Such violent measures brought about great discontent amongst the people, disloyalty to the Company, and efforts to seek consolation and protection from other powers.

Yet this is not all our indictment.

Not content with causing so much dissatisfaction and misery, the Plaintiffs wrote threatening letters to the Governor-general and Council of India demanding early and powerful assistance.

There was so little ground for the fear which prompted those applications, that it is a matter of difficulty to understand why the Council at Batavia should have been embarrassed in this way.

While judging that there was not much need for sending assistance, yet, owing to those constant importunities, and to prove that they had no wish to neglect their duty towards the Company, their Excellencies at Batavia despatched forthwith a fleet of twelve vessels, well manned, provided with ample stores, and under the command of the brave commander Joan van der Laan.

One instruction given to van der Laan was that, if he met with no 'present or threatened trouble at Tayouan and Formosa, the vessels were to be employed in capturing Macao, and such assistance as could be spared from Tayouan was to be freely placed at his disposal for this purpose.

The Macao undertaking was intended to meet the extraordinary outlay which had been made in fitting out this succour-fleet.

Commander van der Laan arrived at Formosa and found everything satis-

factory, excepting the damage caused by Governor Coyett and his Council by their own mismanagement ; through which mismanagement the inhabitants in the country and elsewhere were in a more deplorable condition than could have been occasioned by Koxinga's arrival on the scene of action.

The Commander, not in the habit of taking fright at a scarecrow, was very much surprised at this needless fear and alarm.

He insisted very strongly on the continuation of his mission to Macao, which the Governor and Council opposed, and finally forgot themselves so far as to treat the Commander with insult instead of respect, and even of encouragement in his important enterprise.

At this stage, the Plaintiffs occupied themselves in raising all kinds of imaginary objections to this highly praiseworthy expedition, till they ultimately quite condemned it ; thus violating their Excellencies' distinct orders, and losing not only a splendid opportunity of crippling their sworn enemies the Portuguese, but encouraging the Chinese to begin those hostile arrangements—which they would otherwise never have thought of—which Mandarin Sanja mockingly wrote to the Governor about.

Instead of obeying the orders of the Governor-general and Council of India, they sent a cringing letter to Koxinga, asking him as to whether he meant peace or war.

His diplomatic reply was to the effect that he was not in the habit of giving public notice of his designs, but often spread a report of his certain plans which were quite contrary to his real purpose.

Plaintiffs were thus driven to their wits' end, being still in doubt as to Koxinga's purpose, but keeping the splendid force from proceeding to Macao in the face of van der Laan's most urgent appeals.

Without the slightest proof, they persisted in declaring that Koxinga had on three distinct occasions decided to invade Tayouan and Formosa, and had started operations for that purpose.

If this was true, they should have attacked him with their fleet, destroyed his junks, and rendered him powerless ; rather than sit idly dreaming, to the great annoyance and injury of the Company.

As proof of their craven spirit and incapacity, the Landtdag was postponed and the exportation of rice was prohibited ; this prohibition not only ruining the poor inhabitants, but encouraging Koxinga to take possession, or at least exciting his cupidity, as it was well known that he anxiously wished to obtain possession of this rice for the sustenance of his men.

During all those troublous times, nothing was done in the direction of fortifying weak positions, or for the prosperity of the Company.

Nor did they ever consult that brave and experienced war-officer, Commander van der Laan, so as to strengthen the Quartier, or detect and remedy other defects.

Such inexcusable remissness left them totally unprepared when their troubles actually commenced.

Fort Provintia was insufficiently provided with ammunition as well as food-

supplies; although, according to the resolution of 7 April, they resolved to be well on their guard.

They complained of want of powder, yet allowed the ship *Enkhuysen* to depart for Siam with eight hundred pounds.

They stood amazed and were as motionless as statues when the enemy's junks leisurely entered the Lakjemuyse bay, and proceeded to land their men without the slightest resistance; our so-called defenders preferring to occupy their time with any amount of lengthened and unnecessary discussion.

Their policy was an ever-vacillating one; for after deciding on a certain course, they would then reverse their decision, and yet again formally return to it; this having been clearly seen during the campaign of Captain Aeldorp, who returned without his troops because a bullet whizzed past him, and who was not even harshly spoken to for his cowardice.

Commander van der Laan advised that the enemy who had landed could be driven back with a force of about four hundred, but those in authority falsely pretended that there were only five hundred men in Castle Zeelandia.

They allowed our foes to dominate at their leisure, even to declare that there was no need for haste in making their arrangements.

This culpable carelessness assumed that a few days were of no consequence during times of war, whereas a single hour, even a minute or two, frequently settles the question of victory or defeat.

While our men are looking on in amazement, the enemy, using their advantage to the full, cut off all communication by land and water, and proceed to the storming of Fort Provintia.

Emboldened by this success—obtained more through the negligence of the Formosan Council than their own courage—they now demand the surrender of both Castles in a very insulting and blasphemous manner.

Thereupon, the Council was called together, and would almost certainly have surrendered both Castles on the advice of Joan Oetgens—who had never seen the enemy—had not God Almighty inspired courage into the heart of the Rev. J. Kruyf, who could not listen to so humiliating a proposal without recording his strong protest, who severely castigated those present for their cowardly conduct, and who was enabled by God to express himself so eloquently, and state his reasons with such force, that his audience was electrified, and the catastrophe was averted for the time being.

However, the Council decided to send van Yperen and Leonardis as envoys to Koxinga, and give them instructions to state their business in the humblest and most gentle manner, so as to appease his wrath.

The envoys were further authorised to surrender Provintia and the whole of Formosa, if Koxinga would not listen to reason; this decision being come to before scarcely a shot had been fired from the enemy's camp.

Observing their fear, Koxinga kept strictly to his point, and the envoys returned discomfited, saying that everything was amiss in Provintia.

The city of Zeelandia now lay open, for there were only two unfinished batteries there to prevent the enemy from landing.

The citizens did not lack courage, and were ready to meet the enemy if assisted by two hundred men from the Castle, but assistance was refused; and instead, the entire population, including wives and children, were commanded by the Governor and Oetgens to abandon their possessions, and save themselves by taking refuge in the Castle.

This corner-stone of Tayouan and foundation of Formosa having thus become crushed, the specially prepared batteries were deserted, and the artillery was drawn into the Castle.

The houses in the deserted city had ample food-supplies, and but for this, the enemy must have perished from hunger.

One vantage-point after another was subsequently surrendered to the enemy, notwithstanding the many earnest reproaches of the poor pitiable inhabitants.

The Tayouan officials were wise in their own conceit, and could not imagine that all this must have afforded the enemy a glorious opportunity for carrying out their purposes, and that in a few hours they could totally wreck the city; which, alas! actually happened on the third day, when Koxinga entered unmolested with all his forces, finding an ample supply of provisions.

He immediately went to work, finding comfortable shelter in such deserted buildings as the Town-house and the Waegtol, and erecting so many gabions that we were prevented from making effective use of our cannons.

Meanwhile, those who had the management of affairs on our side seemed afraid to use their artillery, although new gabions were being daily erected before their eyes and within reach of their guns; being constantly afraid of firing ineffectively, lest any powder should be wasted.

Cannons and powder are intended for defence and for destroying the enemy, and their use is far more serviceable at the commencement of hostilities, than after the enemy have entrenched themselves, as experience had now shown.

After our men had done their utmost and had already used their stores of powder, necessity would compel them to exercise caution, but not till then, and no Governor is expected to save more powder than may be required for an approaching attack.

Having thus fortified themselves at their leisure, the enemy proceeded to make a trial with their artillery against our Castle on 25 May, giving thereby proof of their smartness and ready manipulation of their weapons.

Thereupon Mr. Oetgens announced to the men amidst great consternation that the Governor was dead!

Although our men ought to have seen the danger of permitting hostile operations to go on uninterruptedly, yet they generally left the enemy to create very strong positions without doing anything whatever in the way of resistance.

Next day, God Almighty manifested His mercy, and proved that not even for a single moment had He withdrawn His Fatherly hand, by giving us such a great victory over the enemy that the battery of twenty-eight guns, from which they had fired so heavily the preceding day, was captured after very little fighting.

The enemy was astonished, and concealed themselves wherever they could. Our men cried for reinforcements from the Castle, with whose help (by God's mercy) the enemy would have been completely routed. But instead, that brave attacking-party in the city was recalled by the peremptory ringing of the Castle bell, without giving them the opportunity of firing at the enemy and thereby crushing them, and without bringing the captured guns with them. They regretted their cowardice after the opportunity had passed.

When our men had all fled into the Castle, the enemy again proceeded to fortify themselves with gabions in the streets, where they mounted the very guns which had been captured and then abandoned by us in such a bungling chicken-hearted way.

Although the enemy could be heard steadily engaged in this work, no resistance was offered.

From this time, our people remained quite at their ease, without attempting to follow up their recent advantage, until the second succour-fleet from Batavia arrived under Commander Jacob Caeuw.

On his appearance, all the down-hearted, the sick from their cribs, and even the lazy loafers, were quickened.

The enemy lost heart, some of them running with their weapons into the sea and drowning themselves through sheer despair.

Koxinga himself was disappointed, and ready to flee, leaving his men with these consoling words:—*Se sauve qui peut.*

Pincqua, the moving spirit of this whole expedition, was arrested and commanded to surrender his head as a recompense for his advice.

In short, there ensued general disorder and desperation in the army of the enemy.

Meanwhile, in the providence of God, a favourable wind, and as highly agreeable weather as any grateful heart could desire, was vouchsafed for the landing of our reinforcements and ammunition.

Nevertheless, without thinking of the exposed anchorage, and the danger of landing during bad weather, those on shore continued to spend their time in idleness, and left the whole fleet lying there for three days without attempting to unload, thus causing much discontent among the people, who received a reply from van Oetgens to the following effect: 'Because you murmur so, the fleet shall not be discharged for three whole days more.'

Soon after, just as if God withdrew His blessings from an ungrateful people, a severe gale set in, compelling the entire fleet to leave with cargoes undischarged, and remain away for twenty-eight days.

Meanwhile, the little barque *Urk* was wrecked near Tayouan, and her crew imprisoned, tortured, and killed.

By this means the enemy became aware of our position, took courage, extended their outworks, and strengthened their forces, as became true warriors.

After the return of the fleet, our men manifested unusual courage, and made

an attempt with the smallest of their vessels against several of the enemy's little junks, but were defeated and had to retire in confusion, with a loss of men and three boats on our side.

Those rash transgressors against previous decisions were not punished or even reproached by the Governor and his Council.

Since that time, little or nothing more was attempted, although the people were sufficiently brave, and the officers ready to render all necessary help in the interests of the Company, either by making a charge or in any other way.

Their offers, however, were usually refused contemptuously by the Governor, this causing general depression and loss of courage.

Even important decisions were informally made by members of Council on their own responsibility, and these were either changed or abandoned without any reason being given.

This policy was so long pursued that, fearing a rebuke, few had the hardihood to make any proposal, and all became faint, weak-hearted, and careless.

The Company's treasure and other valuable belongings could quite easily have been stowed away in the ships then present; but the officials in charge would not allow this, lest dissatisfaction should break out in the garrison.

They preferred to burden the Company by the unauthorised issue of cheques in its name during this long and dangerous siege.

The enemy were allowed to approach so near without the slightest obstacles being placed in their way, that the Reduyt Uytrecht was entirely demolished.

Our Chinese foes also erected many gabions close to the Castle, by means of which the occupants became so afraid, that they were compelled, either to make a general assault, await the forthcoming storm, or unanimously surrender.

While several favoured the two first proposals, desiring to maintain their position to the last, yet their arguments so influenced those who held the opposite opinion, that merchant de Ridder was instructed to draw up and read aloud a cowardly document which made a surrender of the Castle and its property.

In short, the Formosan Council raised so many difficulties, and discoursed so elaborately and eloquently, that the militia—more used to deeds than words—could no longer oppose them.

Accordingly, this valuable Fort Zeelandia, with its people, ammunition, stores, merchandise, and treasure (including gold and blood-corals), were all surrendered to that cruel heathen and devil-worshipping enemy, Koxinga, without a single struggle so to speak, and in spite of the ample opportunity there was for saving whole cargoes of goods.

Although van Yperen was outvoted at this stage of the matter, and Harthouwer had been absent on a few occasions—during which absence he committed several improprieties, especially in the bay of Ingelingsh—neither of

these two can be freed from the present responsibility of the Formosan Council. However, it is not to one single act the ruin of the Company here can be traced; for the downfall of Tayouan and Formosa has been brought about by that long course of petty squabbling and faithless conduct we have now revealed, and which is still more clearly set forth in the Extracts, Resolutions, and Day-registers herewith enclosed.

As the accused had full power, and accepted the responsibility which devolves upon governing authorities, the directors of the Company naturally entrusted to them the people and possessions belonging to their territory in the islands of Formosa and Tayouan.

How lamentable the result! Those colonies have been entirely ruined through the individual passions, needless fears, tyrannical oppression, stubbornness, petulance, shameful neglect, and ingratitude of the accused.

Serious crimes of this kind, which cause the destruction of entire countries and communities, demand that the perpetrators—however highly placed—should not go unpunished; because great power to prevent such calamities ought not to prevent great punishment, if that power has been misapplied.

THEREFORE, let the four accused be imprisoned; in order that, at the proper time and place where criminal sentences of execution take place, they be punished with the sword in such a way as to cause death therefrom; and let all their moveable and heritable properties be confiscated by the State.

(Signed) L. P. VERNATTI.

BATAVIA, 21 September 1662.

No. 21. *From the Tayouan Resolution-book, April 1661.*—It was decided to send two hundred armed musketeers immediately, under Captain Aeldorp, in sampans to the province, and afterwards march from there to Smeedorp, that they might hinder the junks from coming near the shore, as long as this was possible. If they met with serious difficulties, they should retreat to Provintia, and also try to prevent—by force or otherwise—the massing of any Chinese in those quarters. Meantime, we are aware that most of the enemy's forces have already effected a landing, taking a straight course to the Zancause Revier and Tikarang. Any action to arrest this movement was considered too dangerous, and was not attempted.

No. 22. *From the Castle Zeelandia Resolution-book, 1 May 1661.*—It was duly considered whether we ought not to send a force for the relief of Fort Provintia, so as to open up the way between the two forts; our reinforcements to approach under the protection of Provintia itself, in the expectation and hope that the enemy's courage would thereby be stunned and broken.

But it was observed that the greatest part of the hostile army—which, according to one of the prisoners, amounted to twenty thousand men, Koxinga himself being present—had already landed on the Sakam shore. To all appearance they would probably resist, pursue, and defeat us, seeing that they had a large force of cavalry, and were armed with rifles, *soapknives*, bows and

arrows, and such like weapons, besides being harnessed and provided with storm-helmets.

On the other hand, there were no small boats to land our soldiers, while we had to fear the almost certain faithlessness of our Chinese sampan men. Then, disorder still reigned in city Zeelandia, which now lay entirely open, as if inviting the enemy to enter; and in which the inhabitants were busily engaged in preparing to resist any unexpected attack that might be made by Koxinga's war-junks. Nor could it be forgotten that the Castle contained only about five hundred men, which was a small enough force for its protection, especially after dusk.

Hence it was decided not to undertake this campaign to Provintia in the meantime.

No. 23. *From Minutes of the Formosa Council, 1 May 1661.*—The Governor summoned this meeting of Council in the Upperhall, with the view of considering a letter which had been sent to us this forenoon, in which the enemy demands the surrender of both castles; as also, that we should depart in his junks to any port we may decide upon, taking all our belongings with us. Otherwise, he will pursue us to the death of even the smallest child.

His Honour now requested the members of Council to state their opinion as to which course would be the best to follow; whether to surrender these two castles under the conditions stated by the enemy—whose forces appear very powerful, and whose Chinese subjects throughout the country have it in their power to cut off all food-supplies—or, to defend themselves, as long as it may be possible.

Likewise his Honour reminded us how strongly we had been enjoined to seek the welfare of this Colony, and how important it was to defend it now, as surrender would make it almost impossible for the Company to return to the Island, and would involve the cessation of all Christian work in it; he pointed out how difficult it would be to defend these two castles for any length of time against the forces of an enemy who was strong both on land and sea; and also referred to the loss we had just sustained, by the sea-route between Sakam and Zeelandia having been so completely closed that we are prevented from sending much-needed assistance and advice to Provintia.

The Governor concluded by suggesting that, in the event of our refusal to surrender being followed by a blockade, it might be possible to undertake the great risk of sending all the women and children to Japan, in order to secure their safety and bring greater relief to ourselves.

In reply to all this, Mr. Oetgens stated that they should endeavour to come to as advantageous an arrangement as possible with the enemy; failing which, they had no other course but to accept his demands.

Mr. van Yperen insisted that, so long as we were fairly well provided with strongholds and men, we could not under any circumstance whatsoever resolve to surrender our Castles; but that we should confer with Koxinga respecting the Sakam region, Tamsuy, and Kelang; and request a brief truce for this purpose, all obligations on both sides remaining in *statu quo*.

Mr. Harthouwer seconded Mr. van Yperen's proposal. Mr. Aeldorp favoured a conference with the enemy to see what relief could be obtained thereby; if none, then to hold out to the very utmost.

The Fiscal proposed the same; so did Six and Nuys. Gommersbach suggested that we ought to insist upon keeping Fort Zeelandia with its entrance to the Canal, and surrender the Sakam territory to the enemy; if this be refused, then hold out to the last.

Roosewinchel said that we should try to make an agreement with the enemy, by which we shall keep full possession of both Forts only, leaving them unmolested in all other parts of the island; and that, if they do not agree to this, we ought to defend ourselves to the utmost.

Hereupon, the Governor pointed out that we were not strong enough to withstand the enemy's power for a long period, hinting at the confusion of our men, and the losses we suffered in the skirmish to-day. He thought, however, that we should try to come to an understanding; according to which the Castle and sand-plain shall be kept unmolested, and our native friends be forced to change the Religion they received from us; a few days' truce being allowed for this, and envoys sent to confer with Koxinga. If he declines our overtures, we shall offer the greatest resistance we can, and then await whatever God is pleased to send, we meanwhile invoking His merciful aid with all our might.

No. 24. *From the Tayouan Book of Resolutions, 2 May 1661.*—We have at length decided to send to Koxinga, with full power under open Commission, Mr. Thomas van Yperen, member of this Council, and the Fiscal Mr. Leonard de Leonardus, with two or three able officials, and Willem Pedel as translator of the Chinese language. They received their most important instructions by word of mouth only, these being somewhat as follows: To greet his Highness, and show in a gentle way our dissatisfaction at his arrival in our country with such a large army, etc.

No. 25. *From the Resolutions of Castle Zeelandia, 3 May 1661.*—All this having been related to us, we fully considered the matter, and decided to secure the better protection of our citizens by at once reinforcing the guard in city Zeelandia with one hundred and thirty soldiers from the Castle. We also determined to take under our care that great treasure of corn which is stored up in many of the houses there. To-morrow we shall decide either to burn the same or take it inside. Owing to its large quantity, the latter course appears to be almost impossible, because of the certainty of our enemies making a sudden appearance. Moreover, success in this matter would only increase our responsibilities within the Castle. We would also be forced to withdraw all troops from the city; which could not of itself offer much resistance to such a powerful enemy; while the citizens would then incur a great risk of not being able to take refuge in the Castle; thus giving rise to a state of things which would greatly affect the conditions within.

No. 26. *From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 4 May 1661.*— . . . And to still longer protect city Zeelandia, we would not be sufficiently strong in the event of more men being sent from the Castle; for they could not be of great service

in resisting such a powerful enemy, while the want of fortifications would expose those men to very great danger.

Again, as our war-chiefs justly declare, this Castle could not be properly guarded from all sides if we were to send out soldiers every night for the protection of the city; the more so, because these men, through overwork, would become weak and useless.

On the other hand, necessity demands that Castle Zeelandia, of all places, should be sufficiently protected against any smart attack of the enemy. Besides, if it became known that the best of our warriors were isolated in the city, our assailants would doubtless make an attempt to crush them.

Having, therefore, duly considered the matter from every side, we now resolve that all Dutchmen—citizens, soldiers, and those connected with the Weigh House—shall to-night come into the Castle; notice of the hour for making this united orderly retreat to be given throughout the city by beating of the drum.

No. 27. From the Batavia Council to the Council of Tayouan, 5 July 1661.—Your Honours will have noticed from our letters of previous years the strong desire we had to capture Macao from the Portuguese, and bring it under the Company's dominion by means of the ships and troops sent to Costy, and that we were looking forward to receive nothing else than the news of this glorious victory.

We are therefore much surprised to notice from recent despatches that, contrary to our wishes, this well-meant plan upon which the Company had set its heart, has been entirely set aside on account of Mandarin Koxinga's threatened attack on Formosa; Your Honours ordering the entire force of men and ships to remain at Tayouan for resisting the enemy.

(From Enclosure.)

Hence, we were compelled to take provision in time, and in such a manner as the importance of the case, and the best interests of the Company, demanded.

It has therefore been decided to recall Governor Frederick Coyett, with two of his leading councillors; and to place authority meanwhile in the hands of Mr. Hermanus Clenk van Odesse, late Advocate Fiscal of India; who with his party, departed from Batavia on 22nd instant in the yacht *Hoogelande* and the barque *Loenen*.

N.B.—Two days later the yacht *Maria* brought the unexpected news that, last April, there appeared before Tayouan about four hundred hostile war-junks, small Wankans, and other craft belonging to Koxinga; most of which had already entered Lakjemuyse, while the remainder had dropped their anchors before the Canal at Tayouan.

Hence, considering the great change which this sudden attack has caused, and that it would be inopportune now to alter the policy of the government, we think it safer to depart from our previous resolution by retaining the old Council intact, until such time as we can make other arrangements; with this exception, however, that Commandant Jacobus Valentijn must demit office, and depart with the first vessel coming to Batavia.

Immediately after the arrival of the *Maria* we despatched a vessel to Pulo Lauro and Thimon, where doubtless Mr. Clenk may yet be found, whom we have instructed to await arrival of the ships sent for the relief of Tayouan.

No. 28. *From the Tayouan Day-register, August 1661.*—On Wednesday 12 August about 10.30 A.M., first eight and afterwards eleven ships, with one large junk, were seen coming from the north. As the Canal was still open, we dispatched our sampan with Messrs. Harthouwer and Zicke Pieterozoon when the ships had anchored in the South Bay, giving them a letter for the Commander. The pilot-boat was also sent out, and reached the Fleet before dark, after having been pursued for some time by two hostile junks. At 10 o'clock in the evening, Zicke Pieterozoon came back bearing a letter from the authorities in Batavia, likewise one from the Commander of the Fleet, Jacob Caeuw. These letters stated that the yacht *Maria* had safely accomplished her voyage. Proceedings closed that night with the firing of a cannon to signal that the pilot-boat had returned, and this was answered by another shot from the Commander's vessel.

Next day, very early, a stiff breeze set up from the south-west; otherwise, the weather was beautiful. The Council met that day. About 9 o'clock, four vessels from the Fleet, accompanied by the pilot-boat, came slowly down towards the Canal. Thereupon, we sent the pilot with a letter for Mr. Caeuw, but as the tide was very strong, he could not, without considerable difficulty, get into deep water. The ships anchored very close to the entrance of the Canal; and, in the afternoon, our pilot-boat came into the bay before the Castle, bringing with her Mr. Casembroot and his family, Mr. Harthouwer, and twenty-five soldiers; also, 2200 pounds of powder and some provender.

When the captured *Koya* of Kouckercke and the boat from Emmenhoorn, manned with forty soldiers, left their Fleet to come hither, they were pursued by two junks from the Canal; and, coming to very close quarters with them, our soldiers fired. As soon, however, as three vessels from the Fleet fired on the junks with their cannon, effecting damage upon one of them, they returned, leaving our two small craft to enter unmolested. Towards evening, the aforesaid four vessels had no sooner returned to the Fleet, than the sky became enveloped in dark threatening clouds, and rain poured down heavily, accompanied by a strong south-westerly wind. The sea also became very tempestuous.

Sunday the 14th. The sea continuing to be very rough, not a single vessel could either get in or leave the Canal, thus retarding us very greatly. The Pilot will, however, endeavour to get outside in the sampan with a letter to Mr. Caeuw. During the night, Zicke Pieterozoon made an attempt to go, but failed owing to the boisterous sea, and was compelled to return.

Monday the 15th. It has been stormy weather all day, with a clouded sky, and sometimes a little rain; the Canal being still very rough, so that no vessel can pass either in or out.

Tuesday the 16th. This forenoon, the weather seemed likely to settle, and five of the vessels of the Fleet approached about nine o'clock to sail through

the Canal; but this was found to be impossible, as the sea was still so rough, that even Zicke Pieterozoon did not dare to venture outside. Thereupon, the five ships dropped anchor close to the entrance of the Canal, and their halting in such an exposed position greatly surprised us. Two of them fired a shot by way of acquainting us that they wished the Pilot to be sent, but this was now quite out of the question. Later in the day, the sky again became very dark, causing us much anxiety concerning these vessels, on account of their close proximity to land and to each other in the face of a strong westerly gale. With the object therefore of causing them to retire, we fixed six cannon shots from the points Hollandia and Gelderland, but they took no notice of our warnings.

In the afternoon, when the tide fell, the Pilot rowed out in a sampan, taking with him our letter to the Commander. After he had boarded the vessels, they hoisted their sails and proceeded seawards towards the Fleet, which greatly relieved us.

At 3 o'clock rain descended heavily, and as this was accompanied by a soft north-westerly breeze, we hoped that both would have the effect of calming the waters.

Wednesday the 17th. Later in the afternoon, the weather again became exceedingly boisterous, and a strong wind got up from the south-east. A shot was fired from one of the vessels outside the bay, whereupon sails were hoisted and they proceeded seawards, so that by 5 o'clock, they had all disappeared from sight, the weather being extremely foggy, and rain falling in torrents. Towards evening, the wind increased very much from the south-east. May God Almighty guard the ships against any mishap! About midnight, the wind once more slightly decreased, and rain came down very heavily.

No. 29. *From the Tayouan Minute-book, 15 September 1661.*—As it was rumoured that the enemy intended to attack city Zeelandia from both land and sea to-morrow forenoon, we sent the yacht *Koukerken* to sail between the Custom House and the second side or north street, remaining there in order to fire on the enemy's battery—which lay in between these two streets—and thus cause them much trouble. The yacht *Anckeveen* was sent further on, in a south-easterly direction and past the corner of Narrow-street, so as to fire along the entire north end of the eastern wall. At the same time, those two ships could easily render assistance to each other; while the *Anckeveen*, on the way, could direct her cannon against the enemy's junks.

In addition, the ships *Cortenhof*, *Loenen*, and *Boede*, the galiot *Rode Vos*, the pilot-boat *Jager*, with all our other boats and sloops, were ordered to sail towards the enemy's junks and, if possible, capture, burn and destroy them; our men sparing nobody on board, but slaying every one without distinction. After the destruction of this squadron, and should opportunity be given, our fleet was to attack those hostile junks which are lying near the Sakam shore, and treat them similarly. This having been accomplished, all boats which could be spared, were to return towards the Castle; while the ships must take

up a position behind the city, in order to cut off the enemy, and thus become masters of the situation.

For the encouragement of every soldier and sailor who takes part in this enterprise, we have decided to offer the following distinguished-service rewards; namely, for the capture, burning, or destruction of a large junk, one hundred *Reals*; for a middle-sized one, fifty; and for a *koya*, twenty-five. As we know that this will be a severe struggle, the spoil, if any is found, will also be divided.

That all the arrangements may be carried through in good order and under proper guidance, we have appointed the naval Captain Ruth Tawheroon Buys as head of this expedition, to whom we have given command of all the ships and smaller vessels, without exception. The next in command will be skipper Isbrant Bomur; but each skipper shall have command over his own vessel, working under the orders of Captain Buys.

No. 30. *From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 29 October 1661.*—We duly considered the desirability of embarking the valuables in our possession, such as the amber, coral, etc. It was felt that by doing so, we might run great risk of an attempt at capture on the enemy hearing of our design; while we might also be suspected by our own soldiers of showing cowardice or of being thoroughly disheartened.

Further, it should be noted that those valuables could not be disposed of in any part of India, but had to be sold in China, where they would find better markets and prove more useful to us, after the war was ended.

Another consideration was that, by sending costly articles of this kind to China and back again, they would be twice exposed to the dangers of the sea.

It was therefore decided by a majority—there being no immediate danger of losing the Castle; but some hope that, with God's help, this might be altogether prevented—to keep those valuables here, for the reasons which have now been stated.

The families who are leaving have valued their goods at about eighteen or twenty thousand *Reals*, and have asked cheques to that amount. After due deliberation, it was agreed to accept this valuation; but because people were forbidden to carry money except when commissioned by the Company, and because we cherished a strong hope of yet saving the Castle, we did not wish to seem harsh, and issued the cheques as requested.

The foregoing agreed upon in Castle Zeelandia on the date, month, and year previously mentioned. This decision was signed by Mr. Coyett, and those in favour of sending away the aforesaid valuables were: Jacob Caeuw, I. O. van Waveren, I. Casembroot, T. van Speren, and C. Nobel, Secretary.

No. 31. *From Minute-book of the Council of Batavia, 10 December 1618.*—There is a considerable amount of treasure on hand here at present—from four to five hundred thousand *reals*, one hundred thousand of which is in Japanese silver—the greater portion of which could easily be shipped for safety, were it not that its removal might dishearten and alarm the

inhabitants of the fort. We have now living here about four hundred souls, comprising both black and white races, and including women and children, who (the Lord be praised) are not in want of food-supplies.

No. 32. From the Tayouan Resolution-Book, 21 January 1662.—After discussion upon various matters, it was proposed to make an assault on the aforesaid battery—if possible, before it could be fortified with additional guns—and to destroy it. But not fewer than four or five hundred brave warriors were needed for this undertaking; while the entire garrison, even including those in the Redout and at Batenburg, consisted of barely more than six hundred men. Moreover, immediate action in this direction would be like sending a small contingent to certain death, while failure would mean an exposure of the Castle itself to most serious danger.

This proposal was therefore rejected, because recent experience has taught us that such hazardous attempts (unless really practicable and leading to undisputed advantage), can only tend to harm us. In the present case we consider it much wiser to keep ourselves within the Forts, and to provide Redout Uytrecht with provisions for three months.

No. 33. From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 23 January 1662.—As the question of sending the treasure and valuable merchandise to the ships has now become a very troublesome one, it was finally settled to-day that we should abide by our previous resolution thereanent, mainly because we are unwilling to cause any disturbance amongst our people.

No. 34. From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 16 January 1662.—Yesterday, the enemy bombarded the Redout with twenty-eight large guns (firing about 2500 shots from the Kerckhof, the Passer, and the Pyn-appels) in such a manner, that there remained no longer any shelter for our men. Consequently, after repulsing two attacks, the Redout had to be abandoned and blown up. During the night also, they took up a position on the hill, fortified themselves with many strong gabions, and came close to the points Gelderland and the wooden Wambais. We thereupon strengthened Gelderland with sand-bags, and by making the parapets higher and thicker. However, we could not arrest proceedings, owing to the small size of our guns and the thickness of the enemy's gabions, which had been thrown up in one night, and which they could at any time erect or repair with ease, having a large staff of men.

Seeing, then, that the invaders had come to so close quarters, the Council considered whether, in the interests of the State, a general charge should not again be attempted so as to provide an open roadway; and after much discussion, a careful calculation was made as to how many healthy active men were available for this.

It was found that we here could spare only six hundred soldiers (among these being one hundred and one from the wooden Wambais, ninety-four musketeers, eighty-five riflemen, two sergeants, a constable, a lieutenant, and a standard-bearer); that eighty could be got from other districts, and not more than a hundred from the ships; in all, about seven hundred and eighty men, the remainder being either in Lamey or in the hospital. We were also agreed

that at least two hundred and fifty or three hundred were required to protect the Castle.

When the opinion of the war-officers had been given and considered, it was admitted (one lieutenant and three standard-bearers alone dissenting) that we cannot yet attempt a charge, but must do our utmost to fortify ourselves within the Castle; so that, with God's assistance, we may repulse the enemy if we are attacked. This decision was based upon the following reasons:—

1. We are not sufficiently strong to resist an entrenched force, which is three or four times more powerful than we are, and well provided with artillery.

2. If necessary, those enemies could be reinforced by additional men from the city and the Bocke-stal; while our men, already disheartened through losses, would probably be compelled to beat a hasty retreat.

3. Any charge against only one wing of the opposing forces could not bring us certain victory; whereas our enemies are able to bear the loss of a thousand men, whilst we would be greatly weakened to have a much smaller number killed and wounded.

4. As the enemy occupy the Pyn-appels, we could easily be surprised from the city side, or harassed from behind, so that it would become quite impossible for our men to return to the Castle if we attempted to make a general sortie.

As the Wambais would now, in all probability be the first object to be attacked, and as it could not possibly defend itself against the enemy's bombardment, we resolved to break it down during the night, and take the guns into the Castle.

We also resolved to postpone a final settlement on the main question till the following day, lest some change of tactics on the part of the enemy might arise; as we wished to keep open the sea-road by maintaining our position as long as possible, even although more than usual risk of danger would be involved in doing so.

No. 35. *From the Tayouan Resolution-book, 27 January 1662.*—The Governor, having summoned an extraordinary meeting for continuing the discussion on the best course to pursue during this crisis, called attention to the finding of yesterday's Council; namely, that we should not make a sortie, but try to fortify ourselves in the Castle.

He also referred to the unsatisfactory condition of the soldiers, who were greatly fatigued and unwilling to exert themselves. This was confirmed by van Iperen, who stated that, a few nights ago, he ordered several soldiers to perform some duties, promising them an ample reward; but received an answer to the effect that they would like the reward without the labour, as they were exhausted for want of rest.

The Governor thereupon advised the Council against making more demands on the soldiers in their present weak and depressed condition; but admitted that, when really necessary, they ought to be stimulated to further exertion, and that he would gladly set an example himself by taking part in any forward movement.

The Council discussed the following points which had been animadverted upon by the Governor while dealing with the question of our awaiting another trial of the enemy's artillery.

Firstly, that the enemy—who at a rough guess fired 2500 shots—had lavishly wasted their powder, and must be running short of that material; hence, the necessity for being more sparing in future renders it very unlikely that they will make another attack of such an elaborate character as they did yesterday on the Redout.

Secondly, that supposing they made a breach in but one place, they could be easily repulsed.

Thirdly, that they would not readily undertake the risk of storming the Castle, as a great number of ladders would be required for such an operation.

Fourthly, that relief from Batavia was probably near at hand.

Fifthly, that our supply of food was sufficient for the next four or five months, and there was also a fair supply of war materials.

On the other hand, the Council reasoned as follows:—

First, as the Redout—which was the chief protection of the weak square—had been demolished, not much effort would be required for capturing the square, and the enemy might have a much larger stock of powder than the Governor supposed.

Second, the falling débris from the severe firing would cause many deaths, would fill the hospitals with wounded men, and dishearten those who remained on duty.

Third, the store-rooms had been so greatly damaged as to be no longer suited for keeping our food-supplies in a proper state of preservation.

Fourth, the wooden Wambais could not resist the enemy for more than a few hours; and if lost, the sea-route for our vessels would be entirely shut off.

Fifth, owing to the continued loss of men, the many sick wounded, the lack of proper nourishment, and disadvantages arising from the recent heavy rain, they could not escape an immense amount of suffering.

Sixth, the expected relief from Batavia might fail us after all, seeing that the expedition to Macao had been abandoned; but, supposing a succour-fleet did arrive, there would now be considerable difficulty in landing either men or materials.

Seventh, the wings of the Upper Castle, especially the points Vlissingen and Campheer, were seriously damaged through the firing of the enemy's cannon.

Eighth, and last, the enemy had succeeded in fortifying Redout-hill, so that we would probably not have to wait very long before they would bombard the Castle. From that hill they would be able to watch every movement of our soldiers, and fire upon them; while they would have the entire square so completely under their control, that no one could remain safely in it.

We therefore consider it highly advisable to surrender the Castle at an early date to the enemy, under fair conditions.

Whereupon, after prayer and thorough deliberation, it was unanimously agreed and decided to acquaint Koxinga on the first opportunity in writing,

that we are willing to negotiate with him, surrendering the Castle under fair conditions.

This resolution was come to in Castle Zeelandia at Tayouan, on the day, month, and year as aforesaid. Signed, FREDERICK COYETT, J. O. van Waveren, J. Kasembrood, T. van Yperen, Herman van Outshoorn, Daniel Sixx, Paulus de Vicq, Harmen Nuyts, Barent Hermansz, Roelof van der Roer, Gerrit Gerritsz., Livinus Box, Karel Louysz, Jan van Amstel, J. Hamilton, J. de Meer, Pieter Bordes, Dominicus van Vorsten, Claes van Detten, Jans Wolf, Johan Fransz, Pieter Stael, Matthijs Benedictus, Johan Askamp, Christiaen Lipack, de Fleur, Adam Hemmen, and Joan de Ridder.

No. 36. *Solicitor's Act and Guarantee for the sum of 25,000 guilders.*—There appeared before me, Hendrick Rosa, authorized Public Notary, and now residing at Amsterdam, the following witnesses—Messrs. Josephus Dantz, Abraham Velters, and Steffen van Schoonevelt; who declared on oath that, a few years ago, they presented to the Seventeen Directors of the *Generale Nederlandtse Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* an Appeal and Request on behalf of Frederick Coyett, late Councillor-extraordinary of the Company; their desire being to have him released from the confinement he was condemned to by the Court of Justice at Batavia, and allowed to return to this country under solemn promise and assurance that he will never, without consent of the Company, render service again to any one in India or interfere in Eastern affairs.

‘Forasmuch, then, as our renewed Appeal seems to meet with acceptance, we, the Petitioners, do hereby engage that, if the said Frederick Coyett be set at liberty and allowed to return hither, he shall (1) settle down in one of the United Provinces of this country, and continue to reside there during the term of his natural life; that (2) he shall not attempt to go to India and engage in other service, or take any part in Indian affairs, either of his own accord, or when requested to do so; and (3) that, before his departure from India, he shall promise on oath to strictly observe all these conditions.

‘Lastly, on the assumption that our Appeal be listened to, we, the Petitioners, hereby agree to pay to the Company the sum of twenty-five thousand guilders, in the event of any violation of this agreement taking place on the part of Mr. Coyett. In such a case, we shall not only willingly endure every penalty and the renunciation of all benefits *ordinis divisioni set excursionis*, but be prepared to submit ourselves to the Authorities, surrendering our bodies and properties, and abiding by the decisions of the Courts acting through their judges and juries.’

This Deed drawn up and approved of in Amsterdam on 20th March 1674, in the presence of Messrs. Lucus Schorel and Wouter Lootsman as witnesses.

APPENDIX



APPENDIX

A. The Spaniards expelled from Formosa in 1642.—The Spanish authority in Formosa being actually in great danger, the missions which had been established there with much sacrifice, labour, and bloodshed were about to suffer the same fate as the Spanish Flag planted on those shores by the immortal Prelate who is already known in this history. Fort Santiago in the city of Tamsuy was the only bulwark and protector of our forces in that unfortunate colony, but it was bound to succumb to Dutch forces which were now sufficiently powerful and haughty to dispute our dominion over these seas.

Meanwhile, Governor Corcuera at Manila beheld our interesting colony with perfect indifference, disowned its importance as an advanced and strategic point to check Dutch aggression, and being bent on making new conquests, which he was unable to retain, he left it very much to its fate. Accordingly, a feeble company of undisciplined invalids was the only force sent to defend Formosa against powerful enemies who, elated with their victory over the Portuguese, believed that all would fall before their triumphal expeditions over these seas.

In reality, the hostilities so much dreaded commenced in the year 1641 [see page 62 of the present work], yet the Dutch were unable to obtain possession of the town and fort of Tamsuy at that time, as they were almost miraculously repulsed by its weak garrison. But although our enemies then retreated quite confused to make good their losses in the island of Tayouan, they did not lose the fruits of their disgraceful expedition, because they had surveyed and studied the ground; they tried the range and power of the Spanish guns; thus calculating the resistance we could offer, even with wonders of valour; and all this in order to strike a deadly blow before long.

Their designs were not unknown to the commander of the Fort and to our good missionaries, who mingled their advices with those of the defenders in the cause of religion and the mother-country. Everybody understood the urgent necessity of asking additional forces from the Government of Manila; and, with this object in view, the Rev. Juan de los Angeles, Vicar and Superior of the Dominicans, in the face of innumerable dangers, finally sailed from Formosa. The illustrious chief of that unfortunate colony also fulfilled his high commission with all the interest and efficacy which love and patriotism of the cause inspired him to perform. He sent an account to Governor Corcuera of the last combat, feelingly described the sorrowful and precarious situation of the colony, and truthfully stated that the honour of the Spanish Flag in Formosa was highly compromised should the garrison not be reinforced as soon as possible.

His demand was listened to with attention and a certain appearance of interest, but did not lead to that prompt action which the importance of the business demanded. In fact, the preservation of Formosa did not interest Corcuera or his advisers; although

finally it became necessary to preserve appearances in some way or other and not to incur the scandalous responsibility which an entirely do-nothing policy would involve. A weak succour-party was therefore despatched with the messenger (the Rev. Juan de los Angeles) in a small vessel, which, not being in a sea-worthy condition, was miserably wrecked in the north of Luzon during the first blasts of a slight tempest. However, the men and provisions of the vessel were saved, and the Rev. Angeles procured another more secure vessel and conveyed everything safely to Formosa. The reinforcements thus brought from Manila consisted of provisions for the mouth and for war, eight Spanish soldiers, and the undisciplined and unskilled crew—which latter were fitted only to cause obstruction. But both men and material were all received with satisfaction by our few defenders of the Spanish honour in Formosa.

Meanwhile, the fatal moment of the colony's disgrace was fast approaching. It was on the 3rd day of August 1642, eighteen months after the former attempt, that the first war-tender of the Dutch appeared in the waters of Tamsuy. It was soon joined by a squadron from the same direction, and all the ships were brought into position before the Castle a few days after. The armada consisted of four large frigates, one large junk, one pilot-boat, nine feluccas or open boats, and several transports.

Considering, therefore, the means of attack and defence which were at the disposal of the belligerents, the victory of the enemy could not be doubted; and yet the besieged prepared to offer a vigorous resistance, so as to make the triumph of the Hollanders as dearly won as possible. They worked day and night without cessation to strengthen the entrenchments and raise earthworks, but the military officer who commanded our soldiers did not understand how to prevent the landing of the enemy's troops; for which dangerous operation only twelve Spanish soldiers, eight Indian soldiers, and forty archers, were destined. So insignificant and weak a force could not resist those powerful enemies, which numbered about a hundred men to one of ours. In a short time they were completely defeated.

After the invaders had obtained a foothold without great loss in the opening attacks, they easily took possession of the abandoned suburbs of Tamsuy, where they had raised trenches to make a combined attack on the main part of our fortifications.

The Spanish garrison exhibited prodigious valour to defend the citadel from such formidable forces; but the few men who could be reckoned upon were insufficient to put in operation all the means of resistance, being unable to manage the effective cannon which crowned the bulwarks of the citadel.

Meanwhile, the enemy gained possession of a hillock which overlooked our stronghold, and there erected batteries which caused such fearful havoc amongst the defenceless occupants of the castle that, after six days of bloody and obstinate fighting, they were compelled to lay down their arms. Thus, on St. Bartholomy's day, the Hollanders gained possession of the citadel.

They spared the lives of all the vanquished but appropriated everything they could lay hands on, without any other right than that which could be exercised by the force of arms. Twenty heavy pieces of artillery fell into their hands, a quantity of powder and ammunition, all kinds of warlike stores, 25,000 dollars of the exchequer, and a great quantity of mercantile goods belonging to private individuals, the whole amounting in value to one million of dollars.

This was the first scandalous victory obtained by the Dutch over Spanish arms in the Great Oceanic, a victory gained through negligence and the abandonment of our unfortunate governor, and one which made the Dutch so haughty that they believed

themselves sufficiently powerful to dispute our envied possession of the Philippine islands. The province of the Holy Rosary (the name by which Manila was then known) deeply regretted this lamentable event, inasmuch as its desertion of such a faithful flock deprived us of several churches and convents with their precious images and sacred ornaments, the provisions intended for the missions at Foo-chow, three clergymen, two laymen—who were sent as prisoners to Jacatra—and the hope of finally beholding all the inhabitants of Formosa in the bosom of the Church, seeing that the work amongst them was then in an advanced state. This progress is seen from the fact that a great number of the Christians who had been the subjects of heretics there, and afterwards of the Chinese who served under Koxinga, preserved for a long time the religion of Jesus Christ which had been impressed by our zealous missionaries with indelible characters in the depths of their heart and soul. In corroboration of this, the Rev. Father Ricci assured us that, having passed through Formosa on two occasions twenty years after the expulsion of the Spaniards, he met with a great number of the natives who had preserved the faith and were propagating it among their neighbours; that he baptised and confessed many of them, and that they very much desired to have a few missionaries to teach them and administer the Holy Sacraments; as they wished to avoid all heathen observations and heretical blasphemies.

After having become masters of that Spanish island, the Dutch celebrated the remarkable triumph of their arms in rejoicings which lasted for eight days. They then made prisoners of all the clergymen and Spanish soldiers and had them conveyed to the citadel of Tayouan. Thence those countrymen of ours were sent to the capital of Java, together with the zealous Rev. Chaves, who had been prisoner at Tayouan during the previous year. Nor were they so badly treated in the Netherlands colony as they had anticipated; for the governor of Java was a generous man and showered all kinds of consideration and respect on the Spanish prisoners and on our missionaries, who had the most complete liberty in exercising their apostleship towards the Catholics and even amongst the pagans and sectarians of that foreign colony.

Our countrymen also eventually overcame all difficulties in obtaining their freedom and permission to return to Manila without exchange of prisoners, ransom, or compensation of any kind; this being greatly due to the influence and prestige of our excellent missionaries, who knew how to mollify the very enemies of the Holy Catholic Religion.

The Governor of Formosa was the only person who remained behind with the Dutch, because he was afraid of the result of his loss of that island, and particularly of the Fort at Tamsuy; but, without doubt, his reputation was safe in the conscience of every fair-minded man, as the most able captain must have succumbed with the miserably weak garrison which was at his disposal. He had done more than enough, and responsibility for the loss should be looked for elsewhere.

A lay priest, the Rev. Peter Riaz, died in that colony, and received sepulchral honours and the rites of the Church.

This resolve of the Governor of Formosa produced much commotion amongst the Spanish soldiers, who were almost inclined to abandon the voyage owing to the want of a supreme chief and their inability to agree on the appointment of one; but our missionaries, to whom they owed their liberty and whose voice they respected, once more settled differences on reasonable terms, which every one accepted on condition that the Rev. Juan de los Angeles would become their chief by acclamation. Therefore, under direction of this priest, they were conducted to Macassar, where rations were served out to them by order of the Sovereign of the island; being afterwards brought to Manila in

charge of an adjutant who had been deputed for the purpose, and who paid all the expenses incurred up till the time of their arrival there, on 29 June 1643.

B. Early English Trade at Formosa.—*A.D.* 1617.—Agent Cock gave Andress Dittis, China Captain, four Testimonial Letters directed to all English Ships at sea, or others friendly to His Majesty of England; one being for a Junk bound to Tonkyn at Cochín China; and the other for three Junks bound to the Island Formosa, called Taccasanga, or Piscadores.—*East India Company's Records, China*, vol. x. p. 25.

A.D. 1618.—Within the last two or three years, the Chinese (*i.e.* some in Japan and others in China by correspondence) had commenced a Trade with certain Islands called by them Tacca Sanga, and named in our Sea-Cards *Islas Formosa*: the port frequented was called *Las Islas Piscadores*, about thirty leagues from the mainland of China; only small ships could enter it, and none but Chinese are admitted to trade.—*China*, vol. x. p. 26.

A.D. 1623.—To the Honourable Company per Ship *Royal Anne*. The Chinese Ambassadors at present here have offered to trade with the Dutch if they will leave the *Pescadores* and reside at *Taywan*; but have as yet received no answer. The said Ambassadors offer us trade likewise at *Taywan*, if we will go thither; wherefore you may be pleased to send your advice, for our direction in this business.—Extract from letter dated *Batavia*, 24th Feb. 1623.—*China*, vol. xiii. p. 1.

A.D. 1625.—The intention of *Batavia* to advise the Court of the state of *Tywan* and the *China Trade*, they cannot completely execute; for the Dutch are so reserved in this Business, that not one ounce of *Silk* is to be seen at *Batavia*. With much difficulty the English Presidency have procured a list of the Prices of *China commodities* in *Tywan*, whereof Copies accompany these Letters. The ramifications of this Trade are wondrous hopeful, for as the Wares of *China* are in request in all parts of *India*, so, many *Indian commodities* are likely to vend in *China*. As therefore this trade is likely to prove the Crown of *India*, the Presidency expect all manner of Opposition of the Dutch; and if in the Articles of 1619 they find nothing to exclude us from this trade of *Tywan*, yet will they impose on it such infinite Charges both there and at the *Pescadores*, as to make the Sweets of this Commerce distasteful to us . . . for the Chinese have even desired Trade with us, excepting only that it might not be within the Emperor's Territories, but in any distant lands they offered willingly to come to us, namely to the *Liqueos*, *Formosa*, and others, at our choice, whichever we ourselves might deem most secure and convenient for Trade.—*China*, vol. x. p. 1.

A.D. 1626.—The Haven at *Tywan* is barred, great Ships are not to be employed, and small vessels ride not without danger; subject to be put off with storms, which are there most extreme and often.—*China*, vol. i. p. 15.

A.D. 1632.—*Wm. Cambell*, a Scotchman, who had been in the service of the Dutch in *India*, submitted some details respecting the *China Trade* to the consideration of the Company, and also proposed a plan by which the English might open a trade with the Chinese as well as the Dutch had done, and offered his services for carrying it into execution.—*China*, vol. x. p. 57.

A.D. 1632.—The following outline of *Cambell's plan* is collected from the copies of Three Letters without date addressed 'Worthy Sir,' and having the Signature 'Wm. Cambell.'—*See Unarranged Papers*, Nos. 536-7.

The Ships for the *China trade* should be small, not drawing from above eleven or twelve feet, and the guns should be high above the water. If only one Ship were sent

the first year, she should be well manned, and carry four spare guns to be transferred to a small China Junk, which should be purchased to trade in the rivers. The Junk might be manned by twelve well-armed Englishmen, and sixteen Chinese, from whom there could not be the least cause of fear, as two Englishmen could beat twenty-five Chinese. A proper Junk could be purchased for 140 Reals; and the wages of the Chinese would be six Shillings each man per month; so that the charge of the Junk would be trifling, and it would obviate some of the difficulties that might arise from accidents in case only one Ship was sent.

In reply to the Court's fears that the Dutch might endeavour to prevent the English opening a Trade with China, Cambell considered these Apprehensions groundless, as the Dutch well knew that the Chinese had more goods to dispose of in one year than they purchase in the course of ten years. But to remove all fear of molestation, he advised that the English Company, through the King, should procure an order from the States to the Dutch General at Batavia not to molest the English Ships on the Coast of China, with a like order from the General to the Dutch Governor of Tywan.

He then proceeds with his instructions to a Ship seeking Trade. At Jacatra, a Pilot should be engaged well acquainted with the Coast of China and Formosa. From Jacatra the Ship should proceed to the Piscadores, and one or two of the Master's Mates with the Pilot be sent thence in a small Junk along the Coasts of China and Formosa for survey work, and to take the depths of the harbors for the benefit of future navigation.

Cambell considered it probable, that, on the first arrival of the English, the Chinese would be alarmed, and allow the Ships to ride without promising trade; but if they did so, it would be nowise prejudicial, as they would bring the Goods on board with all manner of refreshments. Things having thus prospered, he had no doubt but that in time the Company might obtain a Fort upon the Island of Formosa, as the Spaniards and Dutch had already done.

If all attempts to open an intercourse failed, he recommended the Court to have the Trade for the fetching, by making prize of the Chinese Junks; which would prove so forcible an argument, that in one year they would be admitted to trade—quoting the proverb that to beat a clown was to make him love you.

Trade being established with the Chinese, they might then look out for a proper place to settle, and build a Fort upon; which he recommended should be upon Formosa, because provisions were there abundant, and a profitable commerce might be carried on with the wild people of the island, by bartering slight Calicoes for Deer Skins, which would cost about fourpence each, and might be sold in Japan for more than three Shillings. Money the natives would not take in payment. There was abundance of pasture, the grass growing three or four feet long; and Cattle and Sheep were plentiful: whereas in China, a single Sheep cost four pieces of Eight. The Company might also afford to offer other Commodities as yet unknown. And to sum up the argument, the Spaniards would not have settled there, which they did four or five years since, unless to their advantage. If the Company preferred the small Island (Tywan according to the Minutes of Court) upon the South side of Formosa, distant about twelve leagues from the Dutch Fort, and three leagues from the Main, the Settlement would not be expensive, as the China Junks would bring thither Stone, Wood, and Lime, and the labor of one hundred Chinese would cost but fifty shillings a day. The Piscadores was a most proper place in every respect, and had a capital harbor: but the Chinese would not permit any to build there.

In reply to Cambell's Proposal and Details, thus submitted to the Court, the Minutes

state that 'having well considered and weighed the business, the Court were of opinion that if the Company had sufficient Stock, it would not be amiss to make a trial both thither and to Chyna, where it is reported the Hollanders maintaine at least 10 or 12 men of warre; but their Stock being so small as scarce sufficient to support their ordinary Trade, it was not thought advisable to embark in this undertaking.' Cambell was afterwards (10 Jany. 1633-4) engaged as a Factor in the Company's service at a Salary of £44 per annum.

A.D. 1632.—Mr. Governour acquainted the Court that he received a Relation in writing from a Scottishman (who had served with the Dutch in the East Indies), of the trade of China, and of the means how the English may attayne to have Commerce with that Nation as well as the Hollanders. That the said Scottishman doth likewise offer himself to be entertayned in the Companies service, and to be employed by them in effecting the same trade, if they shall think his discourse probable, and himself worthy their acceptation. And thereupon Mr. Governour asserts the Relation to be now ready. But the Court thought not fit at present either to hear the said Relation read, or to fall into consideration thereof, intending hereafter to appoint a tyme purposely for this business. In the meanwhile (understanding the said party was without) they called him in, and gave him thanks for this his Relation, and tender of his service, telling him withall, that if he shall think good (at his return out of Scotland whither they understand he is now going) to repayre to the Court again, they will then resolve whether to embrace this overture, and to accept of his service or not; howsoever they take very thankfully this expression of his good affection to the Company, which they will not be unmindful of.—*Court Book*, vol. xiii. p. 222.

A.D. 1632.—The Court fell to the reading of the Scottishman's Relation given to Mr. Governour concerning the trade of China, which was done in the presence of Mr. Smethwicke, that he might see the Company had taken the same into their consideration before the exhibiting of his said paper. And as a thankfulness to the said Scottishman for his paynes, whose name is William Cambell, the Court was pleased to bestowe upon him the sum of £5, which he thankfully acknowledged.—*Court Book*, vol. xiii. p. 226.

A.D. 1633.—The trade of Tywan was likewise considered, as the island is spacious and rich, and affords trade in great abundance, the Dutch and Portugalls being both planted thereupon; while according to the Relation given by Mr. Cambell, a Scottishman, there is room also for the English, who, offering his service to the Company for this employment, and which offer Mr. Governour desired the Court to take into their consideration, as Mr. Cambell was relying upon their answeare. The Court seriously debated this business and was of opinion that, if the Company had a full stock, it would not be amiss to make a tryall both thither and to China, where it is reported the Hollanders maintained at least 10 or 12 men of warre, but their stock being so small as it is, it will be best at present to follow their Trade in keeping with their ordinary plans, and therefore they seemed not to inclyne either to the Trade or the entertayning of the said Mr. Cambell for the employment.—*Court Book*, vol. xiv. p. 47.

A.D. 1662.—In the year 1662, the Chinese took the Castle of Tywan from the Dutch; and in the following year, the Dutch attempted to retake it without success.—*China*, vol. x. p. 137.

A.D. 1670.—Presidency of Bantam under date 20 August 1670 inform Surat, that they have despatched the *Bantam Pink* accompanied by a sloop, with Mr. Ellis Crisp, Merchant, unto Tywan, hoping to begin a great Trade there, if at their return it

shall be thought fitting to settle a Factory well supplied with Europe, Surat, and Coast goods; also with Bantam pepper, whereby a trade may be constantly had from China, Japan, and Manilla thither.—*China*, vol. i. p. 79.

A.D. 1670.—Here follows the copy of a Letter which was sent from the Agent of Bantam to Equon, King of Tywan.

‘CHARLES, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland; having most graciously licenced severall of his Merchants to trade into all the habitable partes of the World, amongst which Sir Wm. Thompson with some other Merchants are by the said moste gracious King authorized Governors of the Merchants to trade into these Eastern partes of the World. Now, for the directing and overseeing their Affaires at Bantam and partes adjacent they have appointed mee Henry Dacres, Agent; and the said Henry Dacres doe therefore on behalf of the said Sir Wm. Thompson Governor send greeteing unto your most Excellent Majesty, and having seene your most gracious Letter directed to all Merchants in Generall to invite them to trade into the partes under your Majesties Jurisdiccions, have without delay sent this small Ship or Sloop with Mr. Ellis Crispe Capt. to acquaint mee with the Soile, Customes, habitation, and healthfullness for Merchants to live in the Country; as also of the Merchandize desirable to bee Imported and of Merchandize proper for us to Exporte; and when wee shall bee acquainted therewith by him, and have the permission of Friendship and Affection of your Majesty (which wee moste humbly requeste) wee shall requeste the said Sir Wm. Thompson’s leave to sollicite your Majesty that wee may have a residence in your Country; and because wee would have your Majesty know, that wee are Englishmen and a distinct Nation from Hollanders—some people of which Nation about ten years since were driven out of your Land by his Majesty your Renowned Father—we have sent on this Shipp Capt. Sooke with eight other Chinamen who have for a long time traded and been acquainted with us and our Nation. . . .’—*China*, vol. x. p. 146.

A.D. 1670.—Copy of the Contract made with the King of Tywan on 10 September 1670, for the settling of a Factory:

1. That the King’s Jounkes shall not molest or hinder any English Ship they meet with in the Sea (she putting forth her flag), being either bound hither or any other place.
2. That we may sell or truck our goods with whom we please; and likewise all persons may have the same free trade with us.
3. That we may load from hence Deer-Skins, Sugar, with all other Commodities of this Island, for Japan, Manilla, or any other place.
4. That for all injuries or wrongs done us by the people here, the King shall right us: and, on the other hand, that what injuries or wrongs the English shall do, on application being made to the Chief, satisfaction shall be made.
5. That upon all occasions, we may have access to the King’s person.
6. That we may have the choosing of our own Interpreters, Escrevan; and that no soldiers be quartered upon us: and we be free to walk without Chinamen along with us.
7. That Chinamen may have leave to sail with us, in case of mortality of our men.
8. That we may have Pilots to bring in and carry out our Ships; and also Boats, for putting some of the Goods out, for lightening before coming over the Bar.
9. That we may have a *Dachin* both small and great, with an Ell from the King, by which we are to buy and sell.

10. That what goods the King or his Merchants shall sell to the Honourable Company, they be at the price then governing, if not, to refuse them.

11. That we may freely transport and export Gold and Silver.

12. That upon all occasions when the Honourable Company shall think fitting, they may withdraw the Factory, carrying away with them all their Goods.

13. That we may be permitted to put up a Standard and Flag.

14. That all persons who refuse to pay in their debts, we should have the law of the Country against them.

15. That all sorts of Goods may be brought here, none to be contraband.

16. That not any Seaman or others shall leave their Ships to go and sail in China Vessels, without leave of the Chief.

17. That we may kill one beef a week and no more; but other provision what we please.

18. That what goods the King buys, shall pay no Custom.

19. That Rice imported pay no Custom.

20. That the Honourable Company may not be tied up to only these Articles, but may have liberty to demand any more they shall see requisite.

Here followeth what the King desires to be performed on the Company's part:—

1. That for the House which formerly belonged to the Dutch (with a Gedowne which is to be built more to it), we pay 500 dollars every year.

2. That all Goods imported pay 3% after sale, and all Goods exported Custom be free.

3. That at our coming into Harbour, we deliver all Guns, Powder, or any other such material on board Ship be placed under the King's hands till her going away, when they shall be returned.

4. That the Honourable Company is always to keep here 2 Gunners for the King's Service, for Grenadoes, and other Fireworks.

5. That the Honourable Company is always to keep here one Smith for making the King's Guns.—*China*, vol. i. p. 80.

A.D. 1670.—The Court despatch two Vessels to their agency in Bantam to be employed in enterprises for extending the Company's Trade; among other places, to Formosa.—*China*, vol. x. p. 145.

A.D. 1670.—First settlement of a Factory at Tywan. Extracts from Mr. Ellis Crispe's Narrative of what passed at Tywan; addressed to the agent and council at Bantam:—

'On 23 June 1670, the *Bantam Pink* accompanied by the Sloop *Pearl*, anchored in Tywan Road. Several of the King's men-of-war came out to see what we were. Supercargo Crispe sent the Sloop to speak with them; and they carried the Sloop directly in. Next morning Succo came off again and acquainted us that the King was rejoiced at our coming. At this, the Supercargo proposed to go on shore, but while in the Sloop—which was riding opposite the Castle—he received word that the house in which we were to reside was not yet fitted up. On the second morning, the King sent one of his gentlemen to conduct us ashore. One of the King's Interpreters met us at the Landing place and conducted us to the House, a very handsome one, having formerly been the Dutch Stadthouse. One of the King's Mandarins led us in, and in the King's name bid us welcome. He afterwards entertained us in plentiful style at the King's charge, for nearly a week.

'On the 26th, Supercargo Crispe delivered the letter from Bantam to the King; on

which occasion Soldiers lined both sides of the Road from the Factory to the Castle. He was introduced to his Majesty seated in State, by two of the Court Nobles. After making an obeisance in the English manner, he presented the Letter; and on its being read, Guns were fired, Gongs beat, and Congratulations sung. After this was ended, the King rose up, and went away; so there was not one word exchanged between him and the Company's representative, who had, during the four previous hours, endeavoured in vain to have a conference with his Majesty; all the negotiations being concluded by second hands. . . . At first the Factors had a strict guard set over them, none being suffered to approach the House, except the King's Officers and Merchants; and the Ship and Sloop were watched by two men of War. Under this restraint, the Company's Agent could learn nothing respecting the price of Goods at Tywan. Meanwhile, the King's Merchants came to treat with us, but we could not agree, as they offered no more for the goods than they were worth in Bantam. Four days afterwards came another Set, four or five of them, offering nearly the same price. The Company's Agent finding that none but those Men were allowed to buy anything, petitioned the King that all Persons might freely trade with us, which was granted, with the result that the Factory have sold a few goods. . . . The King promises that what Goods we have unsold at our coming away, he will buy of us; and, for our better encouragement, that he will neither take Custom on the Goods, nor Rent for the House this year. He endeavours to make Tywan a place of great Trade. We were the first foreign Ship or Junk that has been here since the Chinese Tywanners took it from the Dutch. . . .

The King has been very urgent to have a Contract drawn with us. Supercargo Crispe acquainted him that he had not power to conclude anything; but in order that the Agency at Bantam may see upon what Terms the Company might have a Factory at Tywan, the proposals which Crispe offered are herewith enclosed. There also goes annexed a statement of what the King requires of the Honourable Company.—*China*, vol. x. p. 147.

A.D. 1671.—The Commission and Instructions from Bantam to Messrs. Arwaker, Crispe, and Frith, bound to Tywan and Nangasake in Japan, state that the Company, being long desirous to make a full discovery into the trade of China and Japan, had the previous year sent the Bantam merchant, Capt. Parker, under direction of Mr. Crispe to attempt the opening of Trade at Tywan, and there met with a favourable reception from the King; though by reason of some perfidious Chinese, and our yett inexperience in these parts, as well as of the people and their customs, the success in our trade did not then fully answer our expectations. But in hopes of better success, and in order to our future progress in Japan and China, as alsoe encouraged thereto by the present constitution of affaires—the Dutch being not only expelled Tywan, and excluded from China, but also under some disgrace—we have revived our hopes, and equipped two Shippes, vizt. The *Bantam*, Merchant, Burthen . . . and the *Crowne*, Burthen . . . with as considerable a Cargoe as our present condition can supply, to make a fresh attempt for the said Port of Tywan, and the Port of Nangasake on Japan. . . .—*China*, vol. i. p. 84.

A.D. 1672.—Bantam in their instructions to Messrs. Stephens, Barone, Delboe, etc., state that the King of Formosa, by his friendly letter and advantageous articles, had a second time encouraged them to attempt to establish a trade with Tywan. . . . The captain of the junk returned and reported to our griefe that he had not seen any of the two ships, but had learnt that the King took to heart their non-arrival, and appeared much interested in their affairs.—*China*, vol. i. p. 140.

A.D. 1673.—The projected trade from Bantam to Tywan in Formosa, was found

to be confined within much narrower limits than had been represented in the information which the Company received, or than the overtures which the King himself had made to Bantam might reasonably lead them to expect. On the *Experiment's* arrival at Tywan, it was discovered that Sugar and Hides, the principal articles for the Japan market, were engrossed by the King. . . . The *Experiment*, after losing her Monsoon, was therefore obliged to take in such goods as she could procure.—*China*, vol. i. p. 149.

A.D. 1674.—In regard to Tywan, Bantam considers that the Company will find it a convenient point for keeping up some acquaintance with the adjacent ports; and that, because of its geographical position, with the fact that Tywan itself is a spacious island on the coast of China, while Tonquin, Macao, Manilla, and Japan lie around it, some considerable advantage will be found to result from a Factory there sooner or later.—*China*, vol. x. p. 164.

A.D. 1675.—Though our attempts for gaining a trade at Japan hath hitherto proved unsuccessful, yet by the good management of our affairs at Tywan and Tonquin, we hope at last to attain it.—*China*, vol. ix. p. 646.

A.D. 1681-2.—As to the Trade of Tywan, we hereby expressly require you that, if you have made no better earnings of it before this comes to your hands, you do order our factors to desert the place, and bring off what they can with them. To which purpose we have written a menacing letter to the King, and probably may send a ship, to be with you in March or April next, to go down to Tywan to fetch off our servants; and after that to use some forcible means for our satisfaction of the debt he owes us, and robberies committed by his soldiers at Amoy, if he compose not that business with us fairly. . . .—*China*, vol. xiii. p. 648.

A.D. 1681-2.—The factors at Amoy were forced to abandon the Island; the Chinese being now finally expelled from thence by the Tartars; and Pompenan, the old King of Tywan, to whom the Company's letter was addressed, was now no more. It was, however, forwarded by the late agency of Bantam (now resident at Batavia), to the young King of Tywan, and the factors there were instructed, either through the King or otherwise, to forward the Company's letter to the Emperor of Japan.—*China*, vol. ix. p. 653. [Note.—Application to the young King has not been ascertained; but if the letter was delivered, his own critical situation at the time, which compelled him shortly afterwards to submit to the Tartar Government, would indispose him to comply with the Company's request.]

C. De Mailla's Notes on his Visit to Formosa in A.D. 1715.—The island of Formosa is not entirely under the dominion of the Chinese; it is divided, as it were, into two parts, East and West, by a chain of high mountains that commences at the southernmost point of Sa-ma-ki-tow, and only finishes actually at the north end of the island, near that fortress formerly built by the Spaniards—called Ke-lung-chai by the Chinese. It is only what lies to the west of these mountains that belongs to China, *i.e.* that which is enclosed between $22^{\circ} 8'$ and $25^{\circ} 20'$ of north latitude. The eastern portion is inhabited only by barbarians. The country itself is mountainous, untilled, and wild. The character we have heard ascribed to the natives differs but very slightly from what is said of the savages of America. They have been depicted to us as less brutal than the Iroquois, far chaster than the Indians, of a gentle and peaceable disposition, loving and succouring one another, disinterested, laying no store on gold or silver—of which we hear they have several mines; but vindictive to excess; without laws, government, or police;

subsisting entirely by fisheries and the chase; in short, without religion, and acknowledging no God. Such is the character which the Chinese affirm to be that of the people who live in the eastern part of Formosa. But as the statement of a Chinaman is not very trustworthy in any question about a foreign nation, I cannot guarantee this portraiture; especially as at present there is no communication between the Chinese and the aborigines, and that for nearly twenty years they have been waging a continual war between themselves.

The Chinese had barely achieved the subjugation of Formosa, when they became cognizant of the gold-mines which the island contains. No sooner had they enforced the submission of the people than they searched on all sides for these treasures; and not being able to find them on the western side of the island, of which they were the masters, they resolved to investigate the eastern part, where they were assured the treasure lay. They then equipped a small vessel in order to go there by sea, not wishing to expose themselves to the unknown mountains, where they would have run the risk of their lives. They were received with much kindness by the islanders, who generously offered them their houses, abundance of food, and every assistance in their power.

The Chinese sojourned with them about a week; but all the trouble they took to discover the mines proved abortive, whether from the fault of the interpreter who explained their design to the inhabitants, or from fear and prudential motives, not wishing to give umbrage to a nation which had reason to fear the yoke of the Chinese. But, however this may have been, of all the gold for which they were searching, they discovered only a few ingots exposed in the cabins, and on which these poor people set very little store. Dangerous temptation for a Chinaman! It was owing to this that, ill-contented with the success of their voyage, and impatient to possess the nuggets exposed to their gaze, a stratagem was devised of unexampled cruelty. The Chinese equipped their vessel, obtaining everything that was necessary for their return. They then invited their hosts to a grand banquet that they had prepared, they said, as some slight token of their gratitude. But they caused these poor men to drink until they were thoroughly inebriated; and then, after massacring them to a man, they seized upon the treasures, and set sail. The chief of this atrocious expedition is still living in Formosa, without the Chinese having even dreamt of punishing his crime.

Nevertheless, he has not remained absolutely unpunished; but the innocent bore the penalty which was deserved by the guilty. The news of such a horrid crime had no sooner spread through the eastern part of the island, than the armed natives invaded the northern province which belonged to China, slaughtered in cold blood all whom they met, and set fire to several buildings. Since that time, the two factions have been continually at war. As I was obliged to pass in sight of the habitations of these islanders, I was accompanied by an escort of two hundred soldiers during the whole time I was engaged in making a map of the south. Notwithstanding this precaution, they came down upon us, on one occasion, to the number of thirty or forty, armed with arrows and javelins; but as we were very much the stronger of the two, they retired.

That part of Formosa possessed by the Chinese richly deserves the name which has been given to it. It is a most beautiful country; the air is pure and serene; the soil is fertile in all manner of grain, and watered with numerous little rivers which flow down from the mountains that separate the eastern portion of the island from the west. The earth yields corn and rice in abundance. Nearly all the fruits of India are found there—oranges, guavas, pine-apples, papayas, and cocoa-nuts. The soil would also produce our European fruit-trees if we planted them. We found peaches, apricots, figs, grapes, chest-

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1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

2. Once the problem is identified, the next step is to define the objectives and goals of the project. This helps to clarify what needs to be achieved and provides a clear direction for the team.

3. The third step is to develop a plan or strategy to address the problem. This involves breaking down the problem into smaller, manageable tasks and determining the resources needed to complete each task.

4. The fourth step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the strategy into action and monitoring progress regularly to ensure that the project is on track.

5. The final step is to evaluate the results of the project. This involves assessing the outcomes against the objectives and goals and identifying any areas for improvement or further action.

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On the other hand, the fact that the American people have been so long in the process of coming to grips with the problem of the Negro is a reflection of the fact that the Negro has been so long in the process of coming to grips with the problem of the American people. The Negro has been so long in the process of coming to grips with the problem of the American people that he has been so long in the process of coming to grips with the problem of the American people.

handiwork. There are but few mulberry trees in the island, and consequently very little native silk or native manufactures; but the profits made by those who have commenced to trade in this direction will probably induce others to follow in their wake. If it were free to Chinamen to pass into the island of Formosa and fix their abode there, I doubt not but that several families would have been already transported; but in order to do so, one has to obtain passports from the Chinese mandarins, and these passports cost a handsome sum of money; besides which, it is necessary to give securities. Nor is this all; for when one arrives in the island it is also necessary to make a present of money to the mandarin, who keeps a sharp eye on both those who come in and those who go out. The man who offers nothing, or at best a trifle, may safely expect to be sent back again, notwithstanding that he may be provided with the best of passports. This excessive precaution is doubtless owing to the natural greediness with which the Chinese amass money. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that it is good policy to prevent anybody and everybody from going to Formosa, especially as the Tartars hold the mastery of China; for Formosa is a very important place, and if a Chinaman were to obtain possession of it, it would probably bring about great troubles in the Empire. Besides, the Tartars keep a garrison there ten thousand strong, commanded by a Tsung-ping or Lieutenant-general, two Foo-tsiang or Field-marsals, and several subaltern officers, who are changed once every three years, and even oftener should occasion arise. During our stay there, they changed a brigade of four hundred men, and cashiered the principal officer for having insulted a literary mandarin whom they accused of a miscarriage of justice in connection with the murder of one of their comrades a few days previously.

The streets of the capital are nearly all laid out in lines, and are all covered during seven or eight months of the year, in order to protect them from the fierce rays of the sun; they are only thirty or forty feet wide, but in some places a league long. With few exceptions, they are also lined with houses of merchandise and shops ornamented with silk stuffs, porcelain, lacquer-ware, and other goods, admirably arranged, a knack in which the Chinese excel.

These streets present the appearance of the most charming corridors, and it would be a great pleasure to walk through them if the crowd of peasants were rather less, and the pavement rather better. The houses are covered with straw, and built for the most part of earth and bamboo; but the tents with which the streets are shaded only permit the shops to be seen, and thus hide this imperfection. The only house built by the Dutch during their term of possession, is now of some value. It is a large edifice consisting of three stories, defended by a rampart of four half-bastions—a necessary precaution for Europeans in these distant countries, where one does not always find equity and good faith, and where fraud and injustice too often take the place of merit. This house overlooks the port, and could, in case of need, prevent the landing of an enemy.

Tai-wan-foo has neither walls nor fortifications. The Tartars never place their forces or lock up their courage in the heart of a citadel; they prefer a fight on horseback in the open field. The port is good enough, affording a shelter from the wind, but the entrance becomes daily more difficult. Formerly, it was approachable from two sides, one called Ta-kiang, where the largest vessels were able to ride without trouble, and the other Loo-men, where the bottom is of rock, and where there are only nine or ten feet of water in the highest tides. The first passage is now impracticable; there are some places where there are not even five feet of water: the most there has ever been only reached seven or eight feet, and it is silting up daily by the washing of the sea sand. It was by this

Ta-kiang that the Dutch vessels formerly obtained entrance into the port; and in order to defend the entrance from foreign vessels, they had built a citadel at the southern extremity of the island, which would be excellent if it were not built upon the sand,—but still very suitable as a defence from those enemies which were most to be feared, namely, the Chinese and Japanese. It is two minutes' walk from the west of Tai-wan-foo, and commands the whole of the port, where vessels above two hundred tons are able to enter.

The part of Formosa under the dominion of the Chinese is composed of two different nations—the Chinese and the aborigines. The former, attracted by the greed of gain, have converged to this place from the divers provinces of China. Tai-wan-foo, Tong-kan-hien, and Chu-lo-hien are inhabited solely by Chinese; the only aborigines to be found there are those who serve them as domestics, or rather slaves. Besides these three towns, the Chinese have several villages, but none of them are very considerable, with the exception of Ngan-ping-ching. This fort stands at the foot of Zelanda Castle, which is the name given by the Dutch to the citadel I have spoken of above. At Ngan-ping-ching there are about four or five hundred families; and there is a garrison of two thousand men commanded by a Foo-tsiang or Field-marshal.

The government and the customs of the Chinese in Formosa differ in nowise from those of China. I will, therefore, only interrupt my narrative to give you some idea of the government of the natives. Those natives who are subject to the Chinese, reside in forty-five Townships they call Che—thirty-six in the north, and nine in the south. The northern Che are fairly populated, and the houses differ but very slightly from those of the Chinese. The nine southerly ones, however, are really nothing but clumps of huts, composed of mud and bamboo covered with straw, raised upon a sort of estrade three or four feet high, built in the form of an inverted funnel, some fifteen, twenty, thirty, or even forty feet in diameter; a few are divided by partitions. They have neither chairs, benches, tables, beds, nor any furniture whatever. In the centre there is a kind of stove or furnace, raised two feet or a little more from the earth, upon which they do their cooking. They live principally on rice, small grain, and game. They catch the game running, or with their weapons. They run with surprising swiftness. I have been astonished myself at seeing them run faster than horses when they go with slack reins. This swiftness comes, according to the Chinese account, from the fact that up to the age of fourteen or fifteen years, their legs and loins are bandaged with excessive tightness. They use for weapons a sort of javelin, which they fling to a distance of seventy to eighty paces with unerring aim; and although nothing can be simpler than their bows and arrows, they never miss a pheasant on the wing, but make as sure of it as we do in Europe with a gun. Their manners at table are the reverse of cleanly; they have neither plates nor dishes, nor basins, nor spoons, nor chopsticks. Whatever they may have prepared for their repast is simply placed on a wooden board or stool, and they eat with their fingers, just like monkeys. They eat the flesh half raw; the little fire that has been applied to it rendering it excellent to their palates. For beds, they are quite satisfied with the fresh leaves of a certain tree, the name of which, however, I do not know, but which is very common in the country; and they spread them upon the ground, or upon the boards of their huts, and there they take their sleep. They are clothed in nothing but a simple cloth, with which they are covered from the waist to the knees; and, would you believe it? that pride is so deeply rooted in the heart of man as actually to exist and find nourishment in the midst of such abject poverty! Can you believe that this pride costs them really more than the most civilized folks who pique themselves upon

their luxury and magnificence? The latter borrow the skins of animals and silks of worms, which they embroider with silver and gold: but our savage friends make use of their own skins, which they tattoo with all sorts of grotesque representations of trees, animals, and flowers, and which causes them such exquisite pain that they would die under the operation if it were done without intermission. Indeed, they take several months over it, and sometimes an entire year. It is necessary, during this time, to put oneself every day under a kind of torture—and all this merely to satisfy a craving to be distinguished from the herd, for it is not permitted to every one indifferently to carry these marks of magnificence. This privilege is only accorded to those who, in the judgment of the elders of the village, have surpassed others in running or in the chase. Everybody, however, is permitted to blacken the teeth, and wear earrings, bracelets above the elbow or the wrist, and necklaces or coronets of small beads of different colours and sizes. The coronet terminates in a sort of aigrette or of cocks' or pheasants' feathers, which they collect with much care. Just imagine these barbarous adornments upon the body of a man, lithe and slender, of an olive complexion, with long glossy hair hanging negligently over the shoulders, armed with a bow and a javelin, and having no garment but a yard or two of cloth round the waist and reaching to the knees, and you will have a veritable portrait of a brave in the southern part of the island of Formosa.

In the northern part, where the climate is a trifle less warm, they cover themselves with the skins of the deer they have killed while hunting, and of which they make a kind of coat without sleeves, of a shape rather like that of a dalmatic. They wear a cap in the form of a cylinder, made from part of the banana leaf, which they ornament with a series of crowns placed one on the top of the other, and attached by very narrow bands or by little plaits of different colours: and to this they add, like those of the south, an aigrette of cocks' or pheasants' feathers.

Their marriages are not so barbarous. Women are not sold as they are in China, and no attention is paid to the worldly status of the parents concerned, as is so customary in Europe; the parents, in fact, have very little to say in the matter. When a young man takes it into his head to marry, and has found a girl who pleases him, he goes for many days in succession to the door of her house with an instrument of music; if the girl eyes him favourably, she goes out and joins her suitor, and so they plight their troth. Afterwards they announce the fact to their fathers and mothers, who prepare the festival, which is given in the house of the girl, where the young man remains without returning to his father's house. From that time, the young man looks upon his father-in-law's house as his own; he becomes the support of it; and he has no more to do with the house of his father than European girls who quit their paternal homes to go and live with their husbands. Consequently, they do not look upon it as a stroke of luck to have male children; they are only anxious to have girls, who will procure them sons-in-law to become the stay of their old age.

Although these islanders are entirely subject to the Chinese, they have still some remains of their ancient government. Each townlet elects three or four of the elders who enjoy the greatest reputation for probity. In virtue of this election, they become the chiefs and judges of the rest of the inhabitants; it is they who constitute the final court of appeal for all litigants; and if anybody refused to acquiesce in their judgment, he would be driven out of the community without any hope of ever being able to re-enter, while no other town would dare to receive him. Their tributes to the Chinese are paid in grain. As regards these tributes, there is in each townlet a Chinese conversant with the language, who serves as interpreter to the mandarins. These interpreters, who ought

to assist these poor people, are themselves unworthy harpies who prey upon them pitilessly: indeed, they are such petty tyrants that they drive even the patience of the mandarins to the verge of extremity as well as that of the islanders; who, however, are abstained from interfering with them for fear of courting still greater complications. Of twelve townlets which were under Chinese jurisdiction in the south, there now remain but nine; three have rebelled, driven out these interpreters, paid no more tribute to China for three years, and have formed a league with the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the island. It is a very bad example, and will not fail to have its consequences. I mentioned it passingly to the first literary mandarin in Formosa, a Chinese doctor, who had just been made viceroy of the province of Fo-kien. He replied coldly: 'It is all the worse for these savages, if they insist in remaining in their savage condition; we try to turn them into men, and they do not wish it. All the worse for them. There are malcontents everywhere.'

But savages though they be according to the maxims of the Chinese world, I believe them to be nearer to the true philosophy than a great number of the most celebrated Chinese sages. One never sees among them, even upon Chinese testimony, either cheating or quarrelling, or robbery or litigation, excepting against the interpreters. Their dealings are equitable, and they are attached to each other; a man will never dare to touch anything you give him, without those who had joined in the labour partaking also of the fruits, a fact of which I have had frequent proof myself. They attend to the slightest signal given to them by their commander; they are circumspect in their words, and upright and pure of heart. One can judge of this by a comparatively trifling incident. A Chinaman, whom the local mandarins had placed amongst my suite, gave expression to certain words that will not bear repetition. One of the islanders, who was barely thirty years old, and who knew a few words of mandarin, confronted him boldly in the presence of everybody. '*Pub-baou, pub-baou*,' said he [that is, 'not good, not good']; '*woa-men sin tsing*' ['our hearts are pure']; '*pub kan shwob, pub kan siang*' ['we would not dare to speak thus,—we would not even dare to think such things'] *pub-baou, pub-baou!*

Before leaving Amoy, we had been informed that there were Christians in Formosa. Accordingly we made enquiries, and certainly there are none among the Chinese; but there are traces as if Christianity had been known among the aborigines from the time when the Dutch were in possession of the port. We have met several who are able to speak the Dutch language, who read Dutch books, and who, in writing, use their characters. We have even found in their hands fragments of our five books (? the Pentateuch) in Dutch. They worship no idols; they have a horror of anything approaching such an act; but they perform no religious rites, and recite no prayers. Still, we have met with those who acknowledge a God, Creator of Heaven and Earth,—a God in three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; who say that the first man was called Adam, and the first woman Eve; that, having disobeyed God, they had drawn forth His anger upon them and all their descendants; and that it was necessary to have recourse to baptism to efface the stain, of which rite, too, they even know the formula. Nevertheless we were unable to discover for certain if they were in the habit of baptising. The Chinese who served us as interpreters assured us that as soon as a child was born, they take cold water and pour it upon its body; but as these interpreters are untrustworthy, and as at that time they were very imperfectly acquainted with the language, we were unable to satisfy ourselves on this point. It seems, from what we were able to gather, that they had no idea of rewards or punishments in the next world; wherefore it is quite probable that they are not at any pains to baptise their children. We have tried,

as far as we could, to instil into them the most necessary truths of our holy religion; we have recommended those who appeared rather better informed to inculcate these important truths upon their fellow-citizens, and above all things to baptise their children as soon as ever they are born, in case of any opportunity arising for them to be instructed in the mysteries of the faith when they are capable of understanding. We left them the formula of baptism, but that was all we were able to do.

What pain for us, to be in the midst of so fair a harvest, and one which would have been so abundant, if only there had been a large band of apostolic labourers, and yet be obliged to leave it without hope of assistance! It is impossible to reach Formosa from the coast of China under present circumstances; in vain has the attempt been made to pass two or three times, but the door is closed to Europeans. A direct interposition of Providence, or a commission similar to our own, is the only thing which could effect an opening. The task would be easier if there were some port on the eastern side. The country is not in possession of any foreign power, as far as we know; the character of the inhabitants is not absolutely savage; and Japan is not a long way off. If these motives were to induce missionaries to carry thither the light of Truth, it would be easy for them to extend their zeal to the western portion, particularly in the southernmost extremity of the island, where many of the inhabitants, under the dominion of the Chinese, are only about a league distant from the people of the east. As the conversion of these poor folk is not the work of man, but the effect of the mercy of our Divine Master, let us endeavour to obtain it by prayers and holy deeds. A day never passes, without my remembering these unhappy people before the altar. May it please the Mercy of the Lord to grant the prayers I offer for their conversion.

Although the island of Formosa is not far distant from China, the Chinese, according to their history, had no acquaintance with it before the time of the Emperor Si of the Ming dynasty, about the year of grace 1430, when the eunuch Wan-san-pao, returning from the west, was cast ashore there by a storm. This eunuch, finding himself in a strange country, the people appeared to him as savage as the land itself was beautiful, made some stay in order to gather information about it for his master. But all the fruits of his care amounted to a few plants, and some medicinal herbs that he brought back with him, and which are used freely in China to this day with success.

In the forty-second year of the Emperor Kia-tsing, 1564 of our era, the Ti-too, or Commodore, Yu-ta-yeou, in crossing the eastern sea of China, fell in with a corsair named Lin-tao-kien, who had lately taken possession of the islands of Pong-hoo, where he had left a detachment of his soldiers. Now the corsair was a very proud and ambitious man, to whom love of glory was a passion, and who longed to make for himself a name.

He no sooner saw Yu-ta-yeou, than he advanced towards him at full sail, attacked him roughly, and would have infallibly defeated the Chinese squadron if the flag-officer himself had been less cool and intrepid. Yu-ta-yeou received the first fire with perfect sang-froid; after which he turned the attack upon his enemy. The engagement lasted over five hours, and only finished at night, when Lin-tao-kien took flight and retired towards the islands of Pong-hoo in order to refresh his troops, fetch the remainder of his soldiery, and then to renew the attack. But Yu-ta-yeou, like an experienced captain, followed him so closely, that at daybreak Lin-tao-kien found the entrance to the port blockaded by the hostile squadron. His troops had suffered greatly in numbers during the battle, and the survivors, who had fallen victims to fear, impressed upon him that it was dangerous to attempt the entrance to the port. He, therefore, resolved to continue

his route, and to cast anchor at Formosa. Yu-ta-yeou pursued him thither; but as he found the sea very shoal, and had no previous acquaintance with the entry of that port, he did not wish to endanger his vessels, so retired to the islands of Pong-hoo, of which he made himself master. He made prisoners of all the soldiers whom he captured; he placed a good garrison there, and returned victorious to China, where he gave a full account of his discoveries and expedition. The Court received his news with joy, and appointed a literary mandarin Governor of the islands of Pong-hoo.

Formosa, says the Chinese historian, was at that time an untitled land, inhabited solely by barbarians. The cruel Lin-tao-kien considered that in its then condition the island would not suit him; so he butchered all the inhabitants that came into his clutches, and with unexampled inhumanity used the blood of these unfortunates to caulk his ships; then setting sail immediately, he retired to the province of Kwang-tung, where he perished miserably.

Towards the end of the year 1620, which was the first year of the Emperor Teen-kai, a Japanese squadron came and landed at Formosa. The officer in command found the country, rude as it was, sufficiently suitable for the establishment of a colony. He resolved to take possession of it, and with this view he left a detachment of soldiery there, with orders to glean all the information necessary for the accomplishment of this design. About the same time, a Dutch vessel, either going to or returning from Japan, was cast by a tempest on the Formosan shore, but found the Japanese not in a position to afford them much protection. The country appeared fair in the eyes of these Dutchmen, says the Chinese historian, but very well adapted for commerce. They urged the pretext of being in want of certain refreshments and necessaries to refit their ship, which had suffered much in the storm. Some of them penetrated a short way into the interior and, after having well examined the country, returned on board the vessel. The Dutchmen never touched their ship, the whole time their companions were absent; it was only when they returned that they began to think about refitting her. They begged the Japanese, with whom they were anxious not to embroil themselves for fear of spoiling their commerce, to permit them to build a house on the shore of the island, that is, at the entrance of the port, from which they were subsequently able to draw some advantage through their commercial relations with Japan. The Japanese at first resented this proposition, but the Dutch insisted so earnestly, assuring them that they would occupy no more land than could be enclosed by an ox-skin, that the Japanese at last consented. So the Dutchmen took the skin of an ox, which they cut into little slips, excessively fine; these they placed end to end, and used them for measuring the land they desired to take. The Japanese were at first much disgusted at such a march having been stolen upon them, but at length, after many reflections, they began to look upon the affair as rather amusing than otherwise. Mollified, they gave the Dutchmen permission to do whatever they pleased with the territory they had acquired. It was upon this ground that they built the fortress I have described above, and of which I send you herewith a plan. The gate still bears this inscription:—'Castel Zelanda 1634.'

The erection of this fort rendered the Dutch complete masters of the harbour, and of the only passage by which large vessels were able to enter. Perhaps the Japanese discovered the importance of the site too late. But be that as it may—whether they took umbrage at the new fort, or whether they were dissatisfied with the island itself, which was still uncultivated—a short time afterwards they abandoned it entirely and returned to their own homes. So the Dutch found themselves sole masters of Formosa, for the islanders were in no position to offer any resistance. In order to assure

themselves of their position, they constructed upon the other side of the port, opposite the fortress of Zeland, a house strongly fortified with four demi-bastions, of which I have already spoken.

While all this was going on, China was undergoing troublous times; partly owing to the civil distractions which had desolated so many provinces of this fair empire, and partly owing to the war she was waging against the Tartar, who eventually became her conqueror, and founded the dynasty now reigning so gloriously under the Emperor Kang-hi. One of those who rendered themselves pre-eminent in their resistance of the Tartar, was a man of fortune in the province of Fo-kien, named Tsing-tsi-loong. From a small shopkeeper he had developed into the richest merchant in China. Happy if he had remained as faithful to God in his baptismal vows (for he was a Christian) as he was faithful to his country and his prince, so soon to fall under the dominion of a stranger!

Tsing-tsi-loong armed and fitted out a small flotilla at his own expense against the Tartar; he was soon followed by an innumerable number of Chinese vessels, and he became, by this means, the chief of one of the most formidable fleets that have ever been seen in Chinese waters. The Tartar offered him the dignity of king if he would only recognise him. He refused, but he did not long enjoy his good fortune. His son, Tsing-tsing-kung, succeeded him in the command of this powerful fleet. Excelling even his father in his zeal for his country and her fortunes, he set on foot divers enterprises; including the siege of several considerable cities, such as Hai-tsing in the province of Fo-kien, after he had hewn in pieces the Tartar army that came to its assistance; Wan-chou, in the province of Che-kiang; Nan-king in Kiang-nan, and others. The first brilliant successes, however, lasted but a short time; he was eventually conquered by the Tartars, and driven out of China. Then it was that he turned his eyes and his ambition towards Formosa, out of which he resolved to eject the Dutchmen and establish a new dominion.

Now all this happened in the seventeenth year of the Emperor Shun-chi, father of Kang-hi, and the year 1661 of the Christian era,—this abandonment by Tsing-tsing-kung of his enterprise against China, and his retirement to Formosa with his formidable fleet. He called at the Pong-hoo islands and took possession of them on his way down. The Dutchmen, who doubtless imagined themselves safe from all molestations on the part of China, occupied as she was with her own troubles, had never taken the precaution to furnish either Pong-hoo or Tai-wan with troops; and the Chinese adventurer had nothing to do with these islands but to take possession of them, as soon as he appeared. He left a hundred of his vessels there to keep guard, and sailed on with the remainder to Formosa.

I learnt from a mandarin, who occupied the post of Field-marshal under Tsing-tsing-kung at this time, that the entire guard of the fortress and harbour of Formosa consisted of eleven Dutchmen. The remainder of the garrison consisted partly of blacks from the Indies, and partly of aborigines. But notwithstanding this inequality of forces, the Dutchmen resolved to defend themselves, and the event proved that they did so bravely and well.

The Chinese commander entered the harbour with his fleet, consisting of no less than nine hundred sail, through the pass of Loo-men, a good league above the fortress of Zeland. He then landed a detachment of soldiery, in order to attack the fortress by both land and sea. The siege lasted four entire months, during which the Dutchmen defended themselves with their cannon with more success than they had ever dared to

hope for, and the besieger was desperate by seeing such courage and resistance in a handful of Europeans, against so numerous an army as his own.

As the Chinese were unacquainted with the use of cannon, they were unable to reply to those of the Dutch; thus their only hope was to reduce them to capitulation by famine. This, however, would be a work of time, during which, they considered, the besieged would be able to receive assistance from Batavia, or those who were in commerce with Japan. The Chinaman knew exactly the difficulty of the enterprise; but he knew also that he was virtually an outlaw from China, without the faintest hope of ever returning under the Tartars, against whom he had been carrying arms; besides which, he was well aware that if Formosa was closed against him he would be without resources, so he braced himself up for a last effort against the Dutch. There were, at this time, four Dutch vessels in port; and on each of these there was one Dutchman with a body-guard, while the seven others were shut up in the citadel of Zelanda. The Chinese commander resolved to sacrifice a few of his own vessels, which he accordingly stored plentifully with *feux d'artifice*, and then, taking advantage of a strong breeze from the north-east, he sent them against the Dutch ships. He succeeded above his hopes; for three out of the four were burnt. He then summoned the Dutchmen who were shut up in the fortress to surrender; declaring to them that he would permit them to retire with all their effects, but threatening to give them no quarter should they persist any longer in defending their castle. The Dutchmen, who had only one vessel left, accepted his offer willingly: so they loaded their solitary ship with all their belongings, gave up possession of the place to the Chinese, and decamped.

The victorious general, having no longer anybody to interfere with his designs, distributed part of his troops in that district of the island which belongs to the Chinese at the present day. He established a garrison at Ke-lung-chai, a fortress which had been previously built by the Spaniards, and constructed another fortress at Tan-chui-tsing at the mouth of the river Tan-chui, where his ships could ride safely at anchor. He fixed upon the places known nowadays as Chu-lo-yen and Fong-sang-hien, where towns were built, to which he gave the names of Tien-hien-hien and Wan-nien-hien. He established the present site of Tai-wan-foo as his capital, which he called Sing-ting-foo. He placed his court and his palace at the fortress of Zelanda, to which he gave the name of Ngan-ping-tsing, and which it still retains. It was then that Formosa commenced to assume a new shape. He established there the same laws, customs, and form of government which existed in China; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory. He died about a year and a few months after having taken possession of the island, and his son Tsing-king-mai 'reigned in his stead.' As, however, this youth had been brought up in the study of books, he paid no attention to the nourishment or cultivation of the country which his father had acquired at the cost of so much care and trouble; and this naturally cooled both the courage and zeal of the troops in his service.

Now in the twelfth year of the reign of Kang-hi (1673 of the Christian era), the Kings of Canton and Fo-kien revolted against the Imperial sway. Tsing-king-mai, anxious to revive the spirit of his soldiers, determined to espouse the cause of the King of Fo-kien against the Tartar. He armed all his vessels-of-war, and proceeded to confer with him on the coast of his province. But as he expected to be treated as a Prince-regnant, and as the King of Fo-kien assumed the precedence, he was so enraged that he declared war against him. Both sides fought bravely: but as the troops of Tsing-king-mai were composed of old soldiers, as many battles as they gave, so many victories did they gain. The King of Fo-kien was at last compelled to shave his head a second time,

and abandon him to the power of the Tartar. Tsing-king-mai returned to Formosa, where he died shortly afterwards, leaving as his successor his son Tsing-ke-san, at a very tender age, under the guardianship of Liu-ku-kan and Fong-si-fan, two officers who had always been extremely attached to him.

The rebellion of Fo-kien being thus happily terminated to the advantage of the Tartars, they abolished the title of King, and in the twenty-first year of Kang-hi (A.D. 1682) they established, as Governor of this province and of Che-kiang, a Tsung-tao, a dignity somewhat higher than that of viceroy. The first incumbent of this post was the Tsung-tao Yao, a polished, clever, and agreeable man. He was no sooner in charge than he proclaimed a general amnesty in Formosa to all who would place themselves under Tartar rule, promising to procure for them the same offices, honours, and prerogatives that they had possessed under their own chiefs. This proclamation had all the effect Yao could have wished. The majority of those who had followed Tsing-king-kung had abandoned their country, their wives and children; far away in a strange country, untitled and almost uninhabited, without any hopes of gaining any advantages from it worth the name, they were enchanted at finding so plausible an opportunity offered to them of returning to their homes. Many of them never stayed a moment to weigh the matter, but took leave of Tsing-ke-san and proceeded immediately to Fo-kien, where they were met so graciously by Yao and received such favours at his hands, that they were soon followed by many others. Then Yao thought that the moment had come to take possession of Formosa. He therefore fitted out a considerable fleet with all speed, under the command of a Lieutenant-general, to seize the islands of Pong-hoo. This officer, however, met with greater resistance than he had imagined; for the soldiers, with the assistance of the Dutch cannon, defended themselves most vigorously, and were only compelled to surrender, at last, to the superior strength and numbers of the foe. Pong-hoo taken, the advisers of the young Prince judged that, in the present state of mind of the soldiery, it would be difficult to preserve Formosa, and without waiting for the Chinese commander to commence the attack, they despatched a vessel to carry a petition to the Emperor in the name of the Prince, in which he tendered his submission to the Imperial arms. Here is the memorial in question, faithfully translated from the Chinese:—

‘The King of Yen-ping, Generalissimo of the Forces, Ching-ke-san, presents this Memorial to the Emperor.

‘When, humbled at the feet of your Majesty, I consider the greatness of China—how that from time immemorial she has always sustained herself with *éclat*, and an infinite number of kings have succeeded each other upon her throne—I cannot refrain from the avowal, that it is an act of the providence of Heaven which has chosen Your illustrious house to reign over the Nine Lands. Heaven has only brought this to pass in order to perfect the Five virtues. This is apparent from the good order and the happy success of everything that your Majesty undertakes. When I think with humility of my ancestors, I see that they always cherished a sincere attachment for their sovereigns, and always tried to prove their gratitude for the benefits that they received from the preceding dynasty. It was this attachment to his Prince which compelled my grandfather Tsing-king-kung to leave his native country, and to go and clear the waste-grounds of the East. My father Ching-king-mai was a man of letters, who would not have dared to expose himself on the brink of a precipice; like the Kings of Ye-lang, he occupied himself entirely in governing and instructing his people, confining himself to this corner of the Earth in the middle of the sea, without having any other ambition. Hitherto, I have enjoyed the benefits of my ancestors; and I, their grandson, never cease to testify

my gratitude to them, in recalling continually the favours which they received from Heaven, with no wish or thought of aggrandising myself upon the Earth. Now that I see your Majesty, resembling the sky, which by its broad expanse and elevation covers all beneath it, and resembling the Earth, which sustains all things by its solidity,—always inclined to do good, and to temper the effects of justice,—on which bases your Empire is governed; now that I see your Majesty, like a rising Sun, whose light shines in a single instant from one end of the Earth to the other as soon as it appears above the horizon, and dissipates the fleecy vapours which gather upon the surface,—how could I think of anything else than to strive after perfection myself? It is this that I, a foreigner, regard as the only means of living happily. If I tried to pass my vessels on the western side [towards China], I should be in fault; but alas! of the blood which once came to the East [Formosa] what now remains? Is it not like the languid dew which falls of itself in the early morning, and which evaporates upon the appearance of the Sun? How, then, should I undertake anything against your Majesty? My heart is entirely submitted to You; such is the protestation I make to you in this petition. Your Majesty will see the effect of it. I know now that I have not been in the right way, but for the future I shall dare to walk freely in the flower-garden of charity and love, following in the footsteps of the *Ki-ling*. It is my most earnest desire to see Heaven and Earth united in one! The unfortunate inhabitants of this Island do not ask that they may be allowed to commit excess in wine, or satiate themselves with meat. If they are treated with gentleness they will be more favourably disposed by it to submission. The nature of fishes is to dive into precipices; the deepest waters are not too deep for them, and they enjoy a prolonged existence in the midst of the waves of the sea. And that what I have said to your Majesty in this Memorial may be as binding upon me as an oath,—May the Sun never shine upon me more if these are not the true sentiments of my heart!

The Emperor replied by commanding the Formosan Prince to quit his island and repair to Peking. Ching-king-mai, however, was afraid to go there, representing to the Emperor in a second Memorial which he sent with his seals and those of his principal officers, that having been born in southern climes, and being of a very delicate constitution, he dreaded the severe cold of the north; and therefore implored His Majesty for permission to retire into the province of Fo-kien, whence his ancestors had sprung. This Memorial had no effect; and the unhappy Prince, finding himself almost abandoned, was compelled to surrender Formosa into the hands of the Tartars, and go himself to Peking; where he received the rank of Count, which was conferred upon him on his arrival at the Imperial Court, being the twenty-second year of the Emperor Kang-hi, and 1683 of the Christian era.

NOTE.—Fathers Du Halde and Grosier also published Notes on Formosa, but as they evidently copied very largely from De Mailla, their contributions need not be inserted here, with the exception of Abbé Grosier's concluding remarks, which are as follows:—‘To our description of Formosa, we shall add the following account of the dreadful disaster that lately befell this unhappy island. The details were conveyed to us in a letter from Peking, addressed to Mr. Bertin, and dated the 14th of July 1782. It says:—“The waters of the ocean have well-nigh deprived China of one of its most valuable maritime possessions. The island of Tayouan, known in Europe by the name of Formosa, has been almost swallowed up. The report here is that part of the mountain which divides the island has sunk and disappeared, that the remaining part has disappeared,

and that nearly all the inhabitants have perished. Such, for some days, have been the current reports in this capital, but Government has put a stop to them by informing the public of the real state of matters, as announced to the Emperor by those officers who have this small portion of his territories under their jurisdiction. I cannot do better than transcribe what they have written. The despatches of the Chinese officers addressed to the Emperor run thus:

“BECHEN, Governor-general of the provinces of Fo-kien and Tche-kyang, the Governor of Fo-kien, and others, make known to Your Majesty the disaster that has lately befallen the island of Tayouan. Mon-ha-hon, and the other principal officers there, have acquainted us that, on the 21st of the fourth moon (May 22, 1782), a most furious wind, accompanied with heavy rain and a swell of the sea greater than ever remembered, had kept them under continual apprehension of being swallowed up by the waves, or buried in the bowels of the earth, from the hour of *yn* until the hour *ouci*.¹ This dreadful tempest seemed to blow at the same time from the four cardinal points of the compass, and continued with uniform violence during the above-mentioned time. The buildings where the tribunals were held, the public granaries, the barracks, salt-warehouses, and works, have been totally destroyed; and everything they contained is lost: warehouses and workshops, as well as private houses, for the most part, are now nothing but ruins and heaps of rubbish. Of twenty-seven ships of war which were in the harbour, twelve have disappeared; two others have been dashed to pieces, and ten are shattered in such a manner that they are rendered entirely unfit for service. Other smaller vessels of different sizes, above a hundred in number, have shared the same fate; eighty have been swallowed up; five others, which had just taken in a lading of rice for Fo-kien, have sunk, and their cargoes, which amounted to 100,000 bushels, are wholly lost. With regard to other vessels, whether great or small, which had not entered the harbour, ten or twelve of the largest are reckoned to have been swallowed up; those of inferior size, as well as a prodigious number of barques, boats, and other small vessels of different kinds, have disappeared, without leaving the least piece of wreck behind them. As the whole island has been covered with water, the provisions have been either swept away, or so badly injured as to render them prejudicial to the health of those who use them in their present state. The crops are entirely lost. When we shall have been informed of particulars, we shall not fail to send fuller intelligence.”

“After having received this letter from Mon-ha-hon and the other principal officers residing at Tayouan, I employed the utmost diligence to give every assistance in my power to this unfortunate island; having ordered the travelling commissary, and Treyouer, General of the province, to get particular information of the number of those who perished, of the houses destroyed, and of the quantity of salt and other provisions that has been lost. I likewise enjoined them to rebuild, with the utmost expedition, the tribunals, granaries, and other public edifices; to despatch proper persons to search for the vessels and ships that have disappeared; to repair those which are not altogether unfit for service, and to send immediately to the neighbouring countries for salt and other necessary provisions; but, above all, to ascertain, in the most accurate manner, the different losses sustained by the inhabitants, and the precise number of people who have perished, in order that I may be able to give the fullest information to Your Majesty.”

¹ The hours of the Chinese are double ours; the hour *yn* begins at three in the morning, and ends at five; *ouci* begins at three in the afternoon, and ends at five.

The Emperor of China caused a particular detail of these losses to be published, together with the following edict :—

‘Tchang-yu, Tchem-hoei-Thon, Tsong-tou of Fo-kien, and others, have informed me of the dismal event that has taken place in the island of Tayouan, which is a district of the province of Fo-kien. They sent many particulars of this calamity which occurred on the twenty-first of the fourth moon’ . . . [Here the Emperor repeats what is contained in the preceding letter, and continues thus]: ‘I therefore command the Tsong-tou to get as much further information as he can of the different losses sustained by the inhabitants of the island, and to transmit the details to me, in order that I may render every possible assistance. My intention is that all the houses which have been thrown down shall be rebuilt entirely at my expense; that the partially damaged ones be repaired; and that provisions, and everything the people stand in immediate want of, be supplied them. I should feel much pain were even one among them to be neglected. I accordingly enjoin the utmost diligence and strictest enquiry, as I am desirous that none of my subjects should entertain the least doubt of the tender affection I have for them; that they should know they are all under my eyes, and that I myself will supply their wants. With regard to my ships of war, tribunals, and public offices, let them be restored with money taken from the public Treasury, and let the general account of the whole expense be laid upon me.’

The missionary already referred to thinks that this disaster happened in consequence of an earthquake; but adds that the volcano which occasioned it must be at a prodigious depth below the sea. He does not pretend to give an explanation of it, being contented with observing that the same scene seems to have passed at the island of Formosa as at Lima and Lisbon.

D. Benyowsky's Account of his Visit to Formosa in 1771.—Latitude in 23° 22'; longitude in 325° 0'. Wind E. Current from the southward. Course W. 1/2 S.

Friday, August the 26th, 1771.—About 3 P.M. a strong breeze arose which obliged me to hand all the sails but the mizen. At six a heavy rain came on and abated the wind, which veered round to the NE. About 3 A.M. I was awakened by the news of land. We had barely time to turn the ship's head to the southward, when we clewed up the mizen, let go an anchor in eighteen fathom water, the bottom being coral rock. At daybreak we found ourselves near a rock; the island of Formosa being in sight, and appearing to be very high land. I immediately weighed, and doubling the north point of the small island, stood towards the land, and moored at the opening of a bay, in fourteen fathom water, greenish sand. The associates were busied the whole night in preparing the boats, and clearing their arms, which were distributed with the necessary ammunition.

At four A.M. Mr. Kuznecow and Mr. Wynbladth were sent on shore in the canoe and shallop, with sixteen men. At eight we heard three musket shots on shore, which I answered with one of my great guns. After this we heard a constant firing. At half-past nine we at last perceived our boats, returning round a point in the land. Three of the detachment were wounded with arrows, and they brought with them five prisoners, two of whom were dangerously wounded.

Here follows the report of Mr. Kuznecow :—

‘After having reached shore, in a very commodious bay, where I found the soundings everywhere from eight to five and three fathoms, I advanced with a detachment of ten associates towards a fire which we discovered. Mr. Wynbladth remained with the boats

under his care. We found two Indians and a woman near the fire, whom we gave to understand that we were in want of food. One of them immediately went off, and returned in less than an hour after with three other Indians, armed with lances, who made signs to us to follow them. They conducted us to a village, and as we refused to enter their huts, they brought us boiled rice and roasted pork, with a quantity of lemons and oranges. The islanders appeared quiet, and were not numerous; but as I had observed a crowd at the extremity of the village, and several armed bodies of men who went out, I imagined that they intended to seek a cause of quarrel with us; for which reason I persuaded my companions to proceed back again, in order to carry the news on board that we had formed a very convenient anchoring-place. Accordingly, after having given the islanders some knives in return for the refreshment we had taken, we began to return. But we had scarcely reached the place where we had first seen the fire lighted, before we heard a cry and were attacked by a shower of arrows, which wounded three of my people. I gave orders to fire immediately on the enemy, and the first discharge checked their impetuosity when they saw half a dozen of their party extended on the ground. For my own part, not being desirous of amusing myself in that place, I gave orders to carry one of my companions who could not walk, and effected my retreat. The islanders were preparing to fall upon us a second time when, fortunately for us, the cannon shot from on board intimidated them, and caused them to leave us at liberty for a time. But when we came to the sea-shore, we were attacked by a great number of the savages. It was a happy circumstance that Mr. Wynbladth was on the spot. We then fell upon them, and having overthrown at least sixty, we made five prisoners, and collected a quantity of lances and bows, which are now in the boats.

Upon this information I would have quitted the place, as I was not desirous of exposing myself to a war with the natives; but my associates insisted that I should enter the harbour. I found it impossible to calm their fury, and for that reason at last consented. We therefore weighed, and with a light breeze from the eastward, and the boats ahead, I entered the bay, and anchored at a distance of one hundred fathoms offshore. According to the Report, three wounded, and five prisoners of war.

Saturday, August the 27th.—Moored in a bay at the mouth of a river, on the island of Formosa. As soon as I had got the ship moored, I ordered twenty-eight men to land under the command of Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew, who went on board the shallop and rowed towards the shore. As soon as they landed, they were met by fifty islanders, who held branches of trees in their hands; and as these people came without arms, Mr. Baturin received them kindly. They threw themselves first at the feet of my people, and by their signs gave them to understand that they entreated forgiveness. This voluntary submission disarmed the rage of my companions, and several of them ran to the shore, and called out that all was well. Upon these pacific appearances, the associates imagined that they might enjoy themselves in the habitations of the Indians, and declared to Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew that they were desirous of going to the village. Their absurd obstinacy gave way to no persuasions; for in spite of the remonstrances of these gentlemen, twenty-two departed for the village. Being informed of this mutiny, I determined to go on shore myself with fifteen other associates, and immediately directed my march towards the village, which was not far off. I had scarcely made a few steps, before I heard a violent firing and horrible cries. The noise increased, and at last I saw my people retreating, and pursued by a number of blacks, who hastily followed them. When they came near me, they rallied, but no more than seven of them were armed, the others being entirely naked, with several arrows sticking in their bodies. I

gave orders, therefore, for those who had no arms to retire towards the vessel, and rallied the others; by whose assistance I stopped the crowd of islanders, among whom I observed several armed with our muskets. Unfortunately for them, they knew not how to use them; and as they were more advanced than the others, they were quickly destroyed by our fire. Only two of them escaped, who threw down their muskets to favour their flight. At the moment the Indians made their retreat, or rather fled, Mr. Kuzneczw arrived with twenty fresh companions, who chased them out of their village, and at last set fire to it in several places. After the total defeat of the islanders, the dead were counted; and it was found that they amounted to upwards of two hundred, without reckoning those who were wounded and had fled.

On our return from this expedition, a party of the associates discovered a small harbour in the river, in which they found seven boats, and a barque in an unfinished state. They set fire to the barque and brought away the boats, which were loaded with the arms of the islanders. As soon as this operation was ended, I went on board, and put the chiefs of the mutiny against Messrs. Baturin and Crustiew in irons.

This accident abated the desire of the company to prolong their stay. They therefore requested me to seek another anchoring-place. Taking advantage of the calm, I weighed, and by the help of the boats towed the vessel out of the sound. We had scarcely doubled the north point, before the current carried us to the northward. At daybreak we found ourselves opposite a small bay, into which I determined to enter; but as the current tended to drive us beyond it, I came to anchor in twenty-six fathom. About eight, a light breeze sprang up, and I was preparing to set sail, when I saw two canoes rowing towards us. At ten they came near us, and one of them hailed us, crying out, 'Signor Houvrittd, vai, vai.' They made signs to us to follow them, which I did, having all my boats out to assist in case of accidents; but we happily entered into a very beautiful harbour, where I anchored near the southern shore, with a view to be sheltered from all winds. The depth of the water was three fathom, and the vessel was so near the land that a man could jump on shore.

According to the Report, eleven wounded, three prisoners of war, two having died.

N.B.—I must here observe, that I found in this season a violent current along the island of Formosa, which carried the vessel $1\frac{3}{4}$ leagues per hour; but I observed that this current caused the vessel to follow all the sinuosities of the shore, and kept us always at the same distance from it.

Sunday, August the 28th.—At anchor in the harbour; fine clear weather, but excessively hot. We had scarcely time to coil up our running rigging, before a prodigious number of islanders, of both sexes, appeared with poultry, rice, sugar-canes, hogs, oranges and other fruits, which they exchanged with us for pins, needles, and other small articles. Though these people behaved themselves with circumspection, I would not venture to put any confidence in them. For this reason, I constantly kept a dozen of the associates armed. About 3 P.M. a crowd of islanders appeared, having at their head a man clothed in a droll manner, partly in the European, and partly in the Indian fashion. On his head he wore a laced hat, a large sword hung by his side, his stockings were made of cloth, and his shoes were no doubt of his own manufacture. This appearance surprised me, and I immediately sent Mr. Kuzneczw to meet him; but as he could not understand his language, he brought him on board, where I learned that he was a Spaniard of Manilla, who had lived seven or eight years among these islanders, and had acquired the confidence of several cantons. He made me a very civil offer of his house; but as I thought it necessary to make a minute inquiry before I trusted him, he informed me that

he had fled from Manilla to the island Formosa in a vessel manned by six of his slaves; and that he had been forced to this proceeding in consequence of his having, in a moment of rage, massacred his wife, and a Dominican whom he had found in her company. He said his name was Don Hieronimo Pacheco, formerly Captain of the port of Cavith in Manilla. This Spaniard assured me that I might trust the people of that canton, who were the best people in the world, and thought themselves under an obligation to me for having ill-treated their enemies: for he informed me that the news of my conduct with respect to the fighting had already arrived thither.

Upon this good news, I made him a present of a complete suit of clothes, with some shirts, and a good sabre; and besides, I said I would give him firearms and other utensils, provided he was careful in assisting us during our stay; upon which he promised, and declared that he would not quit me during the whole time I should remain on the island. In fact, after having spoken a short time to the islanders, they retired, and he remained with us that night.

In the evening, having received information that our water was in a putrid state, I gave orders for taking in fresh water at daybreak; in consequence of which I inquired of Don Hieronimo Pacheco the place where we could obtain the best water. He informed me that the islanders would bring me good spring water; but that there was a brook near a jutting rock which he showed me, in which we might obtain the best water in the world. But he warned me, at the same time, that the islanders of that canton were at war with his friends, and for that reason it would be necessary to send a party of armed men thither to guard the sailors while they filled their casks. Upon this information I gave instructions to Mr. Panow to go early with twelve associates on the business, and recommended him to be upon his guard against a surprise. Not content with this precaution, I gave orders for awakening me before their departure: and having called them all before me, I recommended them a second time to be on their guard. They set off at last at eight A.M., having been detained to set up some casks.

After the departure of the boats, I entered into conversation with the Spaniard, who appeared to be perfectly acquainted with the island. It was from him I learned that part of the island on the western side was subject to the Chinese; but that six parts out of seven were independent, one-third part being inhabited by savages, among whom we had at present fallen. He assured me that, with very little assistance, he thought it practicable to conquer the island and drive out the Chinese. His reasoning, and the combination of circumstances which he mentioned, pleased me, and I listened to him with the more willingness, as I had myself conceived the project of carrying his plan into execution. I therefore availed myself of the present opportunity, to propose that he should return into Europe with me. But he positively refused, and assured me that he was sufficiently acquainted with Europe to thank Heaven that he was out of it. To this he added, that he was become familiarised with the manner of living in Formosa, and that as he had a good wife, and several children, neither his duty nor his inclination would suffer him to leave them. Our conversation was interrupted by dinner.

According to the Report, eleven wounded and three prisoners.

Monday, August the 29th.—At anchor in Port Maurice. Don Hieronimo remarked that, as the watering-place was so near, he was surprised that our people did not return; and he begged me to send the shallop upon discovery. Mr. Kuzneczow immediately went with eight men, and returned about 2 P.M. with the canoe and periagua in tow. As soon as I perceived them at a distance, I was surprised to see that some of them were covered with blood, and had arrows sticking in their bodies; and as I did not see either

Mr. Panow or Mr. Loginow, I began to fear the worst. When the shallop came on board, Mr. Kuznecow informed me that Mr. Panow and Mr. Loginow were mortally wounded, and that John Popow was the first slain. After having received Messrs. Panow and Loginow in order to give them every assistance, I inquired concerning the fact, and was informed that Mr. Panow having visited the environs, and discovered no signs of any person being near, had been desirous of bathing while the associates were at work filling the casks; and that he himself invited the others to follow his example. But he had scarcely laid aside his arms and clothes, when he was attacked by twenty Indians who shot at him with arrows; that Papow was one of the first who fell dead; and that afterwards Panow and Loginow fell, and all the others were wounded; and that certainly not one of them could have escaped, if Volinsky and Andre had not fired at the islanders from the canoe, into which they had retired. They added, that they dared not return on board and abandon Mr. Panow, who from time to time gave signs of life, as well as Mr. Loginow. They were in this situation when the shallop came to their relief.

After this information, I ran to my friend Panow, around whom I found all the company assembled; but as I was desirous of hearing what he said, without interrupting him, I did not come forward. The following were the words of this invaluable friend, which will ever be present in my memory:—

‘My brothers’ (said he to his companions), ‘inform my friend, our commander, that my only regret at quitting this life is, that I shall no longer be able to second and support his efforts. Alas! he is very far from seeing their conclusion. Tell him that I love him as my life; and that I should die contented if I could have seen his merit and virtue recompensed. Intreat him, in my name, not to revenge my death; but content himself with informing my brother of this misfortune. Take example, my friends, by me; if I had followed the advice of our chief and friend, I had still lived. Respect him and obey him as a father; and thou, unhappy friend, Stephanow, lay aside thy haughtiness, and that hatred which is concealed in the bottom of thy heart against this worthy friend. Supply my place by thy fidelity towards him.’ At these words I came forward;—but, my God, what a sight! He seemed to have recovered all his powers. He grasped my hand, wept, and embraced me, but was unable to speak for a long time. At length, he exclaimed, ‘Alas, dear friend! I shall soon be no more—I am myself the cause—but forgive me—my last wish is, that Heaven may ever give thee friends like me. Thou art worthy of them, and happy are they who shall know thy worth, as I do. May Heaven grant that this land, which soon shall cover my bones, may be thy patrimony.’ The power of death interrupted his words, and deprived me of this dear and most valuable friend.

Loginow had paid the debt of nature a few minutes before. I determined to bury them immediately; but as I was desirous of providing that their bodies might not be disturbed, I begged Don Hieronimo to speak with his friends, the islanders, and request permission to bury them on their territory. To this they readily consented, and we performed their funerals with the greatest order. I fired twenty-one guns on this occasion, and ordered Andreanow to engrave the following words on a stone:—

‘Here lies Vasili Panow, a Russian gentleman of illustrious birth and merit, the faithful friend of Mauritius Benyowsky, who was treacherously slain, with two other companions, John Loginow and John Papow, by the inhabitants of this island, on the 29th of August 1771.’

After the burial, Don Hieronimo declared to me that his friends had determined to

avenge the death of my companions; and that, consequently, they would proceed to attack their neighbours. My associates joined in this proposal for vengeance, which had already begun by the massacre of our three Indian prisoners. While I was thus urged to come to a determination, the Spaniard informed me that the canoe we saw rowing to us was filled with our enemies. My associates waited for no orders, but rushed on board the boats, and attacked them. Their first discharge slew thirteen, and the others they immediately brought on board, and hung at the yard-arm. I represented to them that this execution was enough, and that it was prudent to terminate our warfare here; but alas! I preached to the deaf. They persisted in their determination to go in quest of the Indians, and make them feel their vengeance. As I saw I could make no impression on the minds of these enraged men, I was forced to promise to direct their proceedings, that they might not expose their lives to no purpose.

My resolution being once made, I entered seriously into the business. For this reason, I requested the Spaniard to guide my people towards the principal residence of the people, who had given so bad a reception to us; and as he promised to accompany us, I gave him a good carbine. He requested leave to bring with him a couple of hundred of his Indian friends; in answer to which, I represented that these poor people might become the victims of their good intentions, and be slain by my comrades for want of knowing them. However, he removed my objection by proposing that every one of our own party should wear a piece of white cloth on his left arm. This precaution appearing to me to be sufficient, I acquiesced in his demand, and he immediately went on shore to make his necessary preparations for the attack, which was appointed to be made at daybreak.

About seven in the evening, I caused our boats to tow the vessel towards the place of the massacre, where I anchored. At three, I ordered forty-six companions on shore, commanded by Messieurs, Crustiew, Kuzneczow, Baturin, Wynbladth, and Stephanow; and we waited for Don Hieronimo, who arrived at four. They then proceeded inland, and we heard nothing till about three-quarters after six, when the noise of musketry convinced me that the action had begun. Soon after I saw a number of islanders retiring towards a steep mountain; and then it was that my companions on board directed their pieces at them, and made a dreadful slaughter. These unhappy men, seeing themselves pressed on one side by my troops, and on the other by the islanders under the conduct of the Spaniard, threw themselves prostrate on the ground. I was then forced to declare to my whole party that I would fire upon them if they continued the massacre. On this message, the parties contented themselves with making prisoners, the number of which amounted to six hundred and forty-three. The killed were reckoned and proved to be eleven hundred and fifty-six. What surprised me the most was, that among the wounded and prisoners there were a great number of women armed in the same manner as the men.

Our expedition being thus ended, without any of our side having received the slightest wound, I went on shore, and the Indians presented me with the slaves. But as I refused to keep any of them, the Spaniard chose fifty and abandoned the rest to his friends. I contented myself with carrying all their arms on board. About ten o'clock, a party of our islander friends appeared with nearly two hundred women, children, and old men, whom they had made prisoners. The whole troop appeared to be overjoyed, and returned towards their habitations; but for my own part, being desirous of leaving a spot which presented nothing but the desolation of the village which our party had set on fire, I retired with my vessel to our first station.

According to the Report, eleven wounded.

Tuesday, August the 30th.—Having this day informed my friend the Spaniard of my wish to establish a camp on shore, he begged that I would permit him to make the necessary preparations. In consequence of my acceding to his request, he went on shore, and about 3 o'clock returned with some five hundred islanders, who began to erect huts for us. Several were finished before evening. I therefore went on shore myself with the women, and such of my people as were wounded, and a guard of sixteen men. At the close of the day, the islanders set a guard of forty men on our right flank, in order to secure us, as they said, from the attacks of the allies of the nation with whom we had been at war.

At daybreak, Don Hieronimo presented his family to me, with a great number of his friends, and likewise acquainted me that Huapo, a Prince of the country, was coming to express his gratitude for my having avenged his subjects upon the two nations who were their enemies. He informed me that Huapo lived in a town about thirty or thirty-two leagues distant inland; that the central parts of his dominions were well civilized, as was also the western part of the island; the eastern coast being occupied only by a savage people, among whom, however, he excepted the territory belonging to Huapo, which was inhabited by a gentle and industrious race. He added, that the Prince Huapo could muster twenty, or five and twenty thousand armed men, notwithstanding which he was disturbed in his capital, either by the Chinese party, or their allies.

After this information, he insinuated that it would be easy to conclude a treaty with this Prince, to form establishments in his country, the productions of which in gold, crystal, cinnabar, rice, sugar, cinnam, silk, and particularly the most beautiful kinds of wood, might form advantageous branches of commerce; in exchange for which they would receive a quantity of hardware, iron, and European cloth, to the profit of two per cent. to the sellers. Such was our conversation, when it was interrupted by the arrival of the Bamini or General. The Spaniard immediately hastened to meet him, and I caused my companions to honour him with three discharges of their musketry. When he had arrived near my barracks, he caused a tent to be put up, the ground underneath being covered with a rich carpet, upon which he seated himself, and invited me to do the same. The Spaniard stood up to attend us and serve as my interpreter.

After the first civilities, he demanded who I was; whence I came; what cause had determined me to land on the island of Formosa, etc. I replied to his questions by informing him that I was a military General who, having been made a prisoner of war, had effected my escape with a party of my people to return to our country; that having found the island of Formosa on my way, I anchored on the coast to procure water; but that the cruelty exercised by the two nations towards my companions demanded vengeance, which I had satisfied, and that I was now preparing to return to my native land.

He replied by requesting me to defer my departure till the arrival of Huapo, who, having heard such wonders of me, had determined to come in person to visit me; in consequence of which, he had himself been despatched with a party of troops to defend me against my enemies. To this compliment I replied, that I was truly sensible of the good disposition of the Prince; that I should be infinitely flattered by the honour of rendering him every service in my power; and that the precaution of sending his troops to defend me was superfluous, as no force could have any effect upon me. To this declaration I added the most flattering compliments to the Bamini, to whom I immediately made a present of a beautiful sabre; which, however, he politely refused by

observing that he would not accept it without the knowledge of his master. After this conversation, he regaled me with tea and tobacco; at the same time causing betel and the areca nut to be presented to me, with a small quantity of lime, all of which I chewed, but found to be most execrable.

The dress of this General consisted of a long red pantalon, Chinese half boots, a white shirt, with a vest of black, and a red surplice or outer garment, which had some buttons of coral set in gold. His head was covered with a bonnet of straw, exceedingly pointed, and the upper extremity was ornamented with horse hair dyed red. His arms consisted of a sabre, a lance, and a bow, with a quiver containing twenty-five arrows. The troops who attended him were entirely naked, except a piece of blue cloth round their middle, and their arms were lances and bows.

According to the Report, seven wounded.

Wednesday, August the 31st.—This day, our huts being finished, I landed all my people and, having raised two epaulements, I placed four pieces of cannon upon them, two on each side of my camp. No more than eight men remained on board as a guard.

Our repast was not of long duration. The Formosan General ate with astonishing rapidity, without speaking a word; and after he had devoured a quantity of rice, with some pieces of roast meat, he rose and began to chew his betel and smoke tobacco. As I was desirous of making my court to him, I followed his example, though my palate suffered for it. After dinner, we walked round my camp. When we came near a battery, Bamini requested me to order some cannon shot to be fired. I immediately gave orders to fix a butt at five hundred paces distance, and pointed the piece myself. At the second fire, the boat which the islanders had exposed as a butt was broken in pieces; at which the Formosan General testified the greatest surprise. To increase his surprise, I gave orders to my companions to take their arms, and fire at a plank at eighty paces distance. Very few of their shot missed; and as the plank was shot through, this exercise gave him great satisfaction, and induced him to spare no flattering expressions on the occasion.

About five in the evening, Bamini received a courier, who announced the approaching arrival of the Huapo. The General therefore left me, and went to prepare a camp. I embraced this opportunity to give orders for some fireworks, and at the same time give the Prince the diversion of seeing our military exercise. The islanders, in the meantime, had become so familiar with us as to leave their daughters freely in our camp; and it is remarkable, that there was no instance of pillaging committed by them, though our people were exceedingly negligent. I employed the night in making several different fusees, and a large serpent for the fireworks.

At daybreak, Don Hieronimo waited on me to acquaint me with the arrival of the Prince, and advised me to send two of my officers to meet him, instead of going myself. As he offered to serve as their interpreter, I immediately sent Messrs. Crustiew and Kuznecow, with six of our armed associates, to meet them. After their departure, I ascended a hill to see their camp prepared. I perceived that the arrangement was made after a certain order; the tent of the Prince being in the centre, and the others round about it. About eight o'clock I saw the troops march in, and at last the Prince arrived.

Their order was as follows: First came six horsemen with a kind of standard. These were followed by a troop of infantry with pikes. After these came thirty or forty horsemen, and another body of infantry with bows. A troop armed with clubs and hatchets came next; and last of all came the Prince, attended by twelve or fifteen officers mounted on small, but beautiful, horses. The rest of the troops came after

without any regular order. On their arrival at the camp, every one lodged where he could, and there was no guard kept.

About eleven o'clock, Don Hieronimo returned to invite me, in the name of the Prince, to come and pay my respects, and he brought several horses, though the distance was very short. I immediately mounted, and soon arrived at the Prince's tent. His appearance struck me at first sight. He was between thirty and thirty-five years of age, about five feet three inches high, and of a strong and vigorous make, with a lively eye and majestic carriage. Upon being introduced, I found Mr. Crustiew in great familiarity with him, who said to me in Russian, this youth would do our business, if we proposed to remain in Formosa; and his good disposition would permit him to assure me, that I might be King of the island whenever I pleased. He had scarcely finished speaking, when the Prince addressed me by our interpreter, assuring me that I was welcome on the island; and that he had heard, with the greatest satisfaction, of the manner we treated his enemies, for which he thought it proper to make his grateful acknowledgments. To this he added, that he had no doubt but that I was the person whose coming was announced by the Prophets, who had foretold that a stranger should arrive with strong men to deliver the Formosans from the Chinese yoke: in consequence of which he had determined to pay me a visit, and make an offer of all his power and forces to support and obey me. This commencement immediately changed my position, and the Spaniard insensibly led me to play a new part by his assuring the Huapo that I was a great Prince, who had visited Formosa with the intention of satisfying myself concerning the position of the Chinese, and to fulfil the wishes of the inhabitants of the island, by delivering them from the power of that treacherous people.

When this statement had been made, I thanked the Prince for his good intentions, and assured him that I should always make it a part of my glory to contribute to the happiness of a nation who were so fortunate as to be governed by a Prince of such wisdom and penetration as himself. But that upon the present occasion, having come only for the purpose of contracting alliances with the natives of the island, and more especially with the Huapo, I should explain myself more at large on another occasion; as these affairs and interests required to be discussed in private. The Prince appeared to be satisfied with this reply, and invited me to dine with him. Messrs. Crustiew and Kuzneczow were also of the party, as well as the Spaniard, whom the Prince took into favour, and caused him to be immediately clothed after the fashion of the country; giving him at the same time a belt and a sabre, as marks of distinction.

After dinner, the Prince proposed to visit my camp, and while our horses were getting ready, Mr. Crustiew went before to prepare the men to render due honour to the Prince, who was attended by nearly fifty officers on horseback, and his whole body of troops following him at the distance of about three hundred paces. When we came in sight of our camp, the cannonade began, and the astonished Sovereign was in great danger of sharing the fate of his officers, most of whom were thrown by the frisks and leaps of their horses, who were not accustomed to the noise, and could not be made to advance. We therefore dismounted, and arrived at the camp, where the associates saluted the Prince with three discharges of musketry, and the ceremony ended with twenty guns from the ship. This honourable and noisy reception gave him infinite pleasure, and as a mark of friendship, he put his hand in mine, and in this manner we proceeded to my tent, followed only by his General and three officers. He soon resumed his discourse, by giving a detail of the reasons which made him desirous of driving the Chinese out of the island; and he left me no reason to doubt that it was vanity which induced him to declare war

upon them. His inclination in this respect would certainly have been highly advantageous to me, if I had proposed to remain in the country; but as my determination was to return as speedily as possible to Europe, I thought it would be very unsafe to engage in enterprises which, even on the most happy event, would not make my return the less necessary. But, on the other hand, being well convinced, that by an alliance with this Prince I should be able to propose the establishment of a colony on the island to some European power, I resolved to do everything in my power to preserve his favourable disposition to me.

About four in the evening, the Prince expressed a desire to see the vessel. I accordingly ordered thirty of my companions to go on board immediately, and afterwards sent Mr. Crustiew to attend him; with directions to amuse him as long as possible, that I might have time to prepare my fireworks. All was ready at half-past seven, when I conducted the Prince to a place where he might see the whole fire, which began after the discharge of three great guns. He expressed his admiration at this exhibition, but informed me that the Chinese did the same. When the fireworks were ended, the Prince retired, after giving me his sabre and belt, as a token that he would share with me his power over the army, which amounted to eight thousand men, of whom only two hundred and fifty were horsemen.

As soon as the Prince was gone, I assembled a committee, in which I declared Mr. Stephanow our equal, and capable of being admitted to our confidence; and I gave orders to Mr. Crustiew to acknowledge him as such before the whole company. I also gave directions for preparing the presents for Prince Huapo, which consisted of two pieces of cannon I had brought as ballast, thirty good muskets, six barrels of gunpowder, two hundred iron balls, and fifty pounds of match. At daybreak, I detached Messrs. Crustiew, Wynbladth, and Kuzneczow, to inform the Prince of the presents; there being added to these presents thirty common Japanese sabres, one sabre very elegantly wrought for the Prince himself, and twenty others for his principal officers.

About eight o'clock, Don Hieronimo came to announce a visit on the part of the Prince, who came attended only by his confidential officers to receive the presents, and to treat with me on matters of the greatest importance. He arrived about ten, and as abundant opportunity was given me before to make inquiries of the good Spaniard, I had my answers in readiness. In the first place, the Prince caused a magnificent tent to be placed near mine, in which very rich carpets were laid; and here it was that he received me. He began the conversation by thanking me for the presents, and then proceeded to make the following demands:—

1. Whether I could leave part of my people behind to remain with him till my return?
2. Whether I could bring back a number of troops armed with muskets, and skilled in the management of cannon; and what would be the expense of maintaining one thousand armed men?
3. Whether I could procure for him vessels armed with cannon, and captains to command them?
4. Whether I would accept the concession he would make me of the province of Havangsin; which, with its cities, towns, and inhabitants, he would cede to me on condition that I should assist him with Europeans until the Chinese were driven out of his dominions, at which period he would yield up to me his whole kingdom?
5. And lastly, whether I should assist him in an expedition he was going to make against one of his neighbours, on condition that he should allow me a certain sum with other advantages?

6. That, having received my answer, he should propose to me to enter into a permanent treaty of friendship with him?

These questions appeared to me to be the work of Don Hieronimo; although he would never acknowledge that they sprang from his brain. My answer was as follows:—

1. That, having a very long voyage to make, I could not leave any of my people behind me.

2. That it was in my power to bring armed troops along with me; but that the transport of one thousand men would cost one thousand five hundred pounds of gold; and the maintenance of such a body of troops would cost yearly five hundred pounds of gold.

3. That I could procure armed vessels, such as he demanded; but that each vessel of twenty guns would cost fifty pounds of gold.

4. That I accepted the gift of the province of Havangsin he was desirous of bestowing on me on condition that I should assist him against the Chinese until they were driven out of his dominions, and that I was willing he should vest the Lordship of his kingdom in me.

5. That though the season pressed my departure, yet, with the view of testifying my attachment to Prince Huapo, I should be ready to assist him in his military operations without demanding any recompense, except what he should voluntarily bestow on my companions.

6. That I was ready to conclude a treaty of friendship with him, and hoped that, provided he acted with as much sincerity as myself, I should soon see him sovereign of the whole island of Formosa, and in a position to avenge himself and family on the Emperor of China for the persecutions they had formerly suffered from that potentate.

The Prince having listened with the greatest attention to my replies, caused them to be written out, whereupon I had his demands also put into written form. He then had the question put to me, whether my resolution was a fixed one; and upon my answering in the affirmative, he proposed that we should perform the ceremony of the oath; to which I consented with all my heart. During the time the preparations were making, I embraced the opportunity of presenting him with a choice pair of pistols. I did the same to his Generalissimo, and begged he would distribute the others to the most distinguished officers in the army.

Soon afterwards the Prince informed me that all was in readiness, and went out with me. We approached a small fire, upon which we threw several pieces of wood. A censer was then given to me, and another to him. These were filled with lighted wood, upon which we threw incense; and turning towards the East we made several fumigations. After this ceremony, the General read the questions and my answers; and whenever he paused, we turned towards the East and repeated the fumigation. At the end of the reading, the Prince pronounced imprecations and maledictions upon him who should break the treaty of friendship between us; Don Hieronimo directing me to do the same, and afterwards interpreting my words. After this we threw down our fire, and thrust our sabres into the ground up to the hilts. The assistants immediately brought a quantity of large stones, with which they covered our weapons, and the Prince then embraced me, and declared that he acknowledged me as his brother.

On our return to his tent, he caused a complete habit, made according to the fashion of the country, to be brought, with which I was clothed; and in this manner we set out for the camp of the Prince, where we were received with every demonstration of joy. On our arrival at his tent, dinner was served up in a more plentiful manner than usual;

and as the Prince requested the company of my officers, I caused them all to attend, except Mr. Baturin, who commanded in my absence. During the whole time of dinner, our ears were stunned with a very noisy kind of music, and the continued beating of drums. At our rising from table, I was not a little surprised to see the two pieces of cannon planted at the entrance of the camp. But Mr. Wynbladth informed me that my associates had paid the Prince the compliment of placing them there; at which he was exceedingly well satisfied. At four o'clock, all the principal officers being assembled, with the Bamini at their head, the Prince spoke to them for a long time; and having ended his discourse, he dismissed them. Half an hour afterwards, the Prince and myself, accompanied by the Spaniard, mounted our horses, and passed through the camp, where I was saluted by all the officers. The manner of salutation consisted of each officer touching with his left hand the stirrup of him whom he saluted. When we had made several turns in the camp, we returned to the Prince's tent, who urged me to come to a determination to accompany him in his enterprise; and, as I had resolved to assist him, I thought proper to make some inquiries into the subject. The information I received was as follows: The Prince Hapuasingo, sovereign of a neighbouring territory, who was allied and tributary to the Chinese, had demanded, in consequence of a private quarrel of individuals, that Huapo should put several of his own subjects to death; and as Huapo did not choose to comply with his wishes, this neighbouring Prince made war upon him, in which Huapo was defeated and compelled to pay a considerable fine to Hapuasingo: and although he had fulfilled the treaty, yet the Chinese Governor made further demands, on pretence of the expenses he had been at in bringing his troops into the field; upon which plea the Chinese, with the assistance of Hapuasingo, had usurped one of his finest and most fruitful provinces. Considering therefore the present as a favourable moment to avenge himself on his neighbour and the Chinese, he hoped with my help to bring his wishes to a happy termination. He informed me, moreover, that the army of Hapuasingo did not consist of above five or six thousand men; and that the Chinese who could come to his assistance would number about one thousand, of whom not more than fifty carried muskets. Hapuasingo's capital was not more than a day and a half's march from the place we were then at, and the roads were very good.

Upon this information, I promised my ally to maintain his quarrel, and required no more than one day to get ready, and sixty horses for my companions and their equipage. My promise filled the Prince with the greatest joy, and induced him to declare Don Hieronimo his general of cavalry. I thanked him for this mark of confidence; but as I had need of him to serve as an interpreter, I begged the Prince to cause him to be declared in the meantime a principal officer, bearing the Prince's orders and mine, which had to be implicitly obeyed. The Prince promised that everything should be done according to my desire; and then I quitted him, to go to my camp with the Spaniard. On my return, I immediately assembled my intimate friends, to whom I explained my interests and intention, which statement was supported by the assurance of our being able to establish a colony hereafter on this island, under the guarantee and friendship of the Prince Huapo. But as it was of the utmost importance that the company should consent, I directed my friends to make a request to me to carry his project into execution. At daybreak, the effect of this stratagem exceeded my expectation. When I came out of my tent, or rather barrack, I saw two deputies, who, in the name of the company, requested me to permit a certain number of them to assist the good Prince Huapo in his war against the Chinese. On receiving this message, I assembled the company, to whom I said that I thought it improper to comply with their

demand, because it was an absurdity for us to interfere on such slight ground in this quarrel, so much as to send some of our number to assist in this enterprise; and that an undertaking of this kind might effectually destroy all our hopes respecting the island, as it would be sufficient for this purpose, that the Prince might be beaten. My speech altered the countenances of my companions, but I soon revived their spirits by declaring that I was no less sensible than themselves of the importance of the services we might render to Huapo; but as I was convinced that our whole reputation in the place depended on this measure, I begged them to choose forty resolute men of their number, with whom I would myself go upon this expedition. On this declaration they demanded to cast lots, and assured me that they unanimously approved of my determination. I therefore left the care of regulating the lots to Mr. Crustiew, and nominated the officers myself, as follows:—

The Left.	Centre.	The Right.
Mr. Kuzneczw.	Myself.	Mr. Wynbladth.
Mr. Bocfarew.	Mr. Stephanow.	Mr. Baturin.
13 Associates.	Mr. Sibaew.	13 Associates.
	16 Associates.	
Total, 15	Total, 18	Total, 15

After having fixed and declared this order, I caused ammunition to be distributed, and ordered four patereros, which belonged to the shallop, to be got ready, with sixty rounds of ball, and twenty of scrap-iron for each, and with a view that these pieces might be more effectually serviceable, I caused piquets to be shod with iron to drive into the ground, and provided each with a socket at top to fix the piece. This commission was very ingeniously performed by Mr. Baturin. About ten we received sixty horses; but as eight more were wanting to transport our patereros and ammunition, I despatched Don Hieronimo, who brought them. This day we all dined together; and after having placed the command in my absence in the hands of Mr. Crustiew, with Messrs. Gurcfinin, Meder, and Czurin under him, I took my leave of them.

Thursday, September the first.—On the island of Formosa, marching to assist the Prince Huapo in his war. At four P.M. I entered the camp of the Prince, who immediately struck his tents and prepared to follow me, after having appointed one hundred and twenty horsemen and four hundred infantry to clear the way. We did not halt till eleven o'clock near a brook called Halavith. At four in the morning we renewed our march; and at seven Don Hieronimo, as we were descending a mountain, made me take notice of a small town belonging to Huapo; but as we left it near a league on our right, I could not judge of its extent with any precision. Its environs, however, seemed to be well cultivated. At nine we halted to refresh our horses by feeding them with rice; and, after having pitched our camp on the border of a wood, we remained there till four in the afternoon, to avoid marching in the noon-day heat, which was extreme.

Friday, Sept. the second.—At four in the afternoon we resumed our march, and continued our progress till ten at night; at which time we stopped in a valley, where we received twenty oxen loaded with rice, a quantity of fruit, and several cakes of a kind of brandy. At three in the morning we set out again and continued till nine, when we came to a village with a pond of water near it, in which we caught some excellent fish. As I found this village abandoned by its inhabitants, I imagined it belonged to the enemy;

and the information I received from the Spaniard confirmed this opinion. From this I had no doubt but that Hapuasingo was apprised of our invasion; and for that reason I wished to confer with the Prince, and as he followed me at the distance of only one march, I thought it proper to wait for him.

Saturday, Sept. the third.—Encamped near a deserted village. The Prince Huapo did not appear till near five o'clock. I took the liberty to remonstrate with him for his slowness; which he excused by representing that his troops, being loaded with provisions, could not march so quickly. At three in the morning we resumed our march; and at half-past four, being in the van with Don Hieronimo, we observed thirty or forty horsemen before us. I immediately advanced with six associates and the Spaniard. They paid no attention till they had us within their reach, and then, turning about, they came on full gallop with their lances in their hands. Their courage was, however, not a little disconcerted by the first report of our firearms, which dismounted two of them, whom we made prisoners. From them we learned, by the examination of Don Hieronimo, that we should soon see the main army advancing towards us, and that we were then at no greater distance from the capital than six hours' march.

The rest of my troops having joined me, we continued our march without seeing anything remarkable, except some villages on our right and left, and a prodigious quantity of cattle. As we were now very near the enemy, I pitched my camp to advantage, and fixed my patereros for its defence. About noon we perceived a troop of about a hundred horse, who approached to examine us at leisure; which I permitted, with the intention of familiarising them with our firearms.

Sunday, Sept. the fourth.—At two o'clock we observed another body of upwards of fifty horsemen on our right; and at last a great number of troops amounting at least to ten or twelve thousand men, but very few cavalry. As I made no movement, these troops began to prepare for the attack; and at the same time I put my men in readiness to keep up a continued fire. I was desirous of working the patereros myself, and for that reason had them brought near the centre. About half-past three a party of about twenty horse approached to assault an outpost which I had set. As soon as they came within reach, I fired a few shots at them, which had no other effect than that of intimidating them. They soon, however, recovered from their apprehensions, and disposed their whole troop to attack me, but their reception was so warm, that near two hundred were slain. This loss, instead of checking their impetuosity, appeared to increase their fury. They came on a second time; and, after very considerable loss, were forced at last to retreat. I pursued them for two hours, when the approach of night obliged me to halt.

The Prince did not come up with us till eleven, and a council was held, wherein it was determined to attack the enemy in our turn. At two I disposed our troops in order, and placed a division of my comrades on each wing, while myself, with my own division, occupied the centre. At three we marched towards the enemy; and when we had arrived very near them, we waited only for the break of day to commence the attack. At three-quarters after four the attack began; but the noise of our patereros and muskets was sufficient to put them to flight. This loss was so much the more considerable, as they had no thought of providing for a retreat. The greatest number retired into the town. The spirit of the troops of Huapo likewise carried them before us, in which situation the enemy, no longer intimidated by our firearms, turned upon them and began a dreadful slaughter, which however ceased as soon as we came up and could make use of our arms.

While the battle began in the city, Don Hieronimo proposed to send fifty horse to the other side of the town to prevent Hapuasingo from escaping. I immediately gave orders for twenty of my associates, under Messrs. Stephanow and Baturin, to perform his office; and they were so fortunate as to make Hapuasingo prisoner, with four of his women, with whom he was endeavouring to make his escape. This capture decided the whole quarrel; for he promised to comply with all the demands of Huapo, on condition that the lives of himself and family should be spared. When he came before us, I declared that he was my prisoner, and that, so far from being desirous of putting him to death, I should wish to cultivate his friendship, on condition of his giving every satisfaction to Huapo, who was justly irritated. About eleven, all the noise of war having subsided, I caused inquiry to be made after Huapo, in order to put Hapuasingo into his hands; but as the Prince was desirous of being a spectator, instead of an actor, he did not return till about noon, at which time I delivered Hapuasingo to him, on condition that he should not suffer any personal injury; and then I thought it proper to encamp on the other side of the town.

Monday, Sept. the fifth.—In camp near the town of Xiaguamay, on the island of Formosa. At three, I received a visit from Huapo, accompanied by Bamini, who overwhelmed me with protestations of friendship: and, as I understood that all the operations of war were ended, I declared to the Prince my intention to return, and set sail, as early as possible. This information was very unpleasant to him; but as he was convinced that he should not succeed in attempting to dissuade me from my purpose, he contented himself with entreating me to return soon, which I solemnly promised to do. This day we regulated the order of my departure, and the manner in which the province was to supply me with provisions pursuant to the order of the Prince. In the evening, Don Hieronimo requested me to leave one of my companions to assist him in his functions. On his pressing entreaties, I persuaded young Loginow, whose brother had been slain, to fix his residence there till our return, in order to learn the language, and assist us in our future operations.

The next morning I received the Prince's presents, consisting of some fine pearls, eight quintals of silver, and twelve pounds of gold. He apologised for the smallness of the present on account of his distance from home, and because my precipitate departure prevented him from making it more considerable. But with regard to myself, he sent me a box, containing one hundred pieces of gold, weighing in all thirteen pounds and a quarter, and gave orders to Bamini to accompany us with one hundred and twenty horsemen to provide for our subsistence. Don Hieronimo likewise attended me as interpreter. I gave orders for our departure at four in the afternoon.

Tuesday, Sept. the sixth.—After renewing our oaths and engagements with the Prince Huapo, we took our leave at three; and I had the satisfaction to see that he did not part with us without tears. At four we began our march; and at the moment that my troop filed off, I made the Prince a present of my patereros, with the greatest part of the ammunition we had brought; at the same time I requested that he would appoint our companion Loginow—whom we had left behind—his General of artillery. This he promised in his presence. Our march was easy and pleasant, for we were mounted on good horses, and went by the most direct road; and we were plentifully supplied with provisions at the places where we halted.

Wednesday, Sept. the seventh.—We continued our march through a pleasant and well cultivated country, watered with fine rivers, and very populous, as we could judge by the small distance from one village to another. Whenever we rested, we were

surrounded by a multitude of people, who brought us presents. Their good will was, however, chargeable to us by the returns we made. This day I made an offer to Bamini of part of the gold and silver I had received from the Prince; but he politely refused to accept it, saying that he was contented to possess my friendship, which he begged I, on my part, would cherish till my return.

Thursday, Sept. the eighth.—At three P.M. we at length arrived at our camp very much fatigued and exhausted with the excessive heat we had suffered, as there had been no rain during the whole of our expedition. General Bamini, after having given the necessary orders to the chief inhabitants of the country respecting our subsistence, took leave of me. He embraced all my associates one after the other; and at the instant of his departure, he put a collar of pearls into my hands on the part of the Prince, and a rich tent, with a carpet of superior workmanship.

After the departure of Bamini, I received the congratulations of my companions, and saw with the greatest satisfaction that Mr. Crustiew had disposed of everything in the best manner. In the evening, being desirous of giving my companions a mark of liberality, I distributed among them the whole of the silver and gold by weight; and I put the pearls and the box of gold which had been privately given to me, into the hands of my intimate friends, the officers and women. When the associates were informed that I had kept nothing for myself, they proposed each to give me a half of their possessions; but I refused and begged them to preserve the whole, and to reserve their generous disposition for some future occasion, if I should find it necessary to apply to them for assistance; in which case I should not scruple to apply to them for a loan.

This conduct on my part seemed to elevate their minds, and gave me a perfect empire over them. And at this moment I was convinced that, though a man of genius may avail himself of his superiority over common minds, yet an act of generosity at the proper time is worth a thousand speeches, however eloquent.

After the company had separated, none remained but my intimate friends, who endeavoured to persuade me to fix my residence at Formosa, in the province which the Prince had ceded to me. They represented that the associates being this day witnesses of my mild command, and guided by the most profound respect towards me, would be sufficient to form a colony; and that we might send *via* China, at some future time, certain emissaries into Europe to engage some foreign power in our interests, or at all events to raise recruits. Their opinions were so well supported, that at last I could make no other objection than my own peculiar interests; namely, that I had a wife who loved and was attached to me by the bond of marriage, and who probably at that time had a child, as she was pregnant at the time of my departure. But, in order to conceal my own private sentiments, though I communicated as much to them as I thought necessary, I did not fail to represent that a person on the spot could do more than a thousand written messages; and that, therefore, upon my return to Europe, I might reasonably expect to obtain the favour of some court, as we could assure them of the greatest advantages; such as that of forming an establishment in the Aleuthes islands to carry on the rich commerce of furs; to open the trade of Japan; to form an establishment on the islands Lequeio; and lastly, to establish a European colony on the island of Formosa. I expressed my firm assurance that these propositions would insure our happy success; and that in case the European courts should abandon us, we should always have it in our power to carry our project into execution by the fitting out of private vessels. This reasoning at last assured them, and they requested permission to explain it to the whole

company; for they assured me that every individual was resolved to demand my consent not to quit the island of Formosa.

After having gained this essential point, I retired to rest, which was very necessary to me, and did not awake till ten the next morning. When I arose, I received the deputies of the company who, having been informed by Mr. Crustiew of my intention, had paid respect to it, though they had already made a different determination themselves; for which reason they confined their request to that of desiring that I would not quit the island until the twelfth of the month, in order that they might have time to recover themselves from the fatigues and difficulties which they had undergone. I granted their request with so much the more readiness, as in reality the fatigue of our march had been excessive, and the good conduct of my companions was such as led me to comply with every request they might make. I therefore promised to remain on the island until the twelfth; and my consent was followed by the most lively expressions of gratitude on their part. This day the whole company dined together.

Friday, Sept. the ninth.—After dinner, I gave orders for putting an end to all work, that all the associates might follow their recreations, except a guard of six on board, and four on shore. The officers likewise seized the opportunity to make some excursions into the country; and I occupied myself in drawing up some notes respecting the project of forming a colony on the island. These were as follows:

Some notions and details respecting the island of Formosa, and the plan of forming a European colony there:—

The island of Formosa is called by the Chinese Touaiouai, and by the natives Paccachimba. It is one of the finest and richest islands in the known world.

The soil, in an infinity of places, produces two harvests of rice and grain, with a great variety of trees, plants, animals, and birds. Cattle, sheep, goats, and poultry, are very abundant here. This island is interspersed by great rivers, lakes, and waters, abounding with fish. It has many commodious harbours, bays, and sounds on its coasts. Its mountains produce gold, silver, cinnabar, white and brown copper, and likewise pit coal.

The island of Formosa is divided into eight principalities, three of which, situated on the western side, are governed by the Chinese, and peopled by the same nation. Every year an ambassador arrives from China to receive tribute from these three provinces, which is raised by a poll-tax; and the Emperor of China keeps five hundred vessels for the purpose of annually exporting this tribute, which consists of large quantities of rice, wheat, millet, salt, beans, raw silk, cotton, gold, silver, and mercury. The Governors of these provinces continually extend their possessions, either by alliance or intrigue, in such a manner that they have obtained several towns and districts from their neighbours.

The inhabitants of this island are civilised, except those who live on the eastern coasts. They are of effeminate disposition, without any marks of courage; given to indolence, and are indebted to the goodness of the climate for their preservation, as the soil supports them with very little labour. If we except the three Chinese provinces the mines on the island are no where worked. They are contented to wash the sand to extract the gold out of it; and if they find pearls in the shells, it is by mere accident. The common people of Formosa are clothed only in blue cotton cloth; the towns are built in the plains; and the villages are upon the mountains. The houses of people of condition are extensive and beautiful, but plain. Those of the people are mere huts, and they are not permitted to build better. Most of them are covered with straw and reeds, and are divided or separated by rows of palisadoes; their moveables are nothing more than what necessity has rendered indispensable. In the houses of men of rank

there are adjoining rooms, in which they eat, receive strangers, and divert themselves. The apartments of the women are always separate, and apart from the house. Though they are built within the court, no one is permitted to approach them. In this country there are no inns for travellers; but those who are on a journey seat themselves down near the first house they come to, and the master of the house soon after receives them and entertains them with rice and some flesh meat, with tobacco and tea.

The only commerce of the inhabitants of Formosa is with some Japanese barques, which touch here, and with the Chinese.

In each province there are five or six towns, which have establishments in instructing youth in reading and writing. Their characters for writing and for the expression of numbers are as difficult as those of the Chinese. Their pronunciation is sometimes quick and elevated, and at other times slow and grave. They obtain their books from China. There are reported sorcerers or diviners here, who have a great influence over the people. Their religion consists in adoring one God, and in the performance of good offices to their neighbours. The provinces which are not conquered, are governed by Princes or Kings, who have an absolute power over their subjects. None of these subjects, without exception of even the great men, have any ownership in the land. They receive the advantages of their fields subject to the good pleasure of the Prince, as well as the gains they derive from the multitude of their slaves. Some of the chief people have as many as one, or even two, thousand slaves. The princes always make up their councils of their principal military officers, and keep their troops on foot, divided into four, five, or six divisions, which remain constantly on the frontiers. The body guards of the sovereigns consist of no more than five or six hundred men, born of the principal families among their subjects. The ancient soldiers are employed in the command of towns or villages, for there is no village in Formosa which is not commanded by a soldier, and each commander is obliged to present annually to his superior a list of the people under his jurisdiction. Formosa being surrounded by the sea, these Princes constantly maintain a certain number of vessels, each of which has two masts and twenty-four oars; they do not use cannon, but make use of artificial fireworks.

A plan for forming a colony on the island Formosa:—

Previous to entering into the project of establishing a colony, it will be necessary to mention a few maxims.

1. Before any attempt is made to found a colony, it must be previously decided whether its establishment be intended to be made upon a military or mercantile footing; and whether it be most proper to cultivate the commerce of exchange, of economy, or of industry.

2. In the formation of a colony, it is necessary to conciliate the benevolence, the confidence, and the attachment of the natives of the country. When a superiority is acquired over their minds, their own proper impulses will render the colonists masters of the country; and in this case it will be easy to establish the constitution intended to be adopted, or to set on foot that kind of commerce which is proposed. The constitution may likewise be maintained with very little force, and the country defended against the attempts of foreigners.

3. It is necessary that the basis of the colony be military, animated by glory, for in that case it may conquer, but will never be conquered.

4. The salubrity of the place of establishment must be ascertained, and no labour neglected that may tend to procure this advantage so necessary to humanity.

5. It is required to make sure of the possession of good harbours, fertile grounds, and

the course of the principal rivers, to comprehend all the branches of commerce ; to carry cultivation to its utmost extent ; and to facilitate by these two branches the different departments of industry.

6. In an infant colony it is proper to avoid fortifications of the first order, and to establish the chief place in the inner part of the country ; where, consequently, it will be out of the reach of any sudden stroke. In this manner, when a colony is master of the country, the first attack of an enemy, and the capture of a post established near the sea-coast, will not decide the possession.

7. The multiplicity of councils, and the number of people employed, must be reduced to the smallest number which are required for the management of the affairs of the colony.

8. Luxury must be banished ; but it will be proper to establish external marks of grandeur, according to the different ranks of citizens who form the colony ; as by this means emulation will be encouraged.

9. Industry must be encouraged and recompensed by gradual transition from one class of citizens to another, and by procuring to the colonists the sale of their commodities. The money which is thus dispersed among the colonists in the purchase of productions, always returns to government in the course of exchanges.

10. Restraint of conscience must be banished and prohibited for ever. Happy is he who shall establish toleration and the belief of only one God.

11. A code of laws should be made in favour of slavery ; in which, means should be appointed to enable this unfortunate order of men to arrive, by the force of labour and industry, to the rank of free citizens.

12. Population being the only true foundation of national force, it will be necessary that government should encourage it by rewards, and preserve it by law. It will succeed by punishing libertinism severely, and by granting privileges and gratifications to fathers and mothers who shall have presented to the State a number of children, the issues of their marriages. It is on these principles that I should wish to establish a colony on the island of Formosa.

In the event of European power accepting my offer, I should demand :—

1. That this power should confine itself to the suzerainty ; and, on this principle, it should possess no other advantages but such as are derived from subsidies, and the commerce of its European subjects.

2. Conformably to this plan, I should require three armed vessels ; one of four hundred and fifty tons, another of two hundred and fifty tons, and another of one hundred and fifty tons, with provisions for eighteen months.

3. And likewise permission to raise a body of different classes of workmen, to the number of twelve hundred men, with the necessary officers whom I should choose.

4. That I should be furnished with a necessary quantity of arms, ammunition, and articles of trade I should choose to the value of one million two hundred thousand livres.

5. That for the space of three years, permission should be granted me to raise recruits to the number of four hundred men yearly, and the transport of two hundred foundling children of both sexes annually.

6. That permission should be granted to all the subjects of the sovereign power to trade with the new colony.

7. That permission should be granted me to establish warehouses and factories in its colonies.

These articles being granted, I would stipulate :—

1. That, as a grateful acknowledgment, the new colony should furnish a certain sum of money annually to the power thus protecting it.
2. That the colony should assist its protector in every war, by furnishing a stipulated number of soldiers and seamen.
3. That no merchandise or objects of European luxury should be admitted into the new colony, except the product or manufacture of the dominions of its protector.
4. That the whole sum advanced in fitting out armed vessels, with the ammunition and objects of commerce, on account of the new colony, should be entered into a regular charge; that the interest should be paid during the first three years, and the capital reimbursed in the fourth.

These stipulations being thus fixed, I would repair to Port Maurice, where, conformably to the treaty entered into with Prince Huapo, I would disembark; and after having established a military post, I would repair to the capital of the province which has been ceded to me.

Saturday, September the 10th.—The associates came to work of themselves, and began to load the vessel. This day Don Hieronimo entered into an oath with me before the whole company, in which he engaged to support the favourable disposition of the Prince towards me. I made him a present of several Latin books, and some arms.

Sunday, September the 11th.—I gave orders for our embarkment, and the natives of the country assisted us with the utmost readiness, with every thing in their power. This day Mr. Stephanow asked leave to go on shore, but I durst not consent, as I had reason to fear the wickedness of his character, which certainly might have destroyed all our credit and interest on this island. But as I was not desirous that the refusal should come from me, I promised to explain his wish to the company; and promised that the moment they gave their consent, I would make no objection. I gave orders for the immediate calling together of the company on board in the morning to decide on this affair; but Stephanow was scarcely gone, before I assembled a committee, to whom I had communicated his intention. Every individual, urged by the same motives as myself, opposed his purpose; and several among them undertaking to induce the whole company to refuse him, I employed this night in writing out instructions for Don Hieronimo, and at day-break I went on board with him. After I had taken a formal leave of the islanders, at ten I put a letter for the Prince Huapo into the hands of Don Hieronimo, with instructions for Mr. Loginow—who at half-past four took leave of us—and returned on shore. Immediately after his departure, the company assembled and deliberated upon the proposition of Mr. Stephanow. Their determination was that it was impossible to suffer any other person to go on shore, and more especially Mr. Stephanow, who had given so many proofs of his evil intentions. This unhappy man, urged by despair and rage, then attempted to throw himself overboard; and by his outrageous deportment reluctantly obliged me to order him into confinement. In the meantime, we weighed anchor, and set sail under the two top-sails, with the boats ahead, as well as five or six of the country boats to be ready to come to our assistance, as the road was difficult.

The Report shows all to be in good health, and the vessel making no water.

Monday, September the 12th.—A light breeze at ESE. with fair clear weather. When we had got to the mouth of the harbour, it fell calm; which obliged me to tow the vessel out by the boats, where I anchored in sixteen fathom water. At sunset the wind sprung up at SE. and I set sail, and stood to the northward, in order to double the most northern extremity of the island of Formosa. At night, the wind slackened, and we

saw many fires on shore. At eight A.M. we discovered two islands ahead, with a channel between them of sufficient extent to induce me to sail through it. At eleven, saw a vessel at the distance of three leagues to the northward, and prepared to chase her; but finding she outsailed us, I gave up the attempt.

According to the Report, all in good health, the ship making no water.

Lat. $24^{\circ} 15' N$. Long. $324^{\circ} 08'$. Wind SE. Current S. to N. Course NNE.

E. Explanatory Notes.¹

Akau, page 214, and **Akou** on page 201.—Grothe's *Archief* gives *Acouw* and *Akauw* as the spelling. It was a village in the southern region, and survives to-day in the market-town of Akau, which is about twelve miles ENE. from Pi-thau, the capital of the small Hong-soa county. No trace can be found of the missionary work carried on by the Dutch there in former years, and a Chinese population now occupies that place where the aborigines were once in full possession. It may be noted, however, that as a result of operations commenced by the English Presbyterian Mission fully thirty years ago, there are now over three hundred Christians resident in Akau.

Asok, page 233.—This name is preserved in a mountain hamlet of the present-day Chiang-hoa region, but very probably the village referred to here lay much further west; it being a usual thing for villagers who were forced to leave ancestral places of abode on the western seaboard, to cherish the old familiar names, and apply them to their places of retreat in the hill country.

Ay, p. 74.—The small island off Banda, where Mr. Coyett spent years of cruel banishment for surrendering Tayouan to Koxinga. Long after his release, the hut in which he lived was pointed out, and heartrending stories were told of the lonely sufferings he endured. It is still desirable that one of his own capable fellow-countrymen should undertake a vindication of the character and conduct of the last Dutch Governor of Formosa. The materials for doing so still exist.

Bakloan, p. 9 *et seq.*—This village is often mentioned as having been near Sinkan, Mattau, and Soulang; and following Dutch writers, the British Admiralty chart places it a few miles north-east from the last-named of these; a position which is quite in keeping with all that has been written about it. In his *Island of Formosa*, Davidson (p. 3 of Index) uses the rarer spelling *Baccaluang*, and adds the name *Baksa* in brackets as an identification; but that is surely a mistake if he means the *Baksa* twenty-six miles east from Tainan city, and even if reference be made to a village of the same name which once existed a little to the south of Hm-kang-boe.

Bort, p. 85.—In 1662, this Admiral of the Dutch navy was sent to counteract the high-handed proceedings of Koxinga, and a full account of his negotiations with the Chinese and Tartar grandees to that end is given in Ogilby's *Atlas Chinensis*. Little progress was made during this first expedition, chiefly owing to Oriental cautiousness and hypocrisy. At last, however, Bort acted on his own responsibility and commenced an indiscriminate attack on the Formosan war-junks; but this also proving rather a fruitless task, he soon after returned, without bringing about any real change in the situation. A second expedition was fitted out the following year, and joined the Tartars in driving out Koxinga's forces from Amoy; a movement which so crippled the Island-

¹ The plan of inserting asterisks throughout the foregoing text was departed from, and these Explanatory Notes stand by themselves, the words commented upon being placed in heavy type at the beginning of the paragraphs in alphabetical order.

Chief that he, in turn, wished to league himself with Bort against the Tartars. But the Dutch commander had other designs on hand, for he brought his entire fleet across the channel and captured Kelung, where he left Captain de Bitter with two hundred soldiers in charge, and then set out on his return voyage. After occupying Kelung in a tentative sort of way for about five years, the Dutch finally withdrew from Formosa.

Cambell, W., p. 498.—This 'Scottishman' seems to have been the first European who wrote a detailed account of Formosa, and the *Relation*, for which he was paid by the English East India Company, is said to be still preserved among the mass of its *Un-arranged Papers*. His acquaintance with the island appears to have been gained prior to the Dutch occupation, but whether during his service with the Netherlands, or before that time, it is not now possible to say. Moreover, both from the liberal honorarium he received (about the same sum which was paid to his contemporary Milton for *Paradise Lost*), and the prolonged discussions of the Court of Directors, we may safely infer that his written account must have contained a considerable amount of information. One letter states that Cambell departed on a visit to Scotland after bringing the matter under notice of the Directors in London. It was after returning from his journey to the north he learned of the decision come to, namely, that while his proposals were regarded as being perfectly reasonable, the affairs of the Company would not then bear the strain of establishing a new factory in Formosa.

Candidius, Rev. G., p. 78.—This, the first ordained missionary to Formosa, was evidently a man of great good sense and earnestness, besides being very humble-minded, and filled with high ideals of the work in which he was engaged. It is to him the present writer refers in the following note¹:—'I left Po-sia on the morning of 16th May 1873. There was some little difficulty in inducing a small party to accompany me by the way I arranged to come out. I had often heard about the Tsui-hoan—or Water Savages—and their lake, and the present seemed about as favourable an opportunity as any for seeing that part of the country. Accordingly, we came out from Po-sia through the southern range of mountains, and reached the settlements of the Tsui-hoan on the evening of that day we set out, and there feasted our eyes in gazing on the only good-sized lake in Formosa. It is the one referred to in Swinhoe's notes, and as this was the first European visit to it, my strong inclination to find a name for this beautiful sheet of calm, sweet, life-giving water could not suggest one more suitable than that of Candidius. He was the pioneer Dutch missionary to Formosa during the first half of the seventeenth century, and we can still learn enough about him to desire that he should be held in respectful and loving remembrance. Like the waters of Lake Candidius, then, may that pure Gospel he preached yet become a source of quiet effective blessing to the people of this lovely region!' The lake was afterwards visited by Consuls Bullock and Allen, who refer to it in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1877 and 1878. Photographs of it have also been frequently reproduced, and it is noted both in the latest Japanese map of Formosa and in Davidson's recent book. Lake Candidius is about two miles broad by four miles long from north to south, and its surface stands some 2366 feet above sea-level. It lies about twenty-eight miles in a straight line east from the market-town of Po-tau, and about fourteen miles south of the Po-sia Plain.

Canoes.—The statement made on p. 257 that hollowed-out canoes were the only craft in early use, cannot be understood unless the condition of things at that time be taken into account. Aborigines subject to the Dutch occupied the territory now overrun by

¹ *Missionary Success in Formosa*, vol. ii. p. 327.

Chinese settlers, and their villages existed in clearings along the thickly wooded western side of the island. But they were driven gradually into the hill country, and as the precipitous eastern side of the island gave little or no outlet for boats, the construction and use of them came to be lost arts—an exception to this occurring among the Water-savages near Lake Candidius, who still carry on their fishing work in dug-outs. It may be added that the more practical Chinese in Formosa now make cheap and very serviceable fishing rafts by lashing together six or eight long bamboo poles with rattan, and by thrusting a thin board down through the two middle poles to serve as a keel while sailing; those catamarans being easily made, light, and never in any danger of sinking.

Catechisms, pp. 336-379.—In making a short note here on the place which the Dutch missionaries gave to education and to Christian books in their work, the first thing to observe is that they had more serious linguistic difficulties to face than those which are now to be met with in western Formosa. At present, there are over two millions of Chinese settlers in this part of the island, and amongst them the Christian literature produced at older stations on the mainland is quite available; whereas the Dutch had to confine their work to the aboriginal inhabitants, whose Malay-Polynesian language splits up into so many widely divergent dialects that neighbouring tribes are often unable to communicate without interpreters. And yet, there is evidence to show that not fewer than five of those dialects were reduced to written form by Candidius, Junius, Happart, Gravius, van Breen, Vertrecht, and their fellow-workers. This, too, was only preparatory to the large amount of school teaching that was carried on from the very beginning of the Mission, both amongst adults and children. An edition of Junius's *Reading-book* was printed at Delft in 1645; but before that time, a number of other books appear to have been in circulation, including Commenius's *Door to Knowledge* and Aldegonde's *Catechism*, it being then also the custom to supply the various preaching stations with *ms.* sermons which could be read in the absence of the clergyman or native preacher. Another significant thing in this connection is that, of the numerous manuscripts in Romanised Formosan which have lately been found in the island, some are dated about the beginning of A.D. 1800, thus proving that the arts of reading and writing introduced by the Dutch were handed down from generation to generation by the people themselves.

Church organisation, pp. *passim*.—As regards organisation in the early Dutch Mission, the following records indicate that the methods of the Reformed Church were observed, but under certain important modifications which the local conditions gave rise to. For example, elders and deacons were appointed over congregations, while frequent reference is made to the Tayouan Consistory, and to all these as being controlled by decisions of the higher ecclesiastical Court or Classis of Amsterdam. However, the peculiarity of the position is better seen on considering the status and work assigned to the Dutch clergymen in Formosa—their Mission there having never reached the stage of ordaining natives to the sacred office. Of course, the main object of the Dutch East India Company of that time was to carry on profitable trade in the colonies or factories where they were established; but from want of funds and suitable men, they were unable to appoint trading agents familiar with the language, or civil officers for collecting taxes, or police, throughout those regions over which lordship was exercised. Accordingly, clergymen were sent out to Formosa, and their duties soon came to assume a threefold character: (1) by acting as chaplains to the Dutch officials, soldiers, and families who were resident there; (2) as interpreters, civil officers in collecting taxes, selling hunting licences, or in buying deer-skins and other produce of the country; and (3) as missionaries, in trying to establish and build up Christian congregations amongst the natives. A

further item to take into account here is that the leading local Consistory or ecclesiastical Court at Tayouan was not an independent body even in many of the details of Church work, its decisions having to be submitted to the Formosa civil Council for approval, modification, or entire rejection. Hence, this Council decided such questions as locating the clergymen to their posts of service, the nature of the teaching to be given in Church schools, and the suspension or dismissal of unworthy clergymen—although those latter decisions were usually referred for final settlement to the principal Council at Batavia, and sometimes to the Supreme Council of Seventeen Directors who held their court in Holland. The limitations under which those early missionaries carried on their work will thus be seen; that, on the one hand, they were continually exposed to the risk of being interfered with by civil officers who might have no sympathy whatever with their work; and, on the other, were weighted with secular duties to an extent which made it impossible for them to be whole-hearted and thoroughly effective in their missionary service. They made continual protest about being hampered in this way.

Devil of Formosa, p. 255.—The animal to which Struys gives this expressive name is doubtless the pangolin or scaly ant-eater. It is still met with in Formosa; for, some years ago, the writer sent a live specimen from the inland village of Lai-sia to the Zoological Collection at Berlin. Its flesh is considered a great delicacy by the natives.

Dolatok river, p. 112.—This is now sometimes referred to as the Tamsui river, from the name of the country which it drains towards the south, on to the place of its debouchment nearly due east from the little island of Lambay. It is the only considerable stream in Formosa whose course lies from north to south, nearly all the others flowing from the eastern hill region, and across the island towards the west. The Tamsui river rises in the mountains near Lakoli and Laulong, and winds down through the Hong-soa county in the direction of Tang-kang. It affords an inexpensive way of bringing out rice, sugar, rattan, bamboo, and other products from the interior, as such materials can be heaped in large quantities on the long shallow catamarans which sail up and down.

Dorko, p. 183.—There can be little difficulty in identifying this place. It lay between Mattau and Tirozen, and exists to-day as the township of To-lo-koh; this name being an exact representation of the sound any local Chinaman would express if asked to pronounce the word 'Dorko.' As a matter of fact, there is now both an east and a west To-lo-koh; the market-town of Tiam-a-khau being situated outside the northern boundary, about the middle part.

Dutch mile, p. 1.—Of course, it will be understood that the Dutch mile referred to was much longer than the English mile, the proportion being about six of the latter to one of the former; a distinction which ought to be carefully noted when dealing with all relevant passages throughout the text.

Dutch trade, p. 25.—Valentyn's notes given here still supply the fullest account which has been published in English as to the origin, nature, and volume of the trade carried on by the Dutch in Formosa. The chief articles of export were hides of various kinds, because the western side of the island then abounded in heavy game, and the skins were bought at nominal prices and sold in other markets at a large profit; while one principal import was in blood corals, which the natives used as necklaces; and the prominence given to those two items alone sufficiently indicates the commercial changes which have taken place since that time. Such goods as sugar, tea, and camphor had not yet commenced to be imported, and the trading of those days gave no indication of the enormous import business that was to be carried on in opium, sake, and beer.

Favorlang, p. 180.—A few remarks may be made on this name as it is an oft-recurring one in the following pages. The original mss. often spell it with a final h, and sometimes the spelling takes the form of Vovorollang. It lay north of Tirozen (q.v.), and the Favorlang river must be the present-day Haw-boe-khe of the Chinese. Clergymen appointed to the Favorlang district had to learn a local dialect which was widely different from that spoken at Sinkan or any of the more southern villages. The structure of this Favorlang form of speech can yet be seen in Happart's Favorlang vocabulary; but within that northern region there existed at least one more Favorlang dialect, a specimen of it being preserved in Vertrecht's collection of manuscripts which were published in 1896.¹ It may also be worth while to recall here the late Consul Watters's remark that a recent traveller in Formosa found in a district to the north-east of Chiang-hua a tribe which still understands and speaks the Favorlang dialect.²

Golden Lion Island, pp. 5, 14.—Its early native name was Tugin or Lamey, but owing to a Dutch captain having been murdered by the inhabitants there, the island came to be known by the name of his ship, the *Goude Leeuw*, or Golden Lion, island. It is situated about twelve miles off the mouth of the Tang-kang river, is some three miles in circumference, and has now only about two hundred of Chinese inhabitants. The natives themselves speak of the island as Sio Liu-khiu, or Little Lu-chu, but the chart name of it is Lambay—not Lombay—*island*. As a number of wrecks have taken place at or near Lambay within recent years, it may be mentioned that there is now a Christian church on this lonely spot connected with the English Presbyterian Mission, as well as a small sanatorium which is very seldom occupied by the missionaries.

Inhabitants, Account of the, p. 9.—Our knowledge of eastern Formosa is still too limited for forming an opinion as to how much of this *Account* by Candidius is applicable to-day; but as the present writer has visited the tribes at South Cape, and those in the regions east from Hong-soa and Chiang-hua, a few points of difference and agreement may be noted here. Following, then, the order commenced by Candidius on p. 10, it was observed that the Ku-a-lut, the Ka-piang, and the Bu-hwan aborigines are both friendly towards Europeans and very honest. Their men often go about stark naked without showing any sense of shame, and they are usually engaged in the chase, in head-hunting, or in warring with other tribes. On the other hand, any agricultural work is done almost entirely by the females amongst them, and takes the form, not of rice-growing, but cultivating little patches of ground on the hill-sides, where crops of taro and millet are raised, it being from this millet that liberal supplies of native spirit are made. The methods of hunting and carrying on inter-tribal warfare described by Candidius are still followed, but his remark on p. 15 about those early villagers having no general chief ruling over them, each being independent without any head-man, is a custom which is not followed in many places at present. Thus, Tokitok exercised control over eighteen tribes in the south till his death about thirty years ago, and one of his sons now fills the office, each village having its own head-man in addition. Women, too, sometimes act as chiefs, as at Kapiang; while the Ban-hwan and the Bu-hwan tribes east from the county-town of Chiang-hua have both principal chiefs and village elders or head-men. Many of the customs which regulate courtship, marriage, and the relations of married people seem still to have survived; but in some parts, instead of exposing bodies after

¹ *The Articles of Christian Instruction in Favorlang-Formosan, Dutch and English, from Vertrecht's MS. of 1650; with Psalmanazar's Dialogue between a Japanese and a Formosan, and Happart's Favorlang Vocabulary.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

² *Vide Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for Jan. 1897.*

death as described by Candidius, the corpse is tied up in a sitting posture, and buried in a deep hole of the house or hut where the family resides. It should be added that the practice of abortion referred to on p. 20 appears to have died out among the Formosan aborigines; at least, young mothers nursing their children have been met with in many different parts of the aboriginal territory. As to religion, indications were found among several tribes of belief in evil spirits and in one supreme spiritual Father, but no stated rites seemed to be observed. About twenty-five years ago, the present writer was told by a Chinese friend in Kagi city of an aboriginal tribe away due east which practised a kind of baptism of infant children (*cf.* De Mailla's remark on p. 510), and the report appeared so trustworthy and circumstantial as led one to conclude that this must be some genuine survival of the missionary work of two hundred and twenty years ago. It is interesting to note that the Japanese are now engaged in direct efforts for the education of the non-Chinese-speaking aborigines of Formosa. Schools have been opened at different centres on the east coast, and are attended by several hundreds of young people who are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and a knowledge of the Japanese language. Moreover, Mr. Kato, a Japanese evangelist, has the honour of being the first outsider in recent times who has devoted himself to Christian work amongst this people. He began by taking up his residence in one of the remote villages, and there becoming acquainted with the native language.

Kabalan, p. 233.—On the north-east coast of Formosa. The plain there is said to have contained forty-seven villages, and the open anchorage to the east is referred to on p. 207 as the Bay of Kabelang. Komolan is another name which was formerly applied to this region, and afterwards the name Kap-tsu-lan came into use. It is now called the Gi-lan (in Japanese, Giran) district. Steep island lies some ten miles off in about the middle part of the bay.

Kattia, p. 214.—The form Katya occurs on p. 183. A southern village is referred to, and a few miles south of Anping there is still a small fishing village known by that name, the inhabitants of which are all Chinese.

Koxinga, *p. passim*.—As the name of this chieftain occurs very often throughout the foregoing pages, a short account of him may not be out of place here. His father was born in a village near Anhui of the Fokien Province, and had to struggle with poverty for some years while earning his livelihood as a petty trader. This Cheng-chi-lung afterwards had dealings with the Dutch in Formosa and with the Portuguese at Macao. He remained several years at the latter colony, where efforts were made to bring him under the influence of Christianity, these resulting in his being baptized by the name of Nicholas. Subsequently, Cheng-chi-lung removed to the neighbourhood of Nagasaki, where he married a Japanese woman. It was there that his son Cheng-kung—known in later years as Koxinga—was born, and that he greatly increased in wealth and influence. After this, the invasion of China by the Tartars brought him into still more prominence, for he had an immense flotilla of war-junks brought together and crowded with thousands of braves, who followed him to oppose the invaders of his native land. He was welcomed by the Chinese Emperor, who loaded him with honours, and made him general of the forces. And fortune favoured him for a time, till the Tartars seized him and placed him in close confinement at Peking. It was then that Koxinga came to the front in making a bold stand against the Tartars. He acted with extraordinary determination and resource, and carried everything before him for a time. But in his case also the tide began to turn, because first at Nanking, and afterwards at Amoy, he met with those severe reverses which tempted him to make a descent upon Formosa, where his victory

over the Dutch put him in possession of a spacious and comfortable place of retreat. Of course, any attempt to sum up the character of this man would require to avoid the excessive laudation of the Chinese on the one hand, and the unmitigated execration of Dutch writers on the other. His immediate surroundings would also require to be taken into account, as well as the times in which he lived. After, however, every allowance has been made, it is surely somewhat late in the day for any writer now to think of whitewashing the character of Koxinga, or to say that charges of colossal blackguardism and cruelty made out against him are met by pointing to many of his contemporaries as having been just as bad as he was, if not even much worse. This theory is one which seems to have great attraction for Mr. Davidson, who presents it in his newly-issued *Island of Formosa*. It is there stated on p. 53 that Koxinga was not really a cruel man, that it is doubtful if he ordered the Dutch clergymen to be executed, and that his diplomatic action in allowing the beleagured inmates of Castle Zeelandia to depart with their private effects should rather be looked upon as furnishing a more striking instance of generosity than can be met with in 'all usages of war, even in our own times.' On the other hand, however, it is vain to deny that Koxinga, this son of Brother Nicholas, and alumnus of Nanking University, who afterwards became the friend of Father Ricci, stamped out Christianity from Formosa with an appalling amount of heartless and most wanton cruelty. Who, without his knowledge, would have dared to regale and then lead out the Dutch clergymen for decapitation? Was Koxinga ignorant of the fact that a number of Hollanders were first crucified at Sakam, and then carried to Sinkang where they suffered excruciating agonies till death set them free? Is it for a moment to be supposed that the wholesale torturing and slaughter of the defenceless people of Formosa, represented on p. 89 of Mr. Davidson's book, took place without the express command or connivance of Koxinga? But nothing more is needed to settle the question under discussion than a reference to what took place between this chieftain and the Rev. Mr. Hambroek. The latter was sent into Castle Zeelandia to advise his countrymen against a continuance of the struggle, but he rather exhorted them to hold on, and then took his life in his hand with the message to Koxinga that the besieged would on no account allow the subject of surrender to be mentioned, although they were quite prepared to make every honourable attempt to meet the wishes of His Highness; which reply so enraged Koxinga that he soon after ordered Hambroek to be beheaded. Meanwhile the daughter of this brave Christian martyr, who is described as having been a very sweet and pleasing maiden, was chosen by Koxinga himself and made a member of his harem. And yet, Mr. Davidson would fain make out that Koxinga was not a vulgar pirate, nor a cruel man, seeing that the coarse unholy brute acted towards his vanquished foes in a far more generous way than, say, the United States did during her own great internal struggle, or as the Britishers have recently done in South Africa!

Lakjemuyse, p. 414.—This is no doubt the present-day Lak-e-mng, an open bay into which junks sometimes run for shelter during the north-east monsoon. The syllable 'muy' is the Chang-chew way of pronouncing 'mng.' Lak-e-mng lies a few miles north of Anping, which is the Tayouan of the Dutch occupation. Some years ago, the present writer, with his colleague the late Dr. Russell, started in a little open junk from the port of Tang-chioh—twenty miles north of Anping—to cross to the Pescadores, but a typhoon came on, and a very narrow escape from drowning was made just before reaching Lak-e-mng.

Longkiau, p. 137.—There can be no difficulty about the identification of this place. It belongs to the Heng-chun region in the extreme south, and is the point at which the

Japanese landed for punishing the Baw-tan savages in 1874. The territory around it was included as an additional county under Chinese rule soon after the Japanese accomplished their purpose. The following different ways of spelling this name occur in the early records: Loncjou, Lonckjau, Lonckiau, Lonkiauw, Lonckjouw, and Lonck-quiouw.

Mattau, p. 178.—The village of this name is referred to as having a population of three thousand, one hundred and eighty of whom were baptized Christians. Its inhabitants are represented as having been a turbulent race, and to have more than once been severely punished by the Dutch; although afterwards the Consistory strongly recommended that a theological college should be set up there for training young natives to do duty as the future evangelists and pastors of Formosa. The place still survives in the market-town of Moa-tau, north of Tainan and about three miles above the Tsan-bun river. The inhabitants continue to be a superstitious and turbulent lot. In 1895, they slaughtered in cold blood some twenty Christians connected with the English Presbyterian congregation there, on the absurd charge that those simple-minded converts had no small share in bringing the Japanese into the island. Christian work has been lately resumed in the place by the native Presbytery itself, and there is some hope of good work again being done. A distressing item of news which has been received while these sheets are passing through the press is that the young preacher in charge—Kho Tiau-iong, a former servant boy of the writer, who afterwards went through a full course of training and rendered faithful service to the Church in other parts of Formosa—has become a confirmed leper. One's heart is sore to think of him, with his six bright children and devoted wife. The following variations of spelling for Mattau occur: Matau, Mataw, Mattouw, Mathau, Matthau, Mattauw, and Mandauw.

Pakan, p. 1.—The variants of this name which occur are Pak-ande and Pockan. It is said to have been applied to the whole of Formosa, which is extremely doubtful, seeing that the collection of tribes throughout the island differed so much in origin and speech as to render communication or joint action upon anything simply impossible. According to early Chinese accounts, the name Pak-kang (kiang in the so-called mandarin dialect), was first given to what is now known as Kelung, this name afterwards coming to mean the whole of Formosa. And this seems a very feasible development, for Pak-kang means Northern Port (the only good one in the island), and it is easy to understand how junkmen would come to speak of crossing to Pak-kang when they really intended to call in at other little landing-places. Thus the aboriginal modification of the name, Pak-an, would come into use and gain a certain amount of currency. While travelling over the island in every direction during the past thirty years, the writer never heard Formosa spoken of as Pak-an either by Chinese or the aborigines.

Pangsoia, p. 188.—The records state that this village was situated between Takareiang and Longkiauw, and the little town called Pang-soh exists there to-day. When in that region twenty-five years ago, the writer was interested on being told that the grave of Koxinga's wife was in the neighbourhood. It seemed an out-of-the-way spot to have any possession of that kind. However, careful inquiry is oftentimes rewarded by finding some substratum of fact under many of the rumours which are current amongst the Chinese; but there was no opportunity for making investigation upon that occasion. On this point it should be remembered that a Chinaman can have only one legal wife, other female members of his establishment being mere concubines; and that it is the correct thing for every well-to-do Chinaman to marry early. The likelihood, therefore, is that whether Koxinga left his wife in China or brought her over with him to Formosa, the

one buried at Pangsoia had only been some native of the region who was made a resident of the Court at Tayouan.

Pehoe, p. 8.—This is the usual name which the foregoing pages give to the Pescadores group of islands; Pehou and Pekou being evidently mis-spellings—and it seems to be a mere modification of the present Chinese name Phe-aw, which means Dashing Lake, referring to the strong tides and frequently stormy condition of the water between Great Island and Fisher Island. It is not easy to make out the origin of the name Phekno on p. 8, and the whole description there does not convey a very intelligible conception of the actual position of Toa-su (enclosing Makung Harbour on its south-west end), Teng-soa north-west of Toa-su, with Sai-su to the west of both these three islands, forming the large outer harbour of the group. They have all been the scene of fearful typhoons and of many shipwrecks, and it is satisfactory to know that the Japanese have now erected a lighthouse of the first order on a little islet to the north of Kiat-poe-su, whose kindly light can be seen far beyond the dangers on every side. It may be mentioned that, as the result of a pioneer visit which the writer paid to these islands in 1886, the native Christians in South Formosa commenced a Mission to the Pescadores which has been worked by them since that time without any outside help.

Provintia, p. 388.—After building Castle Zeelandia on the little island or sandbank of Tayouan, the Dutch strengthened their position by the erection of another fort at a place called Sakam, which was on the Formosa mainland about two miles due east from Tayouan. The ruins of this fort can still be seen within the West gate of the city of Tainan. When the writer first arrived in Formosa thirty-two years ago, Fort Provintia was a much more conspicuous object than it is at present; because, some years later, the Chinese had part of the walls removed, and a temple to the Goddess of the Sea built on the substructures and upper quadrangle. A number of the hundred and ninety-seven survivors of the ships *Nerbudda* and *Ann* were confined here in 1842 before being led forth to execution outside the Great North gate of the city.

Ricci, p. 497.—This Dominican friar has been sometimes mistaken for his more celebrated namesake Matteo Ricci, but the latter belonged to an earlier generation of missionaries who spent the greater part of their career at Peking; whereas the Vittorio Ricci here referred to began his labours in the Philippines, and then removed to the Fokien Province, where he carried on successful work for some years. He afterwards got mixed up with political affairs in a way that must have greatly interfered with the simplicity and devotion of his work as a Christian missionary, and there is no evidence whatever to show that he was rewarded by exercising any restraining influence upon the crafty and ferocious character of 'his friend, Koxinga.'

Sakam, p. 8.—This is the native name of the village which has developed into the present-day city of Tainan. The Chinese called it Chhiah-kham, and after the place enlarged and trade increased, it was surrounded with high brick walls and became the capital of the whole island under the name of Tai-wan-fu; but the Japanese have removed the capital to Tai-peh, and Tai-wan-fu is now the district city or town of Tainan. The following early forms of the name are also found:—Chhaccam, Sacam, Saccam, and Zaccam.

Sampan, p. 11.—A word which has the same meaning both in Malay and in Chinese, namely, *sam* three, and *pan* board or plank. It is applied to any small rowing-boat, especially those which ply for hire in harbours. They are also made for being propelled by hoisting a sail.

Seventeen, Committee of, p. 245.—The small Executive which held its meetings in

Amsterdam, and exercised supreme control over the affairs of the Dutch East India Company. All the colonial Councils, including that at Batavia, reported to it, and its decisions were accepted as those which come from a final Court of Appeal. It is often referred to as 'The xvii.'

Sinkan, p. 6.—One of the most important stations of the Dutch in Formosa. As in other cases, the records present a confusing variety of forms in spelling the name, such as, Sincan, Sinckan, Cinckan, Xincan, and Zinckan. The village lay about seven miles north of Sakam, and after Koxinga's time its name took the more Sinicised form of Sin-kang, the two native written symbols for these syllables meaning New-harbour or inlet; but as there is no harbour or inlet in the neighbourhood, the symbols must have been chosen because the sounds they represent convey a definite meaning and come as near as possible to the sounds of the old aboriginal name. It was at Sinkan that missionary work was formally entered upon, and the largest amount of inland trade carried on. In keeping with this, mention is made of several large stone buildings having been erected there, including a chapel and school-room, houses for the clergymen and civil officers, with several spacious go-downs for the storage of import and export goods. No trace of these can now be discovered, but the small colony of aborigines still resident at Sin-kang among the surrounding Chinese point to certain mounds in the neighbouring rice-fields as being the site of public buildings which were erected by the Dutch. The people have other distinct traditions of those early days, for the writer can yet recall the pathos with which one old native told him many years ago of how, when he was a boy, the villagers suffering from famine or epidemic would repair at sunset to those mounds and beat their breasts while looking away towards the west, as they called upon 'our red-haired good friends' to pity them and return quickly for their deliverance. A few old Sinkanese title-deeds written in Roman letter, several foreign keys and pieces of ancient Dutch pottery, are the only articles which have been found that point to the European occupation of the seventeenth century.

Soulang, p. 9.—One of the Dutch stations, which lay a little to the north-east of Mattau. It is often referred to, and must have been a village of some importance. The Formosa Council advised that the Theological College of Formosa should be erected there instead of at Mattau, the place which had been recommended by the Consistory. Soulang still exists as the Chinese market-town of Siau-lang, where stated Christian work has been recently commenced.

Tailed men, p. 255.—Dr. de Lacouperie¹ makes some remarks on this subject, and all that is intended here is to mention an incident which fell under the present writer's own observation in one of the inland towns of Formosa about twenty years ago. He was sitting reading in a little room attached to the chapel, when a Chinaman entered, who had a healthy-looking child of perhaps three years of age in his arms. This visitor began by asking for information and help about a certain matter, but his statement wandered a good deal, and he occupied so much time with mere introduction and apologies, that he was asked to come to the point at once and say what he wanted. He thereupon drew attention to a little tail that was growing from the lower end of the child's spine, and asked for an explanation of that, if there was anything unlucky about it, and if it ought to be removed. It was about two inches long, and had a curious wiggling motion, but whether automatic or in obedience to the will of the child, there was no means of knowing. The man was much dissatisfied on receiving a somewhat evasive answer, as a friend had told him that the foreign teacher would certainly be able to dispel all his doubts and help him in the very way he desired. He went away greatly disappointed.

¹ See his *Formosa Notes* in *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1887, p. 455.

Tamsuy, p. 207.—This is the usual form of the spelling, but Tampsui occurs on p. 102, and the original Dutch ms. has Tamsay in the passage on p. 113. which is evidently a mis-spelling. For most part, the name is associated with Kelang, and sometimes also with Kabalan, thus plainly showing that the still much frequented Tamsuy on the north-west end of Formosa is meant. However, such references as those on pp. 102 and 113 point to another Tamsuy in the southern part of the island. And even to-day, the Chinese often refer to this distinction by speaking of the first-mentioned place as Teng (*i.e.* upper or north) Tamsuy, and the one in the south Hong-soa county, as E (*i.e.* lower or south) Tamsuy, while modern maps represent that there is a Tamsuy river both in North and in South Formosa.

Tankoia, p. 136.—Lay to the north of Ape's Hill and a few hours' sail south from Tayouan. A wide shallow bay existed there during the time of the Dutch occupation, in which small vessels often lay at anchor; but the constant silting up of the land there has much altered the appearance of the coast-line. The place was regarded as being of so much importance that a proposal was made to have it fortified.

Tavakan, p. 183.—A village in Formosa of about a thousand inhabitants, of whom over two hundred were baptized Christians. In the Dutch records, the name is also written Taffacan, Tavocan, Tavacang, and Davocan. The references show that it must have been situated in the neighbourhood of Sinkan, and its very probable representative to-day is the market-town of Twa-bak-kang, about two miles south-east of Sin-kang.

Tayouan, p. 4.—The spellings Taoan and Taiwan also occur. Of course it is important to bear in mind that this was the name given to a little islet or long sandbank which lay off the south-west coast of Formosa two hundred and eighty years ago; and that, owing to silting up, the land there became joined on to the mainland of Formosa, and now bears the name of Anping. It was in Tayouan the Dutch fixed their headquarters when compelled to leave the Pescadores in 1624, and there that they erected Castle Zeelandia, their main stronghold and residence of the Governor. On the sandy plain to the north of this Fort, many natives, Chinese, and Dutchmen settled down to carry on trade and supply the wants of the colony, and as their numbers increased, and buildings began to multiply, the settlement came to be known as the city or town of Zeelandia.

Tevorang, p. 9.—The variants of this name are Tefurang, Tefurangh, Tevoran, Tevourang, and Devoran. Consul Swinhoe has the following reference to the place¹: 'I have little doubt that Favorlang and Tefurang are the same words, the one being a manuscript misreading for the other. The latter is, I believe, the correct word.' In view of this remark, it is interesting to note that (1) on p. 9 Candidius refers to the people of the eight villages of which Tefurang was one, all speaking the same language, whereas the printed specimens seen in Gravius' translation of St. Matthew in Sinkan-Formosan and Happart's Favorlang Vocabulary show that those two vernaculars were quite dissimilar; while (2) according to what is stated on p. 276 the Rev. Mr. Hambroek was appointed to labour in Mattau, Tirozen, Dorko, and Tevorang, the Rev. Gilbertus Happart being sent to the districts of Takkais and Favorlang, on the farther side of the Ponkan river. Other passages also make a clear distinction between Tevorang and Favorlang, so that Mr. Swinhoe's emendation must be regarded as an incorrect one. Indeed, p. 234 distinctly states that Tevorang was one of nine villages that joined in warfare against the people of Favorlang. There can be no doubt that Tevorang was about a day's journey north-east from Sinkan, and that Favorlang lay much further to the north

¹ See his *Notes on the Ethnology of Formosa*, page 11.

of that village. The following versions of the Lord's Prayer show how the language used in that group of villages which included Tevorang differed from the Favorlang vernacular. 1. *Version used in Tevorang*.—Rama-jan ka tou tounnoun kow ki vullum. Pakou-tik-tik-auh lou-moulough ta Nanang oho. Pa-irou-au ta Pei-sasouan-oho. Paamt-au ta kamoei-en-hou, mama tou tounnoun, kma-hynna tou Næi. Pei-kame wæ'i k'atta ki paoulian ka mamsing. Attaral-lâ ta kæuitting-en-hou ymi-æn æn, mama ka attaral-kame ta ymi-æn ki kæuitting-nian. Inei-kame dmlough tou r'poung-in, ra haoumi-ei-kame ki Lyttou. Ka 'a-mhou ta pei-sasou-an, ta pei-lpoug-en, ta keirang-an ki kidi tou yhkaquan myddarynnough. Amen. 2. *Vertrecht's Favorlang Version*.—Namo taman tamasea pağa de boesum, ipádassa joa naan. Ipásaija joa chachimit o ai. Ipá-i-jorr'o oa airab maibas de boesum, masini de ta channumma. Épé-e namono piadaí torro uppo ma-atsikap. Šo-o abó-e namo tataap o kakossi namoa, maibas channumma namo mabo tamasea parapies i namo. Hai pásabas i namo, šo-o barras'i namo innai rapies ai. Inau joa micho chachimit o ai, šo-o barro ai, šo-o adas ai, taulaulan. Amen.

Tirosen, p. 93.—This is the usual form of the name, but in the Dutch records it also occurs as Tirassen, Tirozen, Tilocen, Tilossen, Tilocen, and Thilocen. The place was north of Mattau and south of Favorlang, and it survives to-day in none other than the well-known city of Kagi in Mid-Formosa. The former Chinese name of that city was Tsu-lo-san (or Variegated-net Hill), which is an exact representation of the way in which any local son of Han would pronounce the aboriginal name Tirosen. The further change took place after a great rebellion in Formosa; for during that rebellion, the Chinese inhabitants of Tsu-lo-san sided with the Imperialist troops, and the news of this so pleased the Emperor that, by Imperial Rescript, he changed the name of the city from Tsu-lo-san into Kagi or Established-righteousness. Dorko is often associated with Tirosen in the foregoing accounts, a good proof that the same form of vernacular was in use in both places, as the Dutch grouping of villages was very often based upon that fact.

Toahimpau, p. 5.—This name has much more of a Chinese than an aboriginal look about it. It is not easy now to identify the place it refers to, which seems to have been about the middle of the Kagi region on its western side. With a very slight modification of the last syllable, Toahimpau might mean in Chinese Great Bear Plain; and as black bears are still found in Formosa, and they would very likely be met with in the thickly wooded western side of the island two hundred and fifty years ago, it is possible that Chinese hunters may have originated the name in these circumstances. But again, there are still two villages further north called Toa-hm-paw, or Great Grass Field, because much long coarse grass which is used for house-thatching grows in the neighbourhood; while in the Kagi region itself the market-town of Hm-kang-boe is now a stage on the main road from Tainan city towards the north, and there too the *hm* grass in question used formerly to grow in abundance. These suggestions about this Chinese-looking name afford a clue to the process often gone through in the fixing of place-names in Formosa.

Topography, p. 1.—The preceding Notes contain some references to this subject, but a few facts and suggestions brought together here may make matters a little clearer. Of course, Valentyn's survey of the island which begins on p. 1 lays no claim to scientific accuracy; still, it is useful, if for no other purpose than to show how much the western coast-line has changed since the time of the Dutch occupation. The silting up of the land there has joined on to the mainland of Formosa a number of islets and sandbanks which were well known to the early navigators; one notable case being that of the small island of Tayouan, which is now quite a part of Formosa itself. Another thing to remark is that much care and some local knowledge are required in dealing with the

confusing variety of forms under which the names of places appear in the old Dutch records; those changes being sometimes carried so far as to make the narrative almost unintelligible. In the present translation, an attempt has been made to eliminate this source of error by using the ordinary standard name of a place, and dispensing altogether with those which are either misreadings or merely occasional forms of spelling. Thus, Dorko is used throughout, even in passages where Dorcko, Dorkquo, and Dorcque occur; and such forms as Xincan and Zinckan have been dropped for the normal Sinkan. There is much need for some such revision of the place-names of Formosa which are now in use; for the island has been greatly opened up of late, the place-names have enormously increased in number, and no effort is being made that the spelling of those names should follow any well-defined and consistent method. One source of confusion arises from giving names to places in Formosa, not according to the way in which they are locally pronounced, but after the sounds of the so-called mandarin dialect. For example, the British Admiralty Chart has Fung-shan for Hong-soa, and Pong-hou for Phe-au, etc.; and since the cession of the island in 1895, the educational and telegraph departments have replaced the well-known Chinese names by Japanese ones. Therefore, the requirements of the case now seem to be that the pronunciation as seen in Roman-letter books used by the natives, must be taken as the basis; while for outside purposes a simple method of spelling, in which all redundant letters and unusual signs are omitted, should be adopted. Tables ought also to be drawn up giving each name in Chinese and Japanese characters, and the Roman-letter way of representing them in both languages. The recently issued map in Mr. Davidson's *Island of Formosa* attempts so far to carry out such a plan with regard to the Roman-letter part of it; and more such adaptation, but based on an intimate acquaintance with the local dialects, is what is needed. In short, this is a case in which attention to the rules of the Royal Geographical Society on the subject of place-names would add to the convenience of the people, and enable outsiders to follow the course of events in the island with much more intelligence.

Torture, pp. 210 and 327.—It would seem that this was sometimes resorted to by the Dutch in their dealings with the natives of Formosa. As a matter of fact, the Chinese also regularly torture witnesses when doubt is entertained about the testimony they give, or when it is desired to force from them some statement or other; while popular report says that this form of examination has not yet been quite given up in Formosa, at least the practice of unmercifully beating those who are detained on a mere suspicion of having broken the laws. As regards the Japanese, however, it should be added that the really responsible officials in the island have no sympathy with such a course of procedure. Another thing in this connection is that the text makes several references to the custom of keeping slaves among those early Dutch colonists, e.g. p. 309. No doubt, many things were done at that early time which public opinion would not tolerate nowadays. It is the mention of torture and slavery amid so much effort for the salvation of the people that attracts notice.

Totok, p. 32.—An incorrect spelling for the Chinese word The-tok or Admiral. It is still a familiar word among the Chinese of the Amoy region.

Trade of the Dutch, p. 25.—Valentyn's Notes give a fairly intelligible account of the nature and volume of the trade carried on by the Dutch in Formosa. At the beginning, it largely took the form of mere bartering, as there were few Chinese in the island then, and the use of coins had not yet become general. The same style of trade is still carried on by the Hakkas (chiefly) at outposts among the mountain regions of Formosa; the savages coming out with loads of skins, rattans, the deers' horns and monkeys' bones which are used as medicine by the Chinese, and other

produce, to receive supplies of salt, cloth, and beads, etc., in return. On the part of the early barterers, as now, this process required some acquaintance with the aboriginal language, and it was here that the services of the Dutch clergymen were called in to help forward the affairs of the Company. Of course, those reverend gentlemen had to make a deliberate study of the language for prosecuting their spiritual work, but having once acquired a good working knowledge of it, their value to the ill-equipped local government became at once apparent. With regard to the articles of export, while it is only what might be expected that the early records make no reference to such later products as tea, coal, camphor, and sugar, it is rather remarkable that the diligent search for gold did not yield some better result, seeing that gold-mining and gold-washing have now become such profitable undertakings in Formosa.

Wright, D., p. 6.—This 'Scotsman' was resident in Formosa for some time after Candidius, who arrived as pioneer missionary in 1624. His Notes on the Island are quoted at considerable length in Ogilby's *Atlas Chinensis*, but all efforts to trace the Notes themselves have been fruitless. Nor has it been possible to find out anything about the man himself, for the Dutch records which have been examined do not mention his name, and prolonged investigation at the India Office in London was equally fruitless. Cambell's ms. Account of Formosa (almost certainly still inexistence), a copy of Wright's Notes on the Island, and one of Junius' Formosan Reading-book published at Delft in 1645, might still have something more than mere antiquarian interest attaching to them.

To the foregoing Explanatory Notes a short statement from Consul Swinhoe may be added here on some of the matters referred to. He was the first European writer who came in contact with the aborigines since the time of Count Benyowsky's visit in 1771, and his remarks furnish some interesting facts about the Sinkang natives, the *Kalee* aborigines of the southern mountains, the *Kweiyings* of the northern mountains, the *Tylokoks* of the north-east mountains, and the *Komolans* of the north-east plain.

In his *Notes on the Ethnology of Formosa* he says: 'The large straggling city of Taiwanfoo, with its parks and gardens and high walls, situated about five miles from the shore line, at the edge of a large undulating plain, is entirely Chinese. In various parts of the city several graves are pointed out by the natives as containing the remains of Hollanders and of black men, but no tablet of any kind was found to tell of the fact. The population of the city amounts to perhaps 120,000 souls, from various parts of China, but chiefly from Fokien. I had heard from the British captains at Ape's Hill that beyond Taiwanfoo lived a race who used Roman characters, and boasted of their origin from the Dutch. I was naturally anxious to see what kind of hybridism such beings would present, when one morning a military officer, a thoroughly Chinese-looking individual, came to visit me, and informed me that his ancestor was a red-haired man (Dutchman), and was one of 3000 soldiers left in the island during Koxinga's time, who had shaved their heads and acknowledged allegiance to the Chinese; that his village, Sinkang, chiefly composed of the descendants of these soldiers, was situate ten miles out of the North gate; and that they still preserved clothes and papers which belonged to their forefathers; that there was a large village northwards, and one to the southward, composed of their people; and that others of their race, intermarried with Chinese, were distributed over various parts of the island. These people are generally distinguished by the Chinese as the *Pepos*.

'In answer to my inquiries on the habits and customs of the *Pepos*, Padre Sainz

supplied me with the following information: that the men dress quite like the Chinese, but the women enwrap their loins with a cloth which reaches below the knee, like the women at Manila. They only wear this, however, on certain occasions; that the men shave their heads and wear Chinese queues; that the women part their hair in the middle and twist it up behind in a semi-globular knot, but he had not paid particular attention to them; that these people are subject to the Chinese government, but elect their own elders; that he had visited several villages peopled by this race but could only recollect the name of four, two on the east of Taiwanfoo, Sin-kang and Kun-hieng; and two near the mountains inland of Ape's Hill, Ban-kin-shan and Toa-kun-lieng, the nearest to Ape's Hill being Ban-kin-shan, and to Taiwanfoo Sin-kang; and that considering how many of the words that they still retain of their own native language are similar to the dialects of the Philippines, and that that is the nearest Indian country to the island of Formosa, the priest goes on to say that he believes he is right in conjecturing that the *Pepos* are of Malay origin, as are also those of the Philippines.

'In the mountains of the south, we have another tribe of aborigines who demand our sympathy far more than the last, as they have struggled hard and are still struggling against the ever-encroaching Chinese settler, to maintain their territory and independence. The plains have been entirely snatched from them as well as the lower hill ranges, but where the mountains are sufficiently covered with forest and of sufficient height to enable them to repel the usurper, they have succeeded in doing so. To the north, I am told their mountain possessions do not extend much beyond the latitude of Taiwanfoo, but southwards right to the cape end of the island, having the steep rocky coast on the west from Lonkiau southwards and the whole of the east that flanks them. I had no opportunities of visiting this people, and I am therefore almost entirely indebted to the kindness of Padre Sainz for the few notes that I possess of them. He informed me that those *Kalee* men wear their hair long, and in some cases bound round the head with a kerchief. They barter their bark-fibre, manufactured cloth, grass mats, deer horns, etc., for Chinese goods. They possess buffaloes with which they till their hills, but have no other cattle. Their houses are built like grottoes against the large rocks, being constructed of small stones plastered between logs of wood. They have several villages which are governed by their own officers quite independent of the Chinese. Three villages called Tanasia, Ka-chassan, and Kisien were said together to contain from six to seven thousand inhabitants, but no general estimate of the number of this people could be obtained. They are doubtless of the Malay race, and very similar to the natives of Luzon.

'The priest further told me that the male *Kalees* he saw were nearly naked, with the exception of the two sons of their chief, who had on pretty coats. The women wore cloths wrapt about their loins. The arms they use are lances, knives, and bows and arrows, which they employ against their enemies, as well as for the chase. They drink no other spirits than that supplied them by the Chinese, namely, the rice spirit known to Europeans as *samsboo*. They pour this into cups made of hollow bamboo, and before drinking dip the two first fingers of their right hand into the liquor and sprinkle it in three different directions. After this ceremony, they offer the cup to all present before they put it to their own lips.

'The first time the priest attempted to reach the country of the *Kalees* he passed through the Chinese territory, when the colonists, notwithstanding his disguise, discovered he was a foreigner and resisted his passage. He was not, however, to be defeated; so he took a boat, and passing down the coast to where the hills descend directly to the sea, after some difficulty effected a landing. The *Kalees* came down armed, and asked him

what he wanted. He replied he had come on a purely friendly visit, whereupon they demanded a present for their chief. He said he was a poor man, so his gifts were trifling, and then presented them with two empty beer bottles, with which they returned highly satisfied to their chief. Shortly after they returned, two of them formed a sedan with their arms and carried him in state up-hill to their village. He had an interview with the two sons of the chief, and fired off a revolver for their amusement. They were much pleased with the firearm, and proposed that he should come and live amongst them and aid them in driving the Chinamen from the country. The priest was very well satisfied with his reception, and hoped that the Procurador at Macao would give him permission to settle among these wild mountaineers, for he had great hopes of making a promising *propaganda* among them.

‘My own acquaintance with this people is very limited. When circumnavigating the island in 1857, I had the pleasure of seeing a few women who were married to Chinese at Pang-le and Long-kiau. They were much browner than ordinary Chinese, and had their hair plaited and entwined with red cotton after the manner of their people, but they were otherwise dressed as Chinawomen. At Lai-liau, a Chinaman named Ban-chiang, of large landed property, traded with the *Kalees* of the hills, and was on very friendly terms with them. He was constantly at variance with the Chinese authorities who had outlawed him, but could not touch him, as he was so well defended by his numerous Chinese dependants, and the large body of aborigines at his beck. This man was wedded to a *Kalee*, but she was shy and would not show during our visit. He evidently considered himself vastly superior to Europeans, for he evinced to us none of that formal civility characteristic of a Chinese gentleman. Europeans have hitherto had no transactions with the *Kalees*. Ships frequently in bad weather find it convenient to put into a small harbour at the south cape, but when any attempt is made to land, the natives, not understanding their meaning, come down armed and offer resistance.

‘The Chinese seem only to acknowledge two races of independent aborigines, which they distinguish by the names *Kalee hwan* (*Kalee* foreigner) and *Chhi hwan* (raw foreigner), the mountains of the south being, as already stated, held by the former, and those of the north, from about the latitude of Taiwanfoo, by the latter.

‘On moving the Consulate to Tamsuy River, on the north-west coast, I made every exertion to visit the *Chhi hwan*. The borders of their hill range were about eighty miles from my house, so I sent up a Chinese servant to find quarters for me within easy march of the hut of a *Thong-su* or interpreter, with whom some of the hill tribes were in the habit of visiting for the purposes of barter. On the 19th of April 1862, one day’s hot walk of some twenty-five miles brought me to the apartments I had engaged near the banks of the river, the descent of which to our Consulate occupied a little more than half the day, though the ascent, owing to the many rapids, was too long and tedious for me to undertake. On the following day we started at an early hour for the land of the *Kweiyings*.

‘Our direction was due east, where we could see the bush-clad range peering above the nearer cleared hills. We marched across the dried river-course to a ferry, where we crossed the river. On the opposite side, the hill came perpendicularly down to the water’s edge, and from the blueness of the water close to it, seemed to glide down precipitously some depth beneath its surface. A pretty glade of blossoming evergreens partially covered the near side, and extended its shade and shelter to some cozy huts hard by. By these huts the road wound up the hill. We ascended, and walked along

its flattened top through rows of tea-plants looking in fine condition, and again descended into a village, the last of the Chinese in this direction. The inhabitants were chiefly agricultural, and some of them men of money. We then turned towards the river, which wound away on the right, and keeping along its banks for a mile and a half, reached the solitary long mud-and-stone-built hut, divided into two rooms, inhabited by the interpreter. It was a sad hovel, with a filthy table in the first, and a dirty old bed in the second, room. A wood fire was blazing in the front room, and filled it with smoke. The interpreter, an unmannerly Chinese, took us into the inner room, which was partly crowded with Chinese, and sitting on the bed I found two savages. The meeting was curious enough. They stood and stared at us in astonishment, though with no sign of fear. The interpreter told them that we were also foreigners like themselves, and had come to visit them. They sat down again and examined us, and exchanged pipes of tobacco. After expressing admiration at our guns, they wanted to rush out and see us fire them. We took down many of their words, and, after a chat, went out with them. The elder savage ran to a distance, seized a plank and put it up for a target, setting a leaf in the centre for a bull's-eye. I fired at it, and, strange enough, though the shot scattered all round, yet not one hit the bull's-eye. The savage smiled, picked up his matchlock, and took up his position at my distance from the mark. His matchlock, a Chinese one, was loaded with ball. He fired, as the Chinese do, from the elbow, and hit the target about nine inches from the centre. The distance was about forty yards; the board was about three inches thick, yet the bullet went through. I loaded my gun with a cartridge, and doubled the distance. The shot covered the mark. This astonished the savage somewhat. But he was much more taken with my Sharp's rifle, at its breach-loading process; and when I gave the sight its full elevation, and fired along the river, the splash of the ball in the distant water drew a cry of astonishment from both savage and Chinamen. They took a fancy for the rifle, and wanted to barter for it; the breach-loading pistol also took their fancy, but they found great difficulty in pulling the trigger. I showed them my watch, which they regarded as a piece of magic, crying out, *Kis-kis*. In addressing me they used the expression, *Tyon!* which might either be from the Malay *Tuon* (Sir) or the Chinese *Tajin* (Your Excellency). Late in the day, several women, with children in arms, and one fine-looking young man, arrived; and soon after, an elderly man made his appearance, with the perspiration trickling down his face and body, laden with the head, neck, and parts of the back of a fine buck, the velvety antlers having been cut away. The old man was dark, with a wrinkled skin and short hair. He could speak a little Chinese. The younger men and women were fairer than ordinary Chinese, with nut-brown complexions instead of the yellow hue.

'They were found to have much of the Malay cast of countenance, with well-formed eyes and noses. All were tattooed on the forehead with three series of short lines, the skin being raised and blue. The tattooing is done with needles and Indian ink. The lines are in three compact square forms, one above the other, the upper and lower consisting of eight lines each, the middle one of six. In old men the tattoo wears nearly quite away. The youths are tattooed at the age of sixteen. When any young man is well into his teens, and has qualified himself for a wife by the decapitation and abduction of the cranium of some enemy, he is tattooed under the lower lip with a square of eight lines. When a woman is married she has her face tattooed from ear to ear: first with three simple lines; below these a series of X between two other lines; then two more lines and another row of X; and below all four more single lines. The mark on the

forehead is called *Leboey*, and that on the chin is called *Kabai*. They all wear necklaces of white, flattened, square-cut bits of shell, run through with a string.

The huts of these Kweiyings are made of bark and rough planks, held together with rattans, and thatched with palm leaves. The old men and women do much of the heavy work and carry burdens, while the young men engage in the chase. The cultivation of their fields of dry rice, sweet potatoes, and tobacco is chiefly carried on by the women. The mode of greeting among those savages is to walk up to the stranger smiling with the right palm extended, and to thrust it with force against his stomach, and then with the left hand to pat him on the back. If he is friendly disposed he smiles in return, and repays you the compliment in the same manner. This clan appears to muster a very few for the size of their country. They are said to have only seven *sia* or villages, containing each from 300 to 400 souls, under four supreme and several petty chiefs. Owing to the introduction of spirituous liquors and other unknown causes they seem to decrease in numbers, and will, probably before the lapse of many centuries, entirely dwindle away before the steady advance of the rapidly increasing Chinese colonists. The Chinese state with confidence that another century will witness their entire extermination, but this is perhaps too short a time for its fulfilment. The nearest chief lived in a village called *Gee-hing-sia*, said to be about two days' journey from where we halted. He gloried in the name of *Pai-bo-pai-yet*. The land beyond his was controlled by the chief *Tew-bin-ab-tan*, who lived in the village of *Tung-sia*.

In 1857, when circumnavigating Formosa in H.M.S. "Inflexible," we had the pleasure of seeing some of a savage race on the eastern coast, allied to the *Kweiyings*. They were very similar in appearance, but bore a different name, and as I had no opportunities of having an interview with them, I cannot say whether their dialect was identical. On the 17th of June we were off a place in lat. $24^{\circ} 6' 18''$, where a river is marked on the chart. A ravine runs between the hills, but there is only a small mountain stream. The ship was about eight hundred yards from land, yet we got no sounding at one hundred and fifteen fathoms. The morning was fine with very little sea, so we pulled away for shore in the gig, steering towards a collection of huts at the foot of the hills. When only one hundred and fifty yards from the shore, we sounded with eleven fathoms of boat-line, and got no bottom; when at about fifty yards, we had eight and a half fathoms. Several natives appeared on the beach, many of whom were Chinese; but among them we could distinguish six men who were almost in a state of nudity, wearing only a piece of cloth round the waist with a flap in front. These savages, enraged that they could not get out to us on account of the heavy surf, brandished their spears with threatening gestures, but a shot fired over their heads soon put them to flight, and they took shelter behind a mound. The Chinese then came off to us, and taking one of them into our boat, we asked him various questions. According to his account, the savages we saw are called *Ty-lo-kok*, and their tribes number about four thousand; they inhabited the surrounding woody hills, and subsisted on sweet potatoes, taro, and deer's flesh. The bare patches of land we saw on the hills were cleared away by them for cultivation. The greater part of the hills was thickly covered with camphor trees, and the boat they were in was made of camphor wood. He said there were about two hundred Chinese in the village, who subsisted on the produce of their fishing. They had been sent there many years ago by the mandarins (and were probably convicts); if we were to kill any of the savages, they would revenge themselves on the Chinese, for the savages had arms, the Chinese had none. A village that used to exist a little further up the coast, where we could see a wreath of blue smoke rising, had been burnt by the savages and every one killed. One man who had lived here

fifteen years, had never seen or heard of any wreck. Foreign ships had been seen passing by that place, but none had ever come so near the land as ours.

‘The only other tribe of whom I have any facts to relate are the *Sek-hwan* (cooked or ripe foreigners) of Saw-o harbour, and the *Komalans* or *Kap-tsu-lan* plain. On the voyage referred to we entered Saw-o harbour, which appears to be the boundary of the Chinese territory on the east side. Here is a little bay, on the left we found a small village of the *Sek-hwan*. Some of the males of this place had loose hair, but not a few of the younger of them had their heads shaved in the Chinese fashion. They were a shade or so darker than the Chinese, with a Malayan cast of countenance. Of the women some were brown, others nearly fair; while many had European physiognomies. A few wore coats or something thrown over their shoulders; but the majority had no other covering than a wrapper round the loins, secured with a cloth girdle. Their hair hung loose, with a white or red fillet laid just above the forehead. Most of these people smoked pipes, or rolls of tobacco shaped like cigars. One of the men spoke a little Chinese, and we got him to interpret to the others. When we inquired about their origin, they said they only knew that they belonged to the soil. They could not even tell their own ages, having apparently no means of noting them. They would not be called *Chhi-hwan* or raw foreigners; they were Hwan-a, or foreigners the same as we were. They seemed to be as much afraid of the mountain savages as were the Chinese themselves. Both in the construction of their houses and in their mode of living, these people resemble the Chinese much more than do the blood-thirsty race we had seen a few days before. A quieter and more inoffensive class of people could hardly be found anywhere. They had never seen a foreign steamer, and in the afternoon came off in crowds, and spent the remainder of the day in going round and round the ship, both men and women, sculling themselves in their point-ended *proas* or canoes, chanting a most peculiar air.

‘A little above Saw-o, up the river Polosinnawan (marked Kalewan in the chart) we found several villages of *Komalans* on its banks. They were exceedingly civil and good-natured, and showed us about their tree-ensconced residences. Their houses, built off the ground on posts, were constructed chiefly of wooden logs with thatched roofs, and had boarded floors. The people were governed by head-men of their own race, who were responsible to the Chinese commandant of the chief Chinese village, Le-tuk-kan, further up the river. In these villages the people appeared to be in better circumstances than at Saw-o, but further up we met with crowds of *Komalans* in a very squalid state, wandering about from place to place, and depending on charity for support. The Chinese deprive them of their land for any trivial fault, and drive them away in herds in the most heartless manner. The poor creatures are greatly in the minority in these plains, and it will not take many years before their small bands will entirely disappear before the fast-increasing usurpers. The women here dress their hair neatly, with three or four folds of red thread wrapped round, the whole surmounted by a woven garland of green creeping plants. Their ears were bored with several holes, and five or six thin white-metal rings, two inches or so in diameter, were thrust through each hole. These rather loaded the ears, but the effect was very far from unbecoming. Over the doorways of their houses they had the heads of deer, wild pigs, and other wild animals nailed, and the walls inside were hung with bows and arrows, the shafts of the latter having no feathers. These arms, apparently mementos of their better days of independence, the families were very loath to part with.

‘The aborigines of the Polosinnawan river and Saw-o call themselves *Komalans* or

Kapalan, whence the Chinese name of the district on the east side, which once belonged to them. In the Government map they are spoken of as the *Alashe* foreigners. In the small vocabulary I possess of their language, I can trace no similarity in their dialect (except in such general words as those for *silver* and *tobacco*) with that of their neighbours, the *Kweiyung* mountaineers; whereas their numerals are identical with those of the *Kalees* of the south, from whom they are now separated by a long range of high mountains. Their words for horse and buffalo are evidently of Spanish origin, and this they doubtless derived from the Spanish settlers at Kelung. It is, perhaps, not improbable that they are the descendants of some *Kalees* that the Spaniards might have introduced from the south on their occupation. This, however, is mere speculation, though it is hard otherwise to account for two peoples possessing the same numerals unchanged for so many generations, existing at such distances apart, with the vast territory between hostile and impassable, and populated by other tribes of distinct dialects.

‘I have thus been able to gather a few notes on five tribes of the aboriginal races of Formosa—the *Kalees* of the southern mountains, the *Kweiyungs* of the northern mountains, the *Tylokoks* of the N.E. mountains, the *Komalans* of the N.E. plains, and the *Pepos* of Sinkang. The last are almost entirely amalgamated with the Chinese, and the last but one are fast disappearing. Of a sixth tribe, the people of Sakam, who have entirely disappeared, we know the most through Dutch writings, as they were the natives with whom the Hollanders first came in contact on their island of Tayouan, for Sakam was in those days a log-hut town on the site of the present city of Taiwanfoo.’

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aldaer. Met by-gevoeghde Authentijcke Bewijsen. Alles getrouwelijck wyt deselve by een vergadert, door C. E. S. En met schoone Figuren verciert. t'Amsterdam, By Jan Claesz ten Hoorn, over 't Oude Heere Logement en Michiel Pieters, in de Lombaert-steegh Boeckverkoopers. 1675. In 4to, pp. 45, 56, and 38.

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Charts and Maps.—The following is a complete List of the British Admiralty charts relating to Formosa and its adjacent islands. They should be used with vol. iii. of the *China Sea Directory* (3rd edition, 1894, price 4s. 6d. ; Supplement 1898, price 4d.), and with part vi. of the *List of Lights* ; which includes notices of lights on South Africa, East Indies, China, Japan, Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand. The Admiralty agent for the sale of all these publications is J. D. Potter, 145 Minories, London, E. The two best native maps of Formosa are (1) one of the whole island published in 1900 ; and (2) one of the Tainan Prefecture published

in 1901. The former especially is a beautiful piece of work, but the names of both are printed in Japanese characters:—

No. 2408. Size 20×27 inches. Scale 0·4. Batan islands. (Plans: Strait between Ibugos or Bashi and Sabtan, Santo Domingo, and Ivana). *Captain E. Belcher*, 1845. Large corrections, January 1867; minor, March 1879. Price 1s. 6d.

No. 2660 *a, b*. Size 40×27 inches. Scale 0·05. China Sea, southern portion, 2 sheets. Latest surveys 1881. Large corrections (*a*) August 1896; minor, Oct. 1901; (*b*) minor corrections, Nov. 1901; large, Dec. 1901. Price, each 2s. 6d.

No. 1760. Size 40×27 and 20×27 inches. Scale 0·24. The Brothers to Ockseu islands, including the west coast of Formosa from Wankan bank to Nan-sa-sha river. *Admiralty Surveys*, 1843 to 1887. Minor corrections, Jan. 1901; large, Feb. 1901. Price 3s.

No. 1761. Size 40×27 inches. Scale 0·24. Ockseu island to Tung-Yung, including the north part of Formosa from Nan-sa-sha river to Kelung harbour. *Admiralty Surveys*, 1843 to 1886. Large corrections, Jan. 1887; minor, Sept. 1899. Price 2s. 6d.

No. 2412. Size 40×27 inches. Scale d. 2·8. Amoy to Nagasaki, including the Yang-tse-Kiang and the islands between Formosa and Japan. *British and Foreign Surveys* to 1891. Large corrections, Oct. 1897; minor, Oct. 1901. Price 2s. 6d.

No. 2409. Size 40×27 inches. Scale 0·5. West coast of Formosa and Pescadores channel. *Admiralty Surveys*, 1844-67. Large corrections, Feb. 1901; minor, August 1901. Price 2s.

No. 1641. Size 20×27 inches. Scale 3·9. Harbours and anchorages on the coast of Formosa—Toko Hakuchi. *Japanese Gov. Plan*, pub. July 1898. Price 1s. 6d.

No. 2376. Size 30×22 inches. Scale var. Harbours in Formosa. Tamsui harbour, Suao bay, Port Kok-si, Port Takau. *Various Authorities*, 1855-1899. Minor corrections, May 1896; large, Mar. 1901. Price 1s. 6d.

No. 2618. Size 20×27 inches. Scale 4·9. Kelung harbour. *Japanese Government Plan*, 1897. Minor corrections, May 1900. Price 1s. 6d.

No. 1968. Size 40×27 inches. Scale 0·1. Formosa island and strait. *Admiralty Surveys*, to 1868. Large corrections, June 1886; minor, Oct. 1901. Price 2s. 6d.

No. 1961. Size 40×27 inches. Scale 0·8. Pescadores islands. *Captain Collinson*, 1844. Large corrections, Nov. 1900; minor, Aug. 1901. Price 2s. 6d.

No. 1338. Size 40×27 inches. Scale 3·0. Pescadores islands, river anchorages. *French Gov. Survey*, 1886. Pub. Oct. 1895. Price 2s. 6d.

No. 2105. Size 20×27 inches. Scale 0·5. Meiacosima or Yayey-

ama group. (Plan: Port Broughton.) *Captain Sir Edward Belcher*, 1845. Large corrections, Aug. 1889; minor, Sept. 1900. Price 1s. 6d.

No. 2416. Size 40×27 inches. Scale 0·35. Liu-kiu islands. (Plan: Kerama channel and anchorages.) *Various Authorities*, to 1893. Minor corrections, June 1900. Price 2s. 6d.

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The following is a List of the Customs' Trade Reports noticed under each name in this Bibliography:—

<i>North Formosa.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>South Formosa.</i>
<i>Only statistics,</i>	1865	H. J. Fisher.
<i>Only statistics,</i>	1866	F. W. White.
H. Kopsch,	1867	F. W. White.
E. C. Taintor,	1868	I. J. Man.
H. E. Hobson,	1869	W. Cartwright.
H. E. Hobson,	1870	W. Cartwright.
H. E. Hobson,	1871	<i>Only statistics.</i>
H. E. Hobson,	1872	<i>Only statistics.</i>
H. E. Hobson,	1873	J. H. Hart.
H. E. Hobson,	1874	H. Edgar.
H. E. Hobson,	1875	H. O. Brown.
H. E. Hobson,	1876	T. F. Hughes.
W. Lay,	1877	H. E. Hobson.
W. Lay,	1878	H. E. Hobson.
W. Lay,	1879	F. A. Morgan.
W. Lay,	1880	W. B. Russell.
W. Hancock,	1881	A. Novion.
H. J. Fisher,	1882	A. Novion.
H. J. Fisher,	1883	G. C. Stent.
E. Farago,	1884	H. W. Merrill.
E. Farago,	1885	E. F. Creagh.
E. Farago,	1886	J. Mackay.
J. L. Chalmers,	1887	F. E. Woodruff.
J. L. Chalmers,	1888	A. Lay.
H. Kopsch,	1889	J. R. Brazier.
F. Hirth,	1890	J. R. Brazier.
F. Hirth,	1891	P. H. S. Montgomery.
H. B. Morse,	1892	H. Edgar.
H. B. Morse,	1893	W. F. Spinney.
H. B. Morse,	1894	W. F. Spinney.
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2. A boat journey across the northern end of Formosa, from Tamsui on the West to Kelung on the East, with notes on Hobe, Bangka, and Kelung. *Proceed. Geogr. Soc.*, vol. ii. (1867), pp. 167-173.
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5. Rambles of a Naturalist on the shores and waters of the China Sea; being observations in Natural History during a voyage to China, Formosa, Borneo, and Singapore, made in Her Majesty's vessels in 1866 and 1867. London: J. Murray, 1868. Pages 35-128 are devoted to Formosa and its islands. With plates and vocabularies.

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vol. iii. (1887), pp. 567-577. Also in *Jour. of Manchester Geogr. Soc.*, vol. iii. (1887), pp. 226-238.

3. *The Mastery of the Pacific*. London: W. Heinemann, 21 Bedford Street, 1897. Demy 8vo. Price 18s. net. Chap. xv., pp. 358-378, is taken up with a fresh and well-informed account of the island and the action of the Japanese there. Has six illustrations, including one of Mr. Kato, first Christian missionary to the savages.

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<i>North Formosa.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>South Formosa.</i>	<i>North Formosa.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>South Formosa.</i>
G. C. P. Braune,	1862	R. Swinhoe (Of the Island).	o	1882	T. Watters.
G. C. P. Braune,	1863	o	A. Frater,	1883	W. Gregory.
W. Gregory,	1864	R. Swinhoe.	A. Frater,	1884	W. D. Spence.
W. Gregory,	1865	R. Swinhoe.	H. A. Giles,	1885	W. D. Spence.
W. Gregory,	1866	C. Caroll.	H. A. Giles,	1886	P. L. Warren.
o	1867	o	H. A. Giles,	1887	P. L. Warren.
W. Gregory,	1868	o	F. S. A. Bourne,	1888	G. Playfair.
W. Gregory,	1869	A. R. Hewlett.	G. Playfair,	1889	P. L. Warren.
W. Gregory,	1870	A. R. Hewlett.	W. Holland,	1890	P. L. Warren.
A. Frater,	1871	W. Gregory.	W. Holland,	1891	P. L. Warren.
E. C. Baber,	1872	W. Gregory.	o	1892	P. L. Warren.
H. J. Allen,	1873	W. Gregory.	L. C. Hopkins,	1893	R. W. Hurst.
H. J. Allen,	1874	W. Gregory.	L. C. Hopkins,	1894	R. W. Hurst.
A. Frater,	1875	T. Watters.	R. de B. Layard,	1895	R. W. Hurst.
A. Frater,	1876	G. Playfair.	H. A. C. Bonar,	1896	W. J. Kenny.
B. C. Scott,	1877	A. Frater.	H. A. C. Bonar,	1897	E. A. Griffiths.
A. Frater,	1878	A. R. Hewlett.	R. de B. Layard,	1898	E. A. Griffiths.
C. M. Ford,	1879	P. L. Warren.	R. de B. Layard,	1899	W. J. Kenny.
T. Watters,	1880	G. Phillips.	T. W. Wawn,	1900	W. J. Kenny.
T. Watters,	1881	G. Phillips.	R. de B. Layard,	1901	W. J. Kenny.
			R. de B. Layard,	1902	E. A. Griffiths.

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5. The Formosa part extends from col. 139 to col. 140. At the titles of the other works referring to the island are elsewhere throughout this painstaking, although ill-indexed work.
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 2. Violent persecution in Formosa. Reported in a Memorial to Sir R. Alcock by Dr. Maxwell and Rev. H. Ritchie. *Chinese Recorder*, vol. i. (1868), pp. 65-68.
 3. The Medical Mission work in Formosa. Report for 1867-8. In 8vo, pp. 12. Birmingham: Martin Billing, Son and Co.
 4. Report of the Medical Mission work in Formosa for 1869.
- MAYERS, W. F.**—British Consular Service. See Dennys, N. B.
- MEDHURST, Rev. W. H.**—Dictionary of the Favorlang [-English] dialect of the Formosan language, by Gilbertus Happart. Parapattan: in 12mo, pp. 383. A Dutch-Favorlang edition appeared in vol. xviii. of *Trans. of the Batavian Soc. of Arts and Sciences* in 1842, and a revised edition in Campbell's *Articles of Christian Instruction*, q.v.
- Medical Reports.**—Apart from Reports of Hospital and Dispensary work carried on by the Japanese, the others fall into two classes: (1) half-yearly Reports made by medical officers who were connected with the Chinese Customs Service at Tamsui and Takow; and (2) Reports of work done at the Tamsui Mission Hospital and the Mission Hospitals at Takow and Taiwanfu. All these Reports are noted *seriatim* under their writers' names in the present Bibliography, and show that the Tamsui Customs

medical officer, Dr. Ringer, wrote 8 of them, Dr. Johansen 1, and Dr. A. Rennie 4; the numbers from Takow being, Dr. D. Manson 4, Dr. T. Rennie 5, and Dr. Myers 5. As regards Mission Hospital Reports from Tamsui, the medical missionary, Dr. Fraser, has 2, while of the three honorary physicians-in-charge there, Dr. Ringer issued 2, Dr. Johansen 5, and Dr. A. Rennie 6; the medical missionary, Dr. Maxwell, reporting twice from Takow, and his colleagues, Drs. Lang and Anderson, twice each from Taiwanfu.

MENCARINI, Dr. JUAN.—Formosa: apuntes para un estudio. *Bol. Soc. Geogr. de Madrid*, vol. xxxviii. (1896), pp. 210-277.

MERRILL, H. F.—Chinese Customs Service.
Takow Trade Report for 1884, pp. 273-288.

METCHNIKOV, L.—The *Asie Orientale* of E. Reclus states that the Boutans of Formosa are like the Aborigines of Yukanuni, the westernmost island of the San-nan or Sakisima group in the Liu-khiu archipelago.

MIQUEL, Prof.—Dr. Hance states (*Four. of Botany*, Sept. 1874) that Prof. Miquel's *Prolusio Floræ Japonicæ* contains the description of a considerable number of plants collected by Oldham.

Missionary Reports.—The Spanish Dominicans came to Formosa in 1859, and reports of their work are given in *Ann. Prop. de la Foi, Missions Catholiques*, and the *Catolica Filippina*, but it has not been possible to obtain a full list of the missionaries. Besides this Roman Catholic Mission, and some work recently commenced by the Japanese among their own fellow-countrymen, there are now only two Protestant Missions in Formosa: that from the English Presbyterian Church in the South, which dates from 1865, and the Canada Presbyterian Mission, which was commenced at Tamsui in 1872. Missionary letters and reports from South Formosa may be found in *The Monthly Messenger* and *Our Sisters in other Lands*, both at 14 Paternoster Square, London, E.C.; information about the North being supplied in *The Presbyterian Record*, published at Toronto. The following is a complete list of the missionaries connected with the two Missions, the names of those who have resigned or died being put in italics. I. ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN MISSION (1) Ordained Missionaries: *H. Ritchie*, 1867-1875; *W. Campbell*, 1871—; *T. Barclay*, 1874—; *D. Smith*, 1876-1882; *W. Thou*, 1880-1894; *J. Main*, 1882-1884; *W. R. Thomson*, 1882-1887; *D. Ferguson*, 1889—; *C. N. Moody*, 1896—; *A. B. Nielson*, 1896—; (2) Medical Missionaries: *J. L. Maxwell*, 1865-1871; *M. Dickson*, 1871-1878; *P. Anderson*, 1878—; *J. L. Maxwell* (second term), 1884; *J. Lang*, 1885-1887; *G. Russell*, 1888-1892; *W. M. Cairns*, 1892-1895; *D. Landsborough*, 1896; *Mrs. Ferguson*, 1899-1901; *J. L. Maxwell, Jun.*, 1901—; (3) Missionary Teachers: *G. Ede*, 1884-1895; *J. R. Johnston*, 1901—; (4) Lady Missionaries: *Mrs. Ritchie*, 1879-1882; *E. Murray*, 1880-1884; *A. E. Butler*, 1885—; *J. Stuart*, 1885—; *M. Barnett*, 1888. II. CANADA PRESBYTERIAN MISSION (1) Ordained Missionaries: *G. L. Mackay*, 1872-1901;

- K. F. Junor*, 1878-1882; *J. Jamieson*, 1888-1890; *W. Gauld*, 1892—; *T. Fraser*, 1902—; (2) Medical Missionary: *J. B. Fraser*, 1875-1877.
- Missions Catholiques, Les.**—L'île de Formose. Vol. for 1877, pp. 373-374; 386-388; 411-412. Cartes et vues. Par Dominicains de Formose.
- Mitt. Geogr. Ges. (Wien).**—Die Insel Formosa. Vol. for 1874, No. 11.
- MIDZUNO, JUN.**—Former Chief of the Civil Administration in Formosa. Opium in Formosa. In April 1898 No. of (Tokyo) *Far East*.
- MÖLLENDORFF, P. G. and O. F. von.**—Manual of Chinese Bibliography. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1876. In 8vo, pp. viii and 378. Price \$1. Gives only a small list of works on Formosa.
- MONNIER, Dr. F. Le.**
1. Eine vergessene Holländische Colonie. *Revue Colon. Internation.* No. for Nov. 1885.
 2. Die Insel Formosa. *Deutsche Rundschau*, vol. vii. (1885), pp. 97-108; 210-221.
- MONTANUS, ARNOLDUS.**—See Ogilvy, John.
- MONTGOMERY, P. H. S.**—Chinese Customs Service.
1. Tainan Trade Report for 1881, pp. 359-381.
 2. Decennial Report from Tainan, 1882-1891. With maps of Takow, Tainan, and Formosa, pp. 463-494. Also, separately, pp. 32.
- MONTIGNY, M. De.**—See Jomard, M.
- MONTMORAND, B. De.**—Sources thermales dans l'île de Formose. *Bull. Soc. Géogr. de Paris*, vol. for 1865, pp. 135-146; 203-205.
- MOODY, Rev. C. N.**—The Modern Missionary. *Monthly Record* (of the Free Church of Scotland) for Aug. 2, 1897, pp. 195-196, and June 1, 1898, pp. 136-137.
- MORGAN, F. A.**—Chinese Customs Service. Takow Trade Report for 1879, pp. 186-192.
- MORRISON, G. J.**—A description of the Island of Formosa, with some remarks on its past history, its present condition, and its future prospects. *Geogr. Magazine*, vol. for 1877, pp. 260-266; 293-296; 319-322. Interesting and full of information, but mistaken in stating that Mount Morrison was not named after the well-known pioneer missionary of that name. See Collinson's *Remarks*.
- MORSE, H. B.**—Chinese Customs Service.
1. Tamsui Trade Report for 1892, pp. 339-358.
 2. Tamsui Trade Report for 1893, pp. 351-372.
 3. Tamsui Trade Report for 1894, pp. 357-360.
 4. Tamsui Trade Report for 1895, pp. 339-357.
- MULLER, Dr. F.**—His *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. ii. pp. 87-160, compares the following eleven languages under the Malayan division, Tagala, Ibang, Formosan, Battak, Malagasy, Alfur, Dayak, Javanese, Mankasar, and Bugis.
- MULLER, F.**—Beschrijvende Catalogus van 7000 Nederlandsche Portretten.

Amsterdam, 1853. No. 1985 refers to portrait of Rev. D. Gravius, and No. 2815 to one of Rev. R. Junius.

MYERS, Dr. W. W.—Chinese Customs Service.

1. Report on the Health of Takow for the two years ended 31st March 1881, pp. 58-70. The same vol. pp. 1-25 has a paper by the same author on *Filaria Sanguinis Hominum*.
2. Report on the Health of Takow and Taiwanfu for the year ended 31st March 1882, pp. 18-29.
3. Special Report from the Trustees (Messrs. Myers and J. Graham) of the 'David Manson Memorial Hospital' at Takow, Formosa, 1882. Amoy: Printed by A. A. Marcal, 8vo, pp. 18.
4. Report on the Health of Takow for the two years ended 31st March 1884, including Notes on the Manson Hospital, on the aborigines, and by Mr. G. Taylor on the Paiwan and other tribes, pp. 22-49.
5. Report on the Health of Takow and Taiwanfu for the two and a half years ended 30th September 1886, pp. 39-49.
6. Report on the Health of Tainan for the two years ended 31st March 1891, pp. 33.
7. Report to the Subscribers to the Medical Education Scheme supported by foreigners of all nationalities resident in China and elsewhere to prove the feasibility of educating and passing native surgeons in their own country in similar manner and up to the average standard required for medical qualifications in western lands. Presented by W. Wykeham Myers, M.B., Honorary Surgeon, David Manson Memorial Hospital, Director of Studies in Medical School, Takow, Formosa. In 4to, pp. 65. With illustrations. Shanghai: American Presbyterian Press, 1889.
8. The Japanese in Formosa. *North China Herald* for 23rd Oct. 1899, pp. 833-834.

Nature—London weekly illustrated periodical. Macmillan and Co. Vol. xxxii. (1885), pp. 346-347, has a well-informed article on Formosa.

Nautical Magazine.—London monthly. Heywood and Co., 150 Holborn, E.C.

1. Notes of H.B.M. *Salamander's* visit to Formosa. Vol. for 1851, pp. 520-525.
2. Notes on Kok-si-kon and Takow harbours. Vol. for 1855, pp. 372-375.
3. The condition of Formosa. Vol. lxiv. (1895), p. 608.

NETSCHER, E.—See Dr. H. Kern.

NEURDENBURG, Rev. J. C.—Zal het Zendingwerk onzen Yaderen op Formosa eerlang door Nederlanders worden hervat? Netherlands Miss. Soc. Rotterdam, 1889. Small 8vo, pp. 12.

NIEUHOFF, JOHN.—An Embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham Emperor of China, Deliver'd by Their Excellencies Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer,

At his Imperial City of Peking. Wherin the Cities, Towns, Villages, Ports, Rivers, etc. In their Passages from Canton to Peking, Are Ingeniously Described, By Mr. John Nieuhoff, Steward to the Ambassadors. Also An Epistle of Father John Adams their Antagonist, Concerning the Whole Negotiation. With an Appendix of several Remarks taken out of Father Athanasius Kircher. English'd, and set forth with their several Sculptures, By John Ogilby, Esq. The Second Edition. London, Printed by the Author at his House in Whitefriers. 1673.

NIMIER, Dr. H.—Histoire chirurgicale de la guerre au Tonkin et à Formosa. Paris : G. Masson, 1888. In 8vo, pp. 178.

NOVION, A.—Chinese Customs Service.

1. Takow Trade Report for 1881, pp. 1-7. With map of Takow showing the channel as it existed from 1 Nov. 1881 till 19 March 1882.
2. Takow Trade Report for 1882, pp. 273-288.

OBERLANDER, R.—Formosa. *Der Welthandel* (Stuttgart), vol. for 1869, No. 10, pp. 537-544.

OGILBY, JOHN.—Atlas Chinensis: Being a Second Part of a Relation of Remarkable Passages in two Embassies from the East India Company of the United Provinces to the Vice-roy Singlamong and General Taising Lipovi, and to Konchi, Emperor of China and East Tartary. With a Relation of the Netherlanders assisting the Tartar against Koxinga and the Chinese Fleet, who till then were Masters of the Sea. . . . Collected out of their several Writings and Journals, By Arnoldus Montanus. English'd and Adorn'd with above a hundred several Sculptures. By John Ogilby, Esq. 1671. [Contains many descriptive and historical details about Formosa.]

OLIVER, PASFIELD.—The Memoirs and Travels of Mauritius Augustus, Count de Benyowsky. London : Fisher Unwin. New edition in two vols. 8vo, 1892.

ORTELIUS, ABRAHAM.—Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. The Theatre of the Whole World set forth. Maps. Folio, 1606. States that Taiwan was known by the name of Formosa so early as 1579.

Oost-Indisch-praetjen, voorgevallen in Batavia, Tusschen vier Nederlanders den eenen een Koopman, d'ander een Krijghs-officier, den derden een Stuyrman, en den vierden of den laesten een Kranke-besoecker. Gedrukt in t'Jaer onses Heeren, anno 1663.

OWATARI, CHUTARO.

1. Botanical Excursion to Formosa. *Tokyo Botanical Magazine* for 1898.
2. Flora of Formosa. *Jour. Tokyo Geogr. Soc.*, vol. xi. (1899), pp. 443-449.

PANCKOW, von HELLMUTH.—Die Bevölkerung Formosas. *Aus allen Welttheilen*, vol. xxvii. (1895), pp. 33-40; 66-76. With illustrations.

PARKER, E. P.—British Consular Service.

1. Formosan Savages. *China Review*, vol. xv. pp. 197-190.
2. Maritime wars of the Manchus. *China Review*, vol. xvi. pp. 276-285.

Parliamentary Papers.—The following have appeared at irregular intervals, and are on sale by Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, East Harding Street, London, E.C. :—

1869 [4097-11] *China*, No. 3.—Correspondence respecting missionary disturbances at Cheefoo and Taiwan. Small fol., pp. 55. Price 7½d. Describes capture of Anping by H.B.M.S. *Algerine*.

1869 [4097-iv] *China*, No. 6.—Correspondence respecting outrage on British Merchants at Banca, in Formosa. Small folio, pp. 11. Price 2d.

1875 [1164] *China*, No. 2.—Correspondence respecting the settlement of the difficulty between China and Japan in regard to the Island of Formosa. Small folio, pp. 9. Price 1½d.

1875 [1289] *China*, No. 6.—Further correspondence respecting the difficulty between China and Japan in regard to the Island of Formosa. Small folio, pp. 4. Price 1d.

1885. *China*, No. 3.—Report by Mr. L. C. Hopkins on the Island of Formosa. With a map. 8vo, pp. 9. Price 3d.

1885. [c-4245] *China*, No. 1.—Correspondence between Consul Frater, Admiral Lespes, and Sir Harry Parkes on the safety of British subjects at Tamsui and Kelung. Small folio, pp. 77. Price 10½d.

1885. [c-4359] *France*, No. 1.—Correspondence respecting hostilities between France and China, and the rights of neutrals during the blockade of Formosa. Letters from M. Waddington, Lord Granville, and Admiral Courbet. Small folio, pp. 19. Price 3½d.

1893. [c-7104] *China* No. 11.—Report by Mr. A. Hosie on the Island of Formosa, with special reference to its resources and trade. Small folio, pp. 25. Price 9d.

1896. [c-7922] *China, Commercial*, No. 1.—Report on Formosa. By Mr. N. Perkins. In continuation of [c-7104]. Small folio, pp. 24. Price 2½d.

Patar Ki Tna'-msing.—See Gravius, Rev. D.

PATERSSON, J. W.—Chinese Customs Service.

1. Note on conveyance of camphor and hardwood from the interior of Formosa. See Mr. Lay's Report for 1880.
2. Map of North Formosa. See Mr. Hancock's Report for 1881.

Peking Gazette, the.—An English translation first appears in the *North China Daily News*, and then in the weekly *North China Herald*, both journals being issued at Shanghai. Since 1872, those instalments have been collected and published from the same office in yearly 8vo volumes under the title of *Translation of the Peking Gazette*, price \$2 each. The following is a summary of all the notices relating to Formosa, Liu-kiu, and the Pescadores :—

Peking Gazette, the—(continued).

Volume for 1872.

- May* 11. Miyako-sima boatmen murdered by Baw-tan savages and survivors well-treated at Fuchau. (Those murders led to the Japanese punitive expedition to Formosa in 1874.)
- June* 6. General of Taiwan garrison embezzles 3600 *taels* of his men's money.
- June* 23. Petition for increased literary privileges in the Komalan District.
- July* 14. Provincial Commander visits Formosa to quell turbulence of the people.
- July* 31. Ha Ju-lun receives appointment as acting Taotai of Formosa.
- Nov.* 9. Liu-kiu envoy gratefully prostrates himself for remission of Customs' tax.

Volume for 1873.

- Apr.* 1. Petition to limit law cases among the litigious people of Formosa.
- May* 15. Ha Ju-lun's ceremonious gratitude on being made Taotai.
- July* 10. Petitions Emperor to forgive Prefect who has paid up his defalcations.
- Oct.* 9. Chang Ke-kwang thanks Emperor for being appointed General in Formosa.
- Dec.* 17. Sie Pao-tieng made Customs officer at Lo-erh-men, near Taiwanfu.
- Dec.* 17. Chiang-hoa magistrate dismissed for mismanaging two murder cases.

Volume for 1874.

- Apr.* 6. Chow Chen-pang proposed as naval brigade chief at Anping.
- Apr.* 28. Arrival at Fuchau of tribute junks from Liu-kiu.
- May* 11. Graduation of three persons from Formosa at Peking.
- May* 30. Taiwan woman executed by slicing for the murder of her husband.
- Sep.* 3. Proposal that civilians should defend Luh-kiang (*i.e.* Lok-kang).
- Oct.* 24. Governor of Chekiang reports succour given to Liu-chuan junk.
- Dec.* 5. Gazette's first explicit reference to the Japanese in Formosa.
- Dec.* 15. Liu-kiu envoy *kowtows* at Fuchau Custom House for benefits received.

Volume for 1875.

- Jan.* 15. Wen-siang begs to quit office now that the Japanese affair is settled.
- Jan.* 18. Governor of Fokien to reside in Formosa for more effective service.
- Jan.* 23. Report of two gunboats lost off the coast of Formosa last September.
- Jan.* 23. Reports the rescue at Fuchau of a Lu-chuan junk.
- Feb.* 1. Naval General of Fokien now at Saw-o opening up mountain region.
- Feb.* 15. Shen Pao-chen asks rewards to officers for opening up mountain region.
- Feb.* 15. Emperor's decree permitting a Koxinga temple at Taiwanfu.
- Feb.* 15. Petitions to remove interdict on cultivating land in central Formosa.
- Mar.* 3. Imperial decree for temple at Kagi to god who preserved that city.
- Mar.* 3. Petition for temple to be erected at Taiwanfu to Koxinga.
- Mar.* 4. Regulations for opening up the mountain territory in East Formosa.
- Mar.* 5. Further reference to the shipwrecked Lu-chuans. (See Jan. 23.)
- Apr.* 3. Regarding the appointment of a magistrate for the Hong-soa District.
- Apr.* 9. Rewards to Colonel Wang for fighting Lion-head tribe of savages.
- Apr.* 24. Shen Pao-chen again asks for posthumous rewards for Wang Kai-sun.
- May* 20. A certain official recommended for the magistracy of Chiang-hwa.
- May* 30. Shen Pao-chen (Imperial Commissioner to Formosa) appointed to the Two Kiang.

Peking Gazette, the—(continued).

- June* 3. Sea god at Komalan to have temple erected, having recently rendered miraculous help there.
- June* 3. Shen Pao-chen arranges for rebuilding the wall of Taiwan city.
- June* 25. Acting Taotai Ha appointed Taotai of Taiwan. (See 31 July 1872.)
- July* 11. General Lo very ill after opening up mountain region in North Formosa.
- July* 25. Governor Wang Kai-thi visits Formosa, taking with him his seals.
- July* 26. He arranges for his absence in Taiwan during the Examinations.
- Sep.* 13. Permission asked for General Lo to retire because of ill health.
- Sep.* 29. Lu-chuan junk rescued from shipwreck off Shantung promontory.
- Oct.* 2. Influential petition for erecting a temple to the god of the seas at Anping.
- Oct.* 2. Retirement of General Lo who had contracted illness in Formosa.
- Nov.* 7. Reports rescue of Lu-chuan junk in the Ping-yang District.
- Nov.* 17. Shen Pao-chen on the newly-erected District of Heng-chun.
- Dec.* 11. Reports death of Governor Wang and erection of temple in Taiwanfu.
- Dec.* 15. Memorial from Governor Wang as to leaving Formosa in ill health.
- Dec.* 21. Governor Wang reports his return from Formosa in ill health.
- Dec.* 23. Announces death of Governor Wang on November 20.
- Dec.* 29. Begs the erection of temples at Fuchau and Formosa in his honour.

Volume for 1876.

- Jan.* 5. Governor-general reports rescue of shipwrecked Lu-chuans at Fuchau.
- Jan.* 17. Shen Pao-chen on creation of new Districts in Formosa.
- Feb.* 17. Governor-general reports help given to Lu-chuans at Ping-yang.
- Feb.* 24. Prince Kung's Memorial on the civil administration of Formosa.
- Feb.* 25. Memorial continues on rearrangement of the military commands.
- Mar.* 4. Proposed change of officials to meet needs of the Taiwan Prefecture.
- Mar.* 30. Petition of Lin Tai-she about the murder of her son in Formosa.
- Apr.* 18. Formosa Sub-Prefect and Lieut.-Colonel denounced for malpractices.
- Apr.* 19. Reference to expenditure made for the defence of Formosa.
- Apr.* 20. Reference to two persons from Formosa obtaining degrees at Peking.
- May* 7. Prefect charged with embezzling 14,000 *taels* in building Anping fort.
- May* 23. Also denounced for fraud and mismanaging Lin Tai-she's case.
- May* 23. Governor Ting further exposes mal-administration in Formosa.
- May* 23. He impeaches the Chiang-hwa magistrate for gross misconduct.
- June* 6. Sub-Prefect Sun Show-ming appointed acting Taotai at Taiwanfu.
- June* 17. Governor Ting convicts several Formosan officials of serious malpractices.
- July* 7. Commander-in-chief and others invalided from region east of Saw-o.
- Aug.* 13. To recover money from family of Brigadier who embezzled in Formosa.
- Oct.* 6. Efforts at Kagi to put down gambling, 'the great vice of Formosa.'
- Oct.* 17. Report on relief of distressed Lu-chuan junk at Cha-pu.
- Oct.* 19. Reference to Chang Meng-yuan, the acting Prefect of Taiwanfu.
- Oct.* 19. Shipwrecked Lu-chuans return after being cared for at Fuchau.
- Oct.* 19. Magistrate Yang of Kagi denounced for extortion and other crimes.
- Nov.* 4. His successor Ho Lwan also denounced for bribe-taking and extortion.
- Nov.* 16. Governor Ting petitions to retire on account of ill health.
- Nov.* 16. Governor Ting deplores the corrupt state of affairs in Formosa.
- Dec.* 14. Gang of desperadoes broken up at Tung-lo in the Tamsui Prefecture.

Peking Gazette, the—(continued).

Volume for 1877.

- Jan. 7. Consul Jamieson informs about distressed Lu-chuans, who are well treated.
 Jan. 15. When about to visit Formosa, Governor Ting receives a suspicious letter from Prefect Tsiang.
 Jan. 22. The Fuchau officials report arrival of distressed Lu-chuan junk.
 Jan. 31. Petition to convert Governorship of Fokien into that of Formosa.
 Feb. 24. Vice-President Yuan on the creation of a Governorship for Formosa.
 Apr. 14. Apology for delay in sending memorial owing to Governor Ting's absence in Formosa.
 Apr. 15. Reports on arrival of twenty-three shipwrecked Lu-chuans at Fuchau.
 May 8. Governor Ting on the ineffable corruption of the Formosa administration.
 May 9. Governor Ting abolishes taxes which oppressed people near Taiwanfu.
 May 9. Two persons from Formosa obtain third degree at Peking.
 May 15. Colonel Yang accused of peculation while acting as Brigadier-general of Taiwan.
 May 31. Governor Ting on taxation of the inhabitants of Formosa.
 June 4. Governor-general reports about Lu-chuans referred to on Jan. 7.
 June 13. Colonel Lin Chu conspires with Col. Yang in acts of embezzlement.
 June 26. Lin Ta-tsuan to fill the newly-created North Formosa Prefecture.
 July 13. Formosa looked to as a source of rice supply for Fuchau.
 Aug. 2. Reports minor incidents of reform as to military abuses in Formosa.
 Aug. 3. Fuchau officials report help given to distressed Lu-chuans there.
 Aug. 3. Reports that Wu Kwang-liang, the newly General of East Formosa, crossed the mountains at Siu Ku-lwan, 'untrodden by the foot of man since the creation of the world.'
 Sep. 9. General Chang cashiered for irregularities in the enlistment of his men.
 Sep. 19. Decree sanctioning remission of arrears of taxes in Taiwan Prefecture.
 Sep. 30. Lin Ta-tsuan called from Kiangsu to be Prefect of North Formosa.
 Sep. 30. Decree appointing Wu Kwang-liang to be Brigadier-general of Formosa.
 Oct. 6. General Chang accused of enlisting 'the mere sweepings of the streets' for service.
 Oct. 14. Help given at Fuchau to Lu-chuan junk with thirteen persons on board.
 Nov. 4. Reports the decease of Brigadier-general Meh in N. Formosa on July 7.
 Dec. 17. Further statement on Lin Tai-she's case—the murder of her son.
 Dec. 22. Reference to the *lekin* duty from the Prefecture of Taiwan.
 Dec. 31. Notes the death of General Meh and highly commends his services.

Volume for 1878.

- Jan. 4. Another reference to the appeal of Lin Tai-she about her son.
 Jan. 8. Reports relief to two companies of distressed Lu-chuans at Fuchau.
 Mar. 6. Memorial on changes in the military administration of Formosa.
 Apr. 9. Shen Pao-chen on the death of Wu Ta-ting, former Taotai of Taiwan.
 May 27. Governor Ting reports about his illness and Formosa Emigration office at Swatow.
 July 4. Li Hung-chang begs reward to Taotai Ha for helping Famine Fund.
 July 15. Governor-general Ho on disastrous hurricane at Taiwan.
 July 30. Further report on this 'strange' wind and darkness at 5 P.M. on 22 May.

Peking Gazette, the—(*continued*).

- Aug.* 19. Governor-general Ho reports help given to thirty-two distressed Lu-chuans.
Aug. 19. He also reports the wreck of two foreigners on an island to the north of Formosa.
Sep. 2. Lin Wei-yuan subscribes \$450,000 to repair the sea walls of Taiwan.
Sep. 20. Kindness shown to three Lu-chuans from Kwan-tung.
Sep. 22. Memorial on superintending the examination for degrees in Formosa.
Nov. 19. Submission of savages who had been defeated by General Sun.
Dec. 2. Grants 1500 *taels* monthly to Governor Wu while subduing the savages.

Volume for 1879.

- Jan.* 25. Chiang-hwa magistrate Chung accused of gross misconduct.
Feb. 11. Sacrifices to the memory of soldiers who have died in Formosa.
Feb. 22. The charges against magistrate Chung of extortion and pillaging wrecks stated in detail.
May 9. Governor-general reports help given to 47 shipwrecked Lu-chuans.
May 28. Officials penalised for clerical error in Memorial on new Districts.
June 1. Imperial favour to Lin Wei-yuan for contributing to Public Funds.
July 16. Another appeal of Lin Tai-she about the murder of her son.
July 22. Lu-chuan junk rescued at Fuchau and men sent back in comfort.
Aug. 2. Further account of the Lu-chuan junk referred to in issue of May 9.
Aug. 12. Li Hung-chang asks that Lin Wei-yuan be rewarded for his liberality.
Aug. 26. Services of former Judge Chen required for the defence of Formosa.
Aug. 26. Rewards petitioned for on behalf of Lin Wei-yuan and his relatives.
Aug. 26. Lin Wei-yuan applies for restoration to rank of his adopted father.
Aug. 31. Honours begged for Captain Wu, whose ship the *Hai-ching* was disabled in Long-kiau bay.
Aug. 31. Honours begged for Lieutenant Hsu for rescuing Captain Westcott and others.
Sep. 10. Chang Meng-yuan is directed to act as Taotai of Taiwan.
Sep. 10. Imperial decree expresses regret at the death of Taotai Ha.
Sep. 28. Refers to his death on 10 August after narrow escape in catamaran on Anping bar.
Oct. 25. Governor of Chekiang reports the rescue of two Lu-chuan vessels.
Nov. 12. Further statement on Lin Tai-she's appeal about the murder of her son.
Dec. 8. Governor of Chekiang reports help given to shipwrecked Lu-chuan junk.

Volume for 1880.

- Jan.* 17. Reference to the late Shen Pao-chen in pacifying Formosa aborigines.
Mar. 28. Governor-general reports rescue of Lu-chuan junk by Chinese gunboat.
Mar. 29. Some of Lin Wei-yuan's \$500,000 for railways to be used in building fort at Kelung.
May 8. Further reference to Lin Tai-she's case about murder of her son.
May 12. Refers to General Ming Ching's military services in Formosa.
Aug. 27. Reports the capture and execution of Liu Tsan-ken, a noted rebel in Formosa.
Oct. 9. Reports Lin Tai-she's case as still unsettled, after many appeals.
Nov. 2. Laudatory notice of the late Governor-general Shen Pao-chen's services in Formosa.

Peking Gazette, the—(continued).

Volume for 1881.

- Jan. 15. Proposed that the Taotai of Taiwan may address the Throne direct.
 Jan. 25. A gale causes much damage to the wall of Heng-chun District town.
 Mar. 26. Anent rules to regulate official salaries in the Taiwan Prefecture.
 May 5. Liu Ao appointed Taotai of Taiwan, with brevet rank of Provincial Judge.
 June 9. Reports severe earthquake in North Prefecture at 2 A.M. on 18 Feb. last.
 Oct. 8. Laudatory reference to Chang Hsing-ao, District magistrate of Hong-soa.
 Oct. 8. This magistrate and the Taiwan magistrate to be placed under strict surveillance.
 Dec. 14. Liu Ao, after Imperial audience, takes over seals at Taiwan on 2 Oct.

Volume for 1882.

- Jan. 23. Relief measures for famishing people on the Pescadores.
 Feb. 6. Officers to be selected for serving in the trying climate of Formosa.
 Mar. 25. Free importation of rice to Taiwan and the Pescadores.
 July 22. Magistrate Pao to be removed from Pescadores owing to his rapacity.
 Aug. 8. To replace Kueichow Force which suffered from the Taiwan climate.
 Aug. 12. Ho-ching reports relief given to eight distressed Lu-chuans.
 Aug. 26. Details of Lin Wen-ming's case—the son of Lin Tai-she.
 Aug. 26. Honorary Portal asked for Lin Tai-she, now nearly 100 years old.
 Sep. 4. Construction of iron crates to break force of the Ta-chia river.
 Sep. 17. Chen Hui-huang brings 200 natives to assist in road-making in Formosa.
 Oct. 14. Damage done by heavy rains and typhoon in the northern Prefecture.
 Oct. 30. Damage caused by the floods and storms in Formosa of 31 July.

Volume for 1883.

- Jan. 7. Captain Chueh dismissed for complicity in trouble in the Kagi District.
 Feb. 19. Chang Chao-tung's tour through Formosa in obedience to the Emperor.
 Apr. 3. Reports rescue of Lu-chuans wrecked on the coast of Taiwan.
 Apr. 23. Reports earthquakes during Dec. 1882 in different parts of Formosa.
 Apr. 30. Two persons from Formosa obtained the Metropolitan degree.
 June 31. Governor of Chekiang reports the rescue of a Lu-chuan vessel.
 Aug. 15. Cheng Chio-o appointed to the office of Prefect of Taiwanfu.
 Nov. 2. Help given to the crew of a distressed Lu-chuan junk.

Volume for 1884.

- Apr. 4. Help given to two shipwrecked parties of Lu-chuans.
 June 26. Liu Ming-chuan receives rank of Governor in Formosa.
 July 4. Liu Ming-chuan has audience of the Emperor before starting.
 July 25. General Yang Tsai-yuan denounced for fraud and unfilial conduct.
 Aug. 5. Governor-general denounced for the appointment of General Yang.
 Aug. 27. Note that Kelung was taken by the French—see page 4 of Addenda.
 Sep. 1. That Liu Ming-chuan should rank as Governor-general of Fokien.
 Oct. 29. Liu Ming-chuan appointed Governor, but to remain in Formosa.
 Nov. 7. French repulsed at Hu-wei by troops under General Sun Kai-hoa.
 Nov. 7. Imperial rewards bestowed on General Sun and others.
 Nov. 21. Liu Ming-chuan gives details of the French repulse at Hu-wei.
 Nov. 22. Imperial grant of 6000 taels for distribution among the soldiers.

Peking Gazette, the—(continued).

Volume for 1885.

- Jan.* 28. Liu Ming-chuan reports large war contribution from Lin Wei-yuan.
Apr. 30. Ex-Governor-general Yang petitions on behalf of Captain Lee Buah.
May 21. Shen Pao-chen blamed for irregularly appointing Prefect Chieng Chio.
May 28. Lu-chuan shipwrecked sailors cared for at Ping-tang-ting.
July 15. Liu Ming-chuan asks rewards for others but depreciates himself.
Aug. 3. Tablets to be put up to the Queen of Heaven in Hu-wei or Tamsui.
Aug. 3. Shen Pao-chen cashiered for sending a petition about Formosa.
Aug. 4. France has withdrawn her forces from Kelung and the Pescadores.
Sep. 6. No executions in Formosa during spring, but two during winter.
Oct. 3. Proposal to make Formosa the seat of a resident Governor.
Oct. 31. Gov. Liu charges Lin Wen-chin of Chiang-hwa with embezzlement.
Nov. 22. He asks posthumous rewards for officers who died of disease.
Nov. 25. Taotai Liu Ao and others to be executed for covetousness and deceit.
Dec. 20. Liu Ming-chuan denounces Taotai Liu Ao on four counts.
Dec. 20. Shen Pao-chen's erection of forts at Anping and Takow.
Dec. 29. Steps taken to confiscate the inventoried property of Taotai Liu Ao.

Volume for 1886.

- Feb.* 11. Imperial tablet at Makeng to local deity for helping the people.
Mar. 6. Governor-general at Foochow on rescue of shipwrecked Lu-chuans.
Apr. 16. Lu-chuan junk Chin-chia-shan struck and was rescued near Formosa.
Apr. 23. Governor-general Yang starting on naval inspection to the Pescadores.
Apr. 29. Two persons from Formosa obtain the third degree at Peking.
May 11. Liu Ming-chuan forwards list of officers and men who died in Formosa.
May 28. Loss of the *Heng-hai*, *Douglas*, and other vessels at the Pescadores.
June 6. General Sun leaves Formosa for his ancestral home at Chin-chew.
June 9. Liu Ming-chuan asks rewards for officers who fought savage tribes.
July 13. Lin Wei-yuan ordered from Peking to help in opening East Formosa.
July 20. Long Memorial from Liu Ming-chuan about pacifying the savages.
July 24. Shen Ying-kuei rewarded for providing them with 70,000 garments.
Aug. 3. Proceeds from sale of the effects of Liu Ao, late Taotai of Formosa.
Aug. 20. Imperial Decree on making Formosa a Province and strengthening the Pescadores.
Sep. 18. Report on the embezzled money which was refunded by Liu Ao.
Oct. 2. Generals Fang and Kuei accused by Liu Ming-chuan of dishonesty.
Oct. 22. Liu Ming-chuan on the camphor and sulphur trade of Formosa.
Dec. 13. Sun Kai-hua appointed Commander-in-chief of Fokien.
Dec. 16. Report that Ex-Taotai Liu Ao has refunded all his ill-gotten gains.

Volume for 1887.

- Jan.* 6. Liu Ming-chuan and Lin Wei-yuan unite in subduing the savages.
Jan. 17. General Liu and Col. Tao denounced for remissness in official duty.
Mar. 2. Reports that three burglars were executed in Formosa last summer.
Mar. 18. Shao Yu-lien appointed Financial Commissioner in Formosa.
Mar. 18. Posthumous honours asked for officers drowned in the *Wan Nien-ching*.
Mar. 22. Posthumous honours for Shen Yuan-chang, a volunteer in Formosa.

Peking Gazette, the—(continued).

- Apr.* 8. Contributions towards strengthening the forts in Formosa.
- June* 26. Liu Ming-chuan's report on subjugation and census of the savages.
- June* 26. Widow lady in Formosa sends relief to the suffering savages.
- June* 26. Cashiered Taotai Chang has 20,000 dresses made for the savages.
- July* 1. Arrival of Tang Ching-sung as Taotai of the Tai-pei Prefecture.
- July* 2. Relief afforded to a party of shipwrecked sailors from Lu-chu.
- Aug.* 20. Viceroy Li on rewards for supplies sent to Formosa during the war.
- Aug.* 27. Wu Sung-lo made first Brigadier-general at the Pescadores.
- Oct.* 20. Ex-Taotai Liu Ao's death-sentence changed to penal servitude.
- Nov.* 11. Important Memorial on rearrangement of Districts in Formosa.
- Dec.* 4. Customs at Tamsui and Takow put under Governor of Formosa.
- Dec.* 15. Officer Yang of the Kelung Coal Mines cashiered in March 1886.

Volume for 1888.

- Jan.* 23. Charge of extortion against General Wu Kuang-liang of Taiwan.
- Jan.* 23. Regulations with regard to land tenure in Formosa.
- Feb.* 23. Governor Liu Ming-chuan on subjugation of the Formosa savages.
- Mar.* 11. Reports the death of Ex-Taotai Liu Ao while in banishment.
- Apr.* 12. Statement on the charge against Brigadier-general Wu Kuang-liang.
- May* 13. Captain Liu punished for falsely accusing General Wu Kuang-liang.
- May* 13. The General rebuked for borrowing money from Captain Liu.
- July* 26. Seal granted to Formosa for stamping the yearly official Almanac.
- Aug.* 8. Owing to bad climate, ten superior officers lately died in Formosa.
- Aug.* 15. Rewards for surveying and reclaiming land in Formosa.
- Aug.* 27. Further statement on the advantageous new survey in Formosa.
- Oct.* 30. Magistrates at Kagi, Pithau, and Pilam dismissed for misconduct.
- Oct.* 30. Admiral Ting and Gen. Wu decorated for operations at Pilam.
- Nov.* 15. Memorandum on subjugation of the savages in East Formosa.
- Nov.* 20. Chiang-hwa invested by rebels. Magistrate punished for acting unwisely.
- Nov.* 20. Temple in Chiang-hwa to Chu Huan-ming, who died in battle.
- Nov.* 29. Further details on the serious insurrection at Chiang-hwa.
- Dec.* 18. General Wan defeats the rebel Shih Chiu-tuan near Kagi city.
- Dec.* 22. Posthumous honours asked for officers who fell in Formosa.

Volume for 1889.

- Jan.* 31. Chiang-hwa magistrate cashiered for extortion and injustice.
- Jan.* 31. Exculpation of General Yang Tsai-yuan from certain charges.
- Apr.* 18. Governor Liu Ming-chuan on tranquillisation of the savages at Pilam and Polisia.
- Apr.* 28. Sick leave given to Formosa Provincial Treasurer, Shao Yu-lien.
- Apr.* 29. Annual subsidy of 440,000 *taels* from Fuchau to Formosa.
- June* 13. Temples erected in Formosa for Shen Pao-chen and Wu Chan-cheng.
- June* 13. Reward for capturing the Chiang-hwa rebel, Wang Huan.
- Aug.* 3. Liu Ming-chuan holds examinations at Taiwan and Tai-pei.
- Aug.* 3. Jardine, Matheson and Co. supply Armstrong guns for the Pescadores.
- Aug.* 3. Governor Liu selects Makeng as the site for erecting a fort.
- Aug.* 19. Fuchau authorities report the rescue of a junk from Lu-chu.

Peking Gazette, the—(*continued*).

- Oct.* 10. Soldiers mutinise at Lok-kang owing to sternness of the officer.
Dec. 17. Success of Governor Liu's new postal arrangements in Formosa.

Volume for 1890.

- Mar.* 2. Li Ching-fang of the Legation in London sent to Formosa in 1889.
Mar. 31. General Tou Ju-tien retained to help in the defence of Kelung.
Mar. 31. Major Weng Hsi degraded for failing to capture robbers at Hsinchu.
Apr. 6. Proposal to reinstate General Wu Kuang-liang—see 13 May 1888.
Apr. 19. Liu Ming-chuan succeeds Marquis Tseng in the Board of Admiralty.
May 5. He reports successful operations against the savages at Nan-ao.
May 10. Two persons from Formosa obtain the third degree at Peking.
June 9. Eight robbers scale wall of Pi-thau and rob Hung Chao-yang's shop.
June 27. Two parties of shipwrecked Lu-chuans rescued and assisted.
July 9. Magistrates appointed for Anping, Heng-chun, Gi-lan, and Kelung.
July 23. Honours for Shih Chung-chen of Chiang-hwa for gift of 15,000 *taels*.
Aug. 5. Shen Ying-kuei to be Financial Commissioner for Fokien and Formosa.
Aug. 11. Memorial on completion of the Land-tax assessment in Formosa.
Aug. 17. Captain Huang of Tamsui dismissed for levying money from his men.
Oct. 5. Liu Ming-chuan degraded in connection with some mining affairs.
Oct. 30. Military matters at Heng-chun, Tamsui, and the Chien-lun range.
Nov. 7. Typhoon at Tai-pei, Kelung, Tamsui, and Miaoli on 16 August.
Nov. 12. Shrine to be erected at Tai-pei to Brigadier-general Su Te-sheng.
Nov. 13. Late Provincial Treasurer Yu Yin-lin denounces certain officials.
Dec. 1. Posthumous honours to General Su who died of malaria in Formosa.

Volume for 1891.

- Jan.* 31. Liu Ming-chuan obtains three months' leave on account of illness.
Feb. 2. Prefect of Tai-pei being related to Provincial Treasurer, asks for transfer.
Mar. 10. The cruiser *Fupo* some time stationed at Formosa.
Mar. 17. Tax on tea useful for bringing new land in Formosa under cultivation.
May 5. Governor Liu Ming-chuan of Formosa retires on account of ill health.
May 15. Further note on retirement of Liu Ming-chuan, first Governor of Formosa.
Aug. 1. Surveying officers liberally rewarded for making yearly increase of revenue of 363,300 *taels*.
Aug. 5. Report of twenty shipwrecked Lu-chuans being rescued and helped.
Aug. 23. Reference to Formosa having been made a separate Province.
Sep. 15. Reference to Shao Yu-lien being new Governor of Formosa.
Oct. 24. He suggests the names of six officials for service in Formosa.

Volume for 1892.

- Mar.* 17. Governor Shao denounces four officers for various acts of misconduct.
Apr. 21. Power of life and death granted to the Governor of Formosa.
May 8. General Wu Hung-lo of the Pescadores granted six months' leave.
May 18. Successful operations against the Kokan and Shuliutung savages.
June 19. *Lekin* on tea, etc., in Formosa amounts to 23,372 *taels* for half-year.
July 7. Governor Shao conducts examinations at Tainan, Taiwan, and Tai-pei.
Sep. 23. Capture and execution of brigand Cheng Shang of Pi-thau, near Kagi.
Oct. 6. Posthumous honours for officers killed fighting the savages.

Peking Gazette, the—(*continued*).

- Oct.* 22. Details of great typhoon which passed over Formosa on 21 July.
- Nov.* 25. Report of operations against the savages in Heng-chun District.
- Dec.* 8. Modified grant of 129,000 *taels* accepted for subduing savages.
- Dec.* 8. Submitting savages supplied with suit of clothes, a razor, and a hone.
- Dec.* 8. Expectant Magistrate Hung Hsi denounced for peculation.
- Dec.* 8. Also, for fraud in England while taking over the steamers *Smith* and *Cass*.

Volume for 1893.

- Jan.* 24. Gaol Warden at Anping tried for permitting four prisoners to escape.
- Feb.* 4. Chang Wei-tang of the Formosa Sulphur Works denounced for fraud.
- Feb.* 8. Capture of Chief Ling Ah-ling and complete repression of savages in South Formosa.
- Mar.* 12. Governor requests help at the examinations in Formosa.
- Mar.* 19. Rewards for officials engaged at the four Ports in Formosa.
- Apr.* 11. Officers punished for allowing prisoner Kao Teng-yu to escape.
- May* 18. General Wu requests to go into mourning for his mother.
- June* 22. Governor Shao on the defences and military expenses of Formosa.
- Aug.* 12. Noted that the Governor of Fokien has been transferred to Formosa.
- Oct.* 30. Laudatory notices of the late General Sun Kai-hua of Formosa.
- Nov.* 8. Further eulogistic reference to the late General Sun Kai-hua.
- Nov.* 22. Governor Shao sends lists of criminals who were recently beheaded.
- Nov.* 22. Also, that the head of one who died in prison was struck from the corpse.
- Dec.* 6. Imperial tablet to Governor Shao, who bought land for his clan.

Volume for 1894.

- Jan.* 9. Rewards asked for the beneficent Formosa millionaire, Lin Wei-yuan.
- Feb.* 4. Contribution from Taiwan for honouring the Empress-Dowager.
- Feb.* 6. Governor Shao to attend celebration of sixtieth anniversary of the Empress-Dowager.
- Mar.* 22. Statement on naval and military stores required for Formosa.
- Mar.* 31. A further contribution from Lin Wei-yuan, the Formosa millionaire.
- May* 26. Second contribution to the Empress-Dowager Birthday Fund.
- Aug.* 1. Imperial declaration of war against Japan—which ended in the cession of Formosa to that Power.
- Sep.* 24. Refers to Yu Ying-lin, the cashiered Provincial Treasurer of Formosa.

Volume for 1895.

- Feb.* 13. Help given to Lu-chuans wrecked off the coast of Gi-lan.
- Feb.* 18. Black-flag chief, General Liu Yung-fu, undertakes defence of Formosa.
- May* 7. Governor Shao of Formosa allowed to resign on account of ill health.
- May* 21. His services as Acting-Governor of Hunan and Peace-Envoy to Japan.
- May* 23. Prefect Tang of Tainan dismissed from office for cowardice.
- June* 24. Lin Wei-yuan, the Formosa millionaire, retires because of ill health.

Volume for 1896.

- Jan.* 1. An appointment which dismisses the Black-flag chief, Liu Yung-fu.
- Jan.* 4. Formosa sends 60,000 *taels* to the Chihli Famine Fund during 1894.
- Mar.* 18. Obituary notice of Liu Ming-chuan, the first Governor of Formosa.
- July* 22. Refers to the late Liu Ming-chuan being a *protégé* of Li Hung-chang.

PERKINS, N.—British Consular Service.

Report on Formosa. Commercial No. 1. (1896), pp. 23, with three appendices: (a) Facsimile of Formosa stamps (not inserted); (b) Notes on the Economic Botany of Formosa, by A. Henry—reprinted in the Kew Bulletin for 1896, pp. 65-76; (c) Bibliography of Formosa, very meagre; and (d) Vocabulary of native words.

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Vol. ii. pp. 153-156. Report on coalfields by Rev. G. Jones.

” ” 156-163. Report of Captain Abott. Lieut. Preble discovers Coal Harbour.

Vol. ii. pp. 167-170. Analysis of Formosa coal, by Prof. B. F. Backe.

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2. Taiwan Trade Report for 1880, pp. 116-126.

3. Taiwan Trade Report for 1881, pp. 101-112.

4. Notes on the Dutch occupation of Formosa. *China Review*, vol. x. (1882), pp. 123-128.

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2. Formosa. *Bull. Soc. Geogr. de Lyon*, vol. xiii. (1895), pp. 133-146.

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1. Taiwan Trade Report for 1876, pp. 81-91.
2. Notes on the language of the Formosan Savages. *China Review*, vol. vii. (1879), pp. 342-345.
3. Proposed administrative changes in Formosa. *Jour. North China Branch of the Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xxi. (1886), pp. 105-106.
4. Taiwan Trade Report for 1888, pp. 8.
5. Tamsui Trade Report for 1889, pp. 7.

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2. A Dialogue between a Japanese and a Formosan about some Points of the Religion of the Time. By G. P-m-r. —Quid rides— Fabula—. London: Printed for Bernard Lintott at the Cross-keys next Nando's Coffee-house, Fleet Street, 1707.
3. Memoirs of * * * * Commonly known by the Name of George Psalmanazar; a Reputed Native of Formosa. Written by himself In order to be published after his Death. Containing an Account of his Education, Travels, Adventures, Connections, Literary Productions, and pretended Conversion from Heathenism to Christianity; which last proved the Occasion of his being brought over into this kingdom, and passing for a Proselyte, and a Member of the Church of England. Dublin, 1765.
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4. Report on the Health of Tamsui and Kelung for the years ended 30 Sept. 1887, pp. 7-11. With plate.
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9. Report on the Health of Tamsui and Kelung for the three years ended 30 Sept. 1890, pp. 9-15.
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1. Report on the Health of Takow and Taiwanfu for the half-year ended 30 Sept. 1873, pp. 38-40.
2. Report on the Health of Takow and Taiwanfu for the half-year ended 30 Sept. 1874, pp. 12-15.
3. Report on the Health of Takow and Taiwanfu for the six months ended 31 Mar. 1876, pp. 24-26.
4. Report on the Health of Takow and Taiwanfu for the year ended 31 Mar. 1877, pp. 39-42.
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2. See Vieillard, Philippe.

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1. Relatio, ex Epistola quadam decerpta, quam P. Fr. Victorius Riccio, Vicarius Prouincialis Sinarum, P. Fri De Los Angeles, Prouinciali Philippinarum Ordinis Praedicatorum, transmisit: in qua referuntur

ea, quae in Sinis acciderunt, et in Japonia usque ad Januarium anni 1666. See Von Murr, *Four. zur Kunst. u. Litt.*, vol. vii. (1779), pp. 252-261.

2. Coppe van eenen Brief, gheschreven van P. F. Victorivs Rixio predickheer ende Vicaris provinciael van Sina, aen P. F. de los Angelos Procureur vande Philippinen uyt de Orden vanden H. Dominicus Inden welcken verhaelt wordt het ghene dat in Sina, en Japonien omghegaen is, aengaende de Catholijcke Religie, ende vervolginghen vanden 20. November 1661. tot de maent Januarius des jaers 1666. t'Antwerpen, By Michiel Cnobbaert. 1667.

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2. Report on the Health of Tamsui and Kelung for the year ended 30 Sept. 1875, pp. 21-23.
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4. Report on the Health of Tamsui and Kelung for the half-year ended 31 Mar. 1877, p. 7.
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6. Report of the Tamsui Mission Hospital for 1877. Amoy: A. A. Marcal, pp. 9.
7. Report on the Health of Tamsui and Kelung for the year ended 30 Sept. 1878, pp. 18-19.
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